

FUNERAL SERMON

FOR THE

REV. W. YATES, D. D.

OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY,

WHO DIED ON THE RED SEA,

JULY 3, 1845.

PREACHED IN THE UNION CHAPEL, CALCUTTA,

AUGUST 17, 1845.

BY A. LESLIE:

WITH

AN APPENDIX

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH,

IN A LETTER FROM

THE REV. J. S. WARDLAW.

CALCUTTA :

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1845.



F U N E R A L S E R M O N

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BY A. L E S L I E.

DEUT. XXXIV. 5.—“ So Moses, the servant of the Lord, died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord.”

In selecting, on the present occasion, the words which I have now read to you as the text, I have not the slightest intention of instituting any comparison, as it regards either their lives or their deaths, betwixt Moses, and our departed friend Dr. Yates. Not that there would, in the event of such a resemblance existing, be any thing wrong in pointing it out,—both having been but men, and each having owed his several excellencies and allotments to Him who is the Supreme Giver and Disposer of all. But if it be so, that our late excellent companion possesses as yet anything of the mind which dwelt in him on earth, nothing, I am certain, would be more repugnant to his feelings than the smallest attempt to exhibit a likeness between him and the prophet with whom God was accustomed to speak face to face as a man speaketh with his friend. All, therefore, that I intend to do in reference to the passage before us, is simply to make it the ground-work of a few observations which I hope may not be unuseful to each of us as

dying creatures, and which also may not be unsuitable to the mournful occasion which has called us together. In pursuance, therefore, of this object, we remark in the

1st place, That by the death of Moses we are reminded of the fact, *that it is not the lot of all good men to die in circumstances of external comfort.* Moses, at the time of his death, was separated from all who were dear to him on earth, he having to ascend Mount Nebo *alone*, and *alone* to die. Not that this may in reality have been any affliction to the man of God ; for no doubt there are many amongst men, and Moses may have been one such, who would, all things considered, rather breathe out their spirits in solitude than in company. But this is not the general feeling. The greater number of our fellow-creatures would wish, in preference to this, to have near them, at such a time, some sympathizing friend, who might whisper into their ear the consolatory word, who might minister the necessary cordial to their parched lips, and who, when the spirit had fled, might becomingly prepare their bodies for their last resting-place,—the grave. But nothing of this kind was granted to Moses. It was the will of God that he should die alone ; and so has it been his will that many others of his eminent servants should expire in similar, and even more painful circumstances. Who does not recollect the affecting termination of the life of that excellent man of God, Henry Martyn ? Exhausted by fatigue, and reduced by fever to the extreme of weakness, he was called upon to surrender up his meek and gentle spirit, surrounded only by strangers, and these, too, strangers of the most merciless and brutal character, leaving his body to be interred by them in whatever manner they pleased, if indeed they ever interred it at all. And so was it also, in some respects, with our beloved Dr. Yates. It is true, that he was not, in his last hours, without the company of some few friends of his Master,—friends who, there is every reason to believe, did all they could to comfort and soothe him,—yet considering, that he was then being tossed on a stormy sea, pent up in a cabin with a thermometer at nearly 100, and far from his home, his kindred,

and his long-trying associates in the church of God, his death must, as it regarded external circumstances, have been sorrowful indeed. His end was not unlike that of the missionary Chamberlain, on the death of whom Dr. Yates has himself, in his Memoirs of that most devoted man, made the following remarks : “There is something singularly affecting in the closing scene of his life, which, added to the afflictions he before sustained, gives to his whole existence a chequered appearance, and forcibly impresses on our minds the words of Job : ‘Man born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble.’ Some recoil at the thought of being buried in the sea : he felt little concerned what became of his body, provided his soul gained admittance into paradise. He knew that the sea as well as the earth, would give up the dead which were in it ; and that his soul being accepted by Christ, would enjoy the blessedness of those who die in the Lord. Still, we cannot think of his dying circumstances without feeling :—we feel on his account, that, instead of being in peace and quietness in his last moments, he was amidst the swellings of the mighty deep ; and that, instead of being encouraged and animated by the sympathy of Christian friends, and the consolations of the gospel, when conflicting with the last enemy, he had to meet him all alone in the dreary solitude of a cabin :—we feel for ourselves, that we had not the melancholy pleasure of hearing his last words, of beholding his last looks, and of observing ‘in what peace a Christian can die.’ But we console ourselves by reflecting, that the Saviour was present. He who will not quench the smoking flax, nor break the bruised reed, would never suffer the soul that had been so devoted to his service, ‘by any pains of death to fall from Him.’ And we rest assured, that, consoled by His presence, he did not fear when he passed through the valley of the shadow of death, and that he is now among those of whom it was said : ‘These are they who have come out of great tribulation, and washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb : therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his

temple.”’ How fully the most of all this has been realized in the case of Dr. Yates himself no one now present needs to be informed. But we proceed to remark in the

2nd place, That by the death of Moses we are also reminded of the fact, *that sin occasionally strongly embitters some of the last hours of some of the saints of God.* That Moses was, at the period of his decease, without any comfort, it would be rashness to affirm; but it is not unlikely that sorrow rather than joy was then the prevailing condition of his mind. He had grievously sinned; and because of his sin the sentence had come forth that he must, without once being permitted to enter into the goodly land, expire beyond its limits. Earnestly had he implored to have his doom reversed; but the only answer he received was: “Let it suffice thee; speak no more unto me of this matter.” His death being, therefore, the result of his offence, it seems scarcely possible that he could, as he wended his solitary way to the top of the mount, be otherwise than humbled and distressed. What his crime really was is not very apparent; but enough is related to lead us to the inference that he, along with his brother Aaron, had been guilty of unbelief,—the very sin for which so many of their brethren had already been entombed by the way. It was, as you will recollect, in the first year of the wanderings of the Israelites, that Moses was commissioned to bring water from the rock of Horeb; and it was in the fortieth or last year of their pilgrimage that he was commanded to do the same thing at Kadesh-Meribah. Now, it is not improbable, that as this event of the fortieth year was precisely of the same kind with that of the first year, that the excited man of God regarded the circumstance as indicative of another lengthened abode in the desert. But in thus viewing the matter he most grievously offended. God had already told him that the journeyings of the Israelites were not to extend beyond the year upon which they had then entered; and this word had never been recalled. To have expressed doubts, therefore, concerning its fulfilment, and es-

pecially to have done this in the presence of the people, was not only to have cast a stigma on the veracity of God, but it was to have committed an act calculated, in every way, to have induced a spirit of the most bitter murmuring throughout the whole of the Israelitish camp. Hence, the Lord said unto him and to Aaron: "Because ye believed me not, to sanctify me in the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore ye shall not bring this congregation into the land which I have given them." In accordance with this, the latter of the brothers had already been sent up to Mount Hor to die; and now the former is sent up to Mount Nebo on the same melancholy errand; and both we imagine must, in their last moments, have suffered no little distress,—distress that they should have so dishonoured God, and distress that they should have been so guilty as to call for the very severe punishment of being made to die within a little way of the long wished-for, and often prayed-for land. And thus, too, does it often happen, that the commission of some particular sins, or the omission of some particular duties, are often visited, in the dying hours of the Christian, by the withholding from him of those consolations of which he would no doubt have been otherwise the recipient. The man who, with his eyes open, has married an ungodly wife; the husband who has been living at variance with his companion; the parent who has been remiss in his parental duties; the church-member who has been careless about the consistency of his conduct; and the person who has been neglectful in keeping up close intercourse with God: these, and all such as these, find it usually dreadful work to die. They may indeed be saved; but generally they have to pass away under a cloud,—a cloud so dense and so dark, that though their surviving christian friends are not without hope concerning them in their death, yet an involuntary inclination is felt to speak no more of the departed than can possibly be helped. Let it be observed, however, that it is by no means an unusual occurrence, that the most holy of God's people are occasionally, in dying, the subjects of considerable darkness and distress of mind,—the only difference

being, that in *these*, the suffering is merely temporary, whilst in *those* it is usually continued. As instances of this, we may just mention, as belonging to former times, the great and good reformer Knox ; and as belonging to latter times, the excellent commentator Scott, both of whom appear to have, in some of their last days, passed through waters of an uncommon depth. But it was not all conflict. They had their alternations of light and shade ; and of the former a greater proportion than of the latter. And it will not surprise me to learn that something of the same kind was, in his closing hours, the experience of our deceased friend Dr. Yates. The present Bishop of Calcutta has, in his funeral sermon for the Commentator, remarked, (and it is a remark that, with a slight modification, will equally apply to the Reformer and to the Translator, in the event of *his* having also suffered :) “That very important ends were doubtless to be answered by these sufferings, not only to the church generally, but to the venerable sufferer himself. Possibly his extraordinary talents, his extensive success, his long and familiar acquaintance with all the topics of theology, his surprising influence over a wide circle of readers, may have required this last struggle to check every remaining tendency to self-elevation, and to make him feel more deeply than ever what he confessed through life in so unfeigned a manner, that he was in himself but a most guilty and unworthy sinner.” But we go on to remark once more in the

3rd and last place, That by the light thrown by the New Testament on the condition of Moses after death, we are reminded of the additional fact, *that however painful may be the circumstances attendant upon the dissolution of a truly good man, yet that, after his dismissal from the body, it is well with his spirit in the eternal world.* That Moses was indeed a thorough man of God, none now present will, I think, for a moment dispute ; but there is in his history one particular recorded of him, which, in my opinion, more fully demonstrates this than any of the other circumstances of his very eventful life. It is written of him, (and the words were probably penned not by

himself, but by some succeeding prophet of the Lord :) “Now the man Moses was very meek above all the men that were on the face of the earth.” What is chiefly to be remarked in connexion with this passage is, that this virtue of meekness, which is here so largely ascribed to Moses, does not appear to have been with him a natural but an acquired grace. His original temper seems to have been the very reverse of meekness, even that of the impetuosity of anger. Look, for instance, at the spirit he displayed in the killing of the Egyptian man,—a sin of which he no doubt, whilst keeping the flocks of Jethro, most deeply and bitterly repented, and a sin, too, which, in all likelihood, was the means of leading him so to watch and to pray, that he acquired a character the very opposite of that which belonged to him by birth. It is true, that the disposition which had brought forth such bitter fruits in Egypt, more than once displayed itself afterwards in the wilderness; but cull out all the instances of this kind recorded, (and probably all are recorded,) and to what do they amount? Perhaps not to so many as to a half dozen,—so completely had the man Moses gained the mastery over his natural temperament, and so well had he earned the renown of being meek above all the men that were on the face of the earth. Now, this was a most striking proof of Moses’s having been no ordinary man. True; this would not, if taken by itself, be any evidence of his having been a saint of God; for many men of similar temperaments have, even without being the subjects of converting grace, so labored at the eradication of their evil propensities as to have entirely extirpated them. But this in Moses, together with his constant prayerfulness, his close attention to the will of God, his continual efforts to do good to others, and his unceasing aim to glorify Jehovah in all that he did, proves him to have been one of the most excellent men that ever lived; and this, added to what is said of him in the New Testament, shews him to have been indeed nothing less than this even in the judgment of the just judging God: for observe the honor subsequently conferred upon him. About 1500 years after his death, his

spirit, invested in a glorious body, appeared in company with Elijah on the mount of transfiguration, and talked with Christ of the decess that was to be accomplished at Jerusalem,—a proof of the estimation in which he was held by God, and also of the fact, that however painful may be the circumstances attendant upon the death of any truly good man, yet that his soul, immediately on its dismissal from the body, finds rest and glory, and happiness in the highest heavens. I know not how the report originated, but I have indeed heard it said, that our decessed friend Dr. Yates was, as it respected natural temper, the very counter-part of Moses,—a statement which I have never been able to credit. But if this were indeed the case, then it will follow, that he must, as far as it regarded his efforts and success in overcoming this propensity, have been even a superior man to the prophet himself; for after having lived two months in the same house with the departed (which I did more than 21 years ago), and after, having latterly been more than twice twelve two months closely associated with him in the work of the gospel, I can, with the most perfect honesty declare, that I never saw so much as even a frown on his countenance, far less any thing amounting to what would be called a display of anger. But let us leave *him* for a moment, and looking once more, and for the last time this evening, at Moses, let us learn from his bright example, that it is possible for a man to become even celebrated for a temper the very opposite of that which was originally his; and let us learn, too, that the very common remark, that because a man has been born with such and such a disposition, its indulgence in him must not be too severely censured, is a remark that is not only utterly worthless, but is worse than utterly worthless. It was my privilege to be instructed by the same great and good man that educated Dr. Yates; and of the decessed teacher the eloquent Robert Hall has written a description which, if not in the former part of it, yet assuredly in the latter part of it, is equally just when applied to the departed pupil: “If,” says Robert Hall, “any man ever practised the gentleness of Jesus Christ, it was

certainly the lamented Dr. Ryland. Possessed of a temper naturally quick and irritable, he had, by the aid of reason and religion, so far subdued that propensity, that it was rarely suffered to appear; and when it did, it was a momentary agitation which quickly subsided into kindness and benignity. His sensibility was exquisite. There were a numerous class of subjects to which he could rarely advert without tears. The bare recurrence to his mind of the great objects of religion, was sufficient to produce a gush of tenderness. So entirely was his heart softened, that it might truly be styled, a heart of flesh."

But let me now come to some particulars in the history of our late beloved friend,—particulars for which I am sure you are all looking and longing. I regret to say, that I know little or nothing of his very early days; for so reserved and modest was he with regard to himself, that he rarely ever mentioned any thing of his past history or experience. All that I know of him, in relation to this period, was told me, previous to my coming to this country, by a truly christian and intelligent lady in England,—the wife of the Rev. Dr. Hoby, of London, the friend and fellow-student of the deceased. I remember her once describing him to me as a singular youth whom she was accustomed to observe to sit in the gallery of the Baptist chapel at Loughborough or Derby, (I forget which,) and to take notes of all the sermons which were delivered by the preacher. This attracting her attention, she (or it may have been her parents, for she was not Mrs. Hoby then,) invited him frequently to her house for the purpose of conversing with him, when she said, that she and the other members of her family were greatly amused with his perpetual talk about grammar,—a subject with which his own mind seemed to be so full, that he, in his simplicity, appeared to imagine, that they, too, must be equally interested in nouns and verbs with himself.

It is known, however, that he was so early the subject of religion, that he was baptized and received into the communion of the Baptist church at Loughborough, at the youthful age of 14; and that in less than three years after this he had made

his first attempts at preaching in public. At what age he went to the Baptist College at Bristol I have not been able to ascertain ; but as he had completed his studies and been ordained before he had completed his 22nd year, he must have entered very soon after it was perceived by his friends that he possessed the talent of being useful in the ministry of the gospel.

It does not appear that he had ever seriously thought of devoting himself to missionary work until some time after he had commenced his preparations for the ministry. This is ascertained by a letter which he wrote, whilst in college, to the celebrated Robert Hall, with whom, previous to this, he had become acquainted. As this communication is of a very interesting nature, and as it expresses our friend's earliest recorded sentiments in reference to missionary labor, I have no doubt you will be as much delighted in the hearing of it, as I have been in the reading of it. It was written in 1813, the year before he was ordained :

"DEAR SIR,—I now write to you on a subject that has for some time deeply affected my mind : and if ever I have thought upon any thing with seriousness, and if I have ever prayed for any thing with fervor, it is that I may be directed aright in this affair. The subject is,—the engaging of myself as a missionary. The recollection of your past kindness constrains me now to lay this matter before you, and to declare to you respecting it all the feelings of my mind, being persuaded, that you will, according to the best of your judgment, give me your advice upon it. When I consider the miserable state of the heathen, and the commandment of Jesus Christ to go into all the world and preach the Gospel, I feel as if I could not be satisfied to remain in my native land. When I consider, too, the number of ministers at home, the paucity of those abroad, and recollect that the religion of Jesus Christ must become universal, I am ready to say, here I am, Lord send me if I can be of any use in fulfilling the purposes of thy will. When I consider also my natural talents, I think I may be of some use in this work. All men have some talents. I wish not to think of mine more highly than I ought to think, but to think soberly ; and I desire to devote them all to Him who has loved me and bought me with his blood. The only thing I want to know is, where I may be most useful. I think if I have a capacity for any

thing, it is for the learning of language: this I can study with unwearied diligence and delight: and I know that this is one of essential importance in the qualifications of a missionary. But I am also conscious that this is far from all that is wanting. An inextinguishable thirst for the welfare of immortal souls is absolutely necessary. Of this I do not possess so great a share as I could wish; and when I look around me on men who are exerting all the powers of their souls for the acquisition of unsatisfactory gain, I feel completely ashamed that I should have no more zeal for my Lord and Saviour. These are the feelings which make me willing to meet any danger, to endure any toils, so that I may contribute in the least to the propagation of Christianity. But I wish not to be guided by my own opinion and feelings; and therefore I venture to ask you, whether you think I shall be in the path of duty if I act under their influence.

“If this part of the subject be determined on, then there is another question of importance which arises out of it. When is the time that I should give myself up to this work,—now, or at some future period? The reason why I ask this is, that I understand the gentlemen of the Bristol Education Fund intend to send me, after this year, to one of the universities in Scotland. Mr. ——— mentioned my case to them at the anniversary meeting; and I have been informed that they are satisfied with it. But though this is so, the tutors have not as yet said any thing to me on the subject; and from what I hear, they do not wish me to know any thing of their designs. I can conjecture, though I cannot positively determine, the cause of this. But besides this, I am yet young. I have not yet reached 21. This, in some respects, would be an advantage to me, inasmuch as I should more easily be inured to another climate, and could more readily acquire another language. But, in other respects, it would be a disadvantage, inasmuch as I am very inexperienced, and know very little of the world,—with several other things which will readily suggest themselves to your own mind. But if we never undertake any thing till all difficulties be removed, we shall do nothing in the cause of Christ. If, therefore, with these ideas, you think that it is my duty to enter upon the work, I wish you to give me your advice, whether I should mention my desires to Dr. Ryland, and offer myself to the Missionary Society now, or whether I should wait the event of going to Scotland. An answer, as soon as convenient, will very much oblige your ever grateful,

WM. YATES.

Of the reply to this,—a reply in every way worthy of the great and good man who penned it,—I am happy in being able to say, that I have been furnished with a copy. Thus writes

Robert Hall to William Yates, two names that will suffer nothing by being associated together :

“Leicester, Oct. 9, 1813.

“DEAR SIR,—I should sooner have replied to your letter, but was previously desirous of consulting with Mr. Fuller, and some other friends respecting it, whom I expected shortly to see at Northampton. Whether I have acted rightly in making known to them your wishes at this stage of the business I know not ; but I did it with the best intention. Conceiving from your letter, that your mind was pretty fully made up with respect to the object you propose, if you meet with suitable encouragement, and that it was desirable you should go early, as, if I am not mistaken, it is your wish to do, I thought the step I took would expedite the business. If you continue in the same mind, I would advise you to write to Mr. Fuller, stating your views and feelings, and from him, I am persuaded, you will receive the most judicious advice. From what you have stated, as well as from what I know of you from other quarters, I have no doubt your qualifications are of a nature peculiarly to fit you for the work of a missionary ; and that, in purposing to devote yourself to that work, you are following the leadings of Providence. The talent of acquiring language with facility is of the first importance in a missionary to the East ; and I cannot but hope that God, by endowing you with that talent in so considerable a degree, is preparing you to be a worthy successor of Drs. Carey and Marshman. I consider it as another extraordinary instance of the superintendence of Providence over the Baptist Mission, that it has been enabled to acquire, contrary to all human expectation, a literary character, which has been of essential service in softening opposition, and conciliating the esteem of those in power. It is extremely desirable it should still preserve that character ; and I may say, without suspicion of flattery, no person can be thought of as a missionary, who is more likely to contribute to this end than yourself. You will not suppose, however, that I mean to insinuate that a literary character is the principal requisite for the undertaking you meditate. Far from it. A soul imbued with the spirit of the gospel, a heart impressed with love to the Redeemer and love to souls, is of incomparably higher consequence. These, I believe, from all I have heard of you, you possess ; and with these, the talent of acquiring knowledge in general, and language in particular, may be of important service. You will doubtless spread the whole matter before the Lord, and seek illumination and direction from the Fountain of wisdom. For my own part, I sincerely rejoice, that the Lord has put such a desire into your heart. And I cannot but hope, it is a preparative for great usefulness in that most important scene of labor that is connected with the promulgation of Christianity in a foreign land. It will

be proper for you, when your resolution is final, to communicate it to your venerable father. That the Lord may direct and bless you in all your ways, is the earnest prayer of

Your's affectionately,

ROBERT HALL."

The wisdom, the piety, and the almost prophetic discernment of this letter must be obvious to all.

I need not tell you that our beloved friend was most cordially accepted as a missionary of the Baptist Society. His ordination to this work took place at Leicester on the 31st of August, 1814, when there were present, among others, and taking part in the services, his venerable tutor Dr. Ryland, the great Robert Hall himself, and the scarcely less distinguished Andrew Fuller. This is the only occurrence in the life of Dr. Yates of which I ever heard him speak with any thing like unusual pleasure; and it did apparently afford him no small delight to think that he had been devoted to the missionary cause by the counsels and prayers of three such eminently great and holy men.

Very shortly after his ordination he sailed for India, in the ship *Moira*, commanded by Captain Kemp, who generously afforded him a free passage; and he landed in Calcutta, April the 16th, 1815. In a letter dated Serampore, March, 1816, and addressed to his tutor Dr. Ryland, he gives him the following account of his first year's doings; and certainly they are the most extraordinary of any thing of which I have ever read. Amongst other matters he says: "The way I spend my time is this. In a morning before breakfast I study Hebrew about an hour and a half. After worship I attend to Bengálí and Sanskrit. I have read about five volumes in Bengálí, and all the Bengálí proofs with Dr. Carey, having before compared them with the Greek. I have got through the Sanskrit roots once; have not yet got through the grammar, but am reading the *Rámáyan* with my pandit. My afternoons are chiefly taken up with reading or hearing Latin and Greek. I have read ten volumes of Greek since I left England, but not more than three

of Latin. In the evening, after worship, I generally read English, or look over English proofs. I take my turn in all the services here ; preach at Barrackpore, two miles over the river, once and sometimes twice a week, to about 25, a small but attentive congregation. We go to Calcutta in turn : it comes to me about once a month. There are six services every Lord's-day, so that it is necessary for some one to go from Serampore." Now, when it is recollected that the Greek books to which he here refers (for so I learn from letters addressed to Dr. Hoby) were Longinus, Demosthenes, Pindar, Sophocles, Aristotle's *Ethics*, Dionysius Halicarnassus, Herodotus and Thucydides ; and that the Latin volumes were the works of Tacitus and Cicero de Officiis, the scholar will be able to understand somewhat of the extent of Dr. Yates's attainments as a classic.

In the end of 1816, or in the beginning of 1817, Dr. Yates removed from Serampore to Calcutta, where he, in company with his follow-laborers in the work of God, besides teaching in a school for a considerable time for his own support and for that of his wife and child, (his salary being at that time exceedingly small,) labored most abundantly both in English and Bengálí preaching. I find from letters written during this period to the Baptist Missionary Society that he was accustomed regularly to visit certain parts of the town, and to declare, on the public streets, the word of life to his perishing fellow-men. And he was not without his reward ; for those were times of the manifestation of the power of God in the conversion of the people of this vast city,—times the like of which have never been seen since then !

When I arrived in this country, in the early part of the year 1824, I found him nearly as much reduced in health and strength as he appeared during the last two or three years of his life. At that time, nor has it, I believe, been much the case with him since, he was doing little or nothing in the way of out-door work ; but he was not idle within. Besides preaching once a Sabbath in English he had the care of the native church, the members of which were occasionally accustomed

to meet with him in his own house for worship. And in addition to this, he was laboring, and had been laboring, almost to excess in other ways. Previous to this period (1824), he had published his well-known Grammar of the Sanskrit, (such had been his progress in that language;) a work on the Divinity of Christ in reply to Rámmohan Ráy; his Memoirs of Chamberlain; and had rendered excellent service in the preparation and supervision of works belonging to the School Book Society. He had, too, also before this year, acquired, in addition to the Sanskrit and Bengáli, a very extensive acquaintance with the Arabic, the Persian, the Urdú, and the Hindui languages, the acquisition of which is quite enough for the whole life of a more than ordinary man.

On the death of Mr. Lawson, which took place in 1825, Dr. Yates was called to preside over the church in Circular Road; but requiring a change of climate to recruit his exhausted strength, he, in 1827, suspended his labors by proceeding, for a season, to his native land by way of America. The impression produced by him at this time on others was thus recently described in a public meeting in London, by the Rev. Dr. Sharpe, of Boston, America, at whose house he lived when in that city,—an impression which will be instantly recognized by all who were at any time acquainted with him as correct to a degree: “I had the honor,” says Dr. Sharpe, “of receiving Dr. Yates into my house, when he was on his way to his native land, some years ago. I know from the simplicity of his character, and the purity of his purposes, and his true and solid learning that the greatest reliance may be placed on any version he may send out to the world.” Of his history in England I know nothing excepting the following very characteristic anecdote of him which was communicated to me by a fellow-student of my own, the Rev. Mr. Mursell, of Leicester, who happened to be then occasionally with him. Mr. Mursell knowing in some way or another (certainly not from Dr. Yates himself) the extraordinary quantity of work he was accustomed to get through, once said to him: “Well; Mr. Yates, what plan do you adopt for

the accomplishing of anything you take in hand?" In reply to this, he, in his own quiet and unassuming manner, simply said: "I have no particular plan, Mr. Mursell: when I have any thing to do, I go and do it,—that is all."

On his return to this country, in the year 1830, he encountered a violent storm by the way. This I mention not, of course, for its own sake, but for the purpose of introducing to you the following extracts from a letter which was forwarded to me, a few days ago, by a friend now present. I have no doubt the communication will interest you all:—

"Dr. Yates and his ministrations in the Circular Road Chapel are associated with my earliest religious experience: and there is no person for whom, or for whose memory, I cherish a more affectionate respect.

"But it is not my intention to tell you of what I owe to him under God. My object in writing is to gather up a fragment,—to mention an instance merely of the influence of his life. The circumstance was told me some 10 or 12 years ago; and in relating it, I think I am substantially correct.

"You may have heard of the name of Mr. Hunt,—a devout member of the Union Chapel, whose praise is in all the churches. He was the organist of the Chapel, and died seven years ago.

"This good man received his first religious impressions from Dr. Yates. He was coming out to this country in a musical profession in the same ship in which Dr. Yates returned to India, somewhere in the year 1830. Mr. Hunt, as he himself told me, was then a thoughtless young man. The vessel met with severe weather; and there was a time when hope seemed to be lost. All was consternation on board, and the crew and passengers assembled for prayer, Mr. Hunt among the number, when he beheld Dr. Yates, who had just left his cabin, and appeared among them, with an air so calm and serene as to shine in striking contrast with every thing around. The prayer he then offered was for an *immediate* answer whether of life or death; adding, that whatever was the will of God, all might be prepared to inherit his glory. The answer was *immediate* in the abatement of the raging storm; and Mr. Hunt landed here the subject of the workings of God's grace.

"It is worthy of remark, that in his more limited sphere, Mr. Hunt bore an exact impress of the character of Dr. Yates. He was uniformly *calm, humble, simple, devout*, and of the same *catholic spirit*. He had received his first convictions from Dr. Yates, and he grew up in the likeness of him who was his father in Christ."

On his return to India, Dr. Yates resumed his labors, and among them the pastoral oversight of the Circular Road church, and, I think, that it was then, too, he entered upon his work of the translation of the Scriptures,—determined to make this the one great business of his life. How he carried out his purpose, let the results declare. Within the course of the last fourteen years he translated the whole of the Scriptures into the Bengálí language, the whole of the New Testament into Urdú, the same into Hinduí, the same into Sanskrit, and the half of the Old Testament into the same difficult tongue. And besides these, he published a large Urdú Grammar, translations of some difficult Sanskrit books, a number of other works in different languages, and has left, partly through the press, a complete Sanskrit Dictionary, which, when fully printed off, will make a volume of at least 900 pages. How he, with his constant labors in English preaching, accomplished all this, it is impossible for me to explain. And what adds to our astonishment is the fact, that he was always very weakly in body, and not unfrequently laid aside, by severe indisposition, for weeks together. And be it remembered, too, that he never encroached upon the hours required for rest in the night, never omitted any family duty, was never absent either on the Sabbath or the week days from the house of God, occasionally visited in the evenings his friends, and read very considerably for the improvement of his own mind. As an instance of the extent of his reading, I know from himself that he perused the whole of the four large volumes of the *Alif Leila* in the Arabic language shortly after they were published,—a task which it may be doubted whether any one has as yet performed but himself.

In the midst of all these labors, not only was he often afflicted in his own person, but he was not without his heavy trials in the persons of his family. I saw him myself, in 1824, hang over the coffin of an interesting babe, and weep most bitterly. During his visit to England he lost another lovely boy,—a child to whom he was so much attached, that the whole of the night

previous to his going on board, he sat up with him on his knees. For a long period too, he was severely tried in the illness of his first wife,—a most prudent and godly woman. Several times she had to leave him in quest of health, and that for months together. On one of these occasions she stayed for no less a period than six months under my own roof at Monghyr, when I had an opportunity of discovering her superlative worth. And, last of all, his was the sorrowful lot of bidding her farewell on board of ship to see her to return to him no more. She was induced to take a voyage on board of a vessel commanded by a friend now present, who has the satisfaction of knowing that he did all in his power to render comfortable the last days of the excellent wife of such an excellent man. The way in which he felt her death you will best learn from himself, from a letter written almost immediately on being informed that she was gone.

Calcutta, June 21, 1838.

“MY DEAR MRS. LESLIE,—At the close of last year I received by the Edwards’ a basket of toys for the children and a note for Mrs. Yates. As they were gone to sea when these arrived I put them aside to wait their return. There was nothing in your note which required an immediate answer. For the last three weeks I have been anxiously waiting for their return; and after a long and very tedious voyage the vessel has arrived, and—has brought me back all my treasures? Ah! no. They have thrown into the great deep, in the same bay where your dear father lies, my beloved Catharine, there to lie till the sea shall give up the dead which are in it. These painful tidings I received the night before last; and they are the close of a moral and invisible struggle through which my soul has ~~past~~ during the last two months. The danger has been great; but the storm is now over, and all is tranquil and serene. All is right. I received letters from our dear Catharine both from Bombay and Cochin, the general tenor of which had led me to expect that she would return better in health; but I learn that she began to sink before they arrived at Penang, and continued afterwards to get worse till the 22d of May, when she expired. The children are not yet come from the ship; but I expect them to-day, or, at farthest, to-morrow.

“Amidst sorrow and perplexity I can review, with great satisfaction, the many happy years God has permitted us to enjoy each other’s society: and I shall never forget that one in which I paid you a visit at Monghyr. Your

dear mother was then alive ; and now, I have no doubt, while we are separated by the boundaries of time, they have met together in the paradise above, where parting, painful parting, is known no more. And what more remains for us, but, seeing we are encompassed with so great a cloud of witnesses, to lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and run with patience the race that is set before us. Our treasures in heaven are rapidly increasing. May our hearts be there, and daily preparing for their enjoyment."

But I ought now, as far as time is concerned, to come to a close. Bear with me, however for a few minutes longer, while I occupy your attention in giving you my own views of our deceased friend as a *Man*, as a *Christian*, as a *Missionary* and as a *Preacher*.

1. As a man mentally he seemed to me the most perfect of all whom I have ever known upon earth. I will not say that he had a mind equal in greatness to some whom it has been my privilege to see, to hear, and to be acquainted with : but this I have no hesitation in saying, that I never met with a human being, the powers of whose mind seemed to be so finely balanced as were his. Some men are eminent for judgment, some for reasoning, some for memory, and some for one thing and some for another ; but rarely has it happened, that in any one man have all the different powers of the mind been found in a state of such equal development, or, in other words, in a state of such meet proportion as in him. In his mind, according to its stature, (and this was not small,) there seemed to be nothing defective, and nothing redundant ; but all appeared to be adjusted by the laws of the nicest harmony. And, as from the possession of such a mind, you would naturally expect a corresponding perfection of character and conduct, so, I think, we had this in him in a very uncommon degree. He had none of the eccentricities and none of the vices which are often found to be the accompaniments of genius and learning. And, as it regards the virtues, he was one of the most meek, the most gentle, the most unassuming of all human beings. Who ever discerned in him any thing like an assumption of superiority ? Who ever beheld him make any attempt to shew off the greatness of his acquire-

ments? Or who ever saw him do any thing to inflict a wound upon any of his fellow-creatures? In his whole appearance and conduct he seemed to be the most harmless and guileless of men. It was really a most beautiful sight to see him in company with little prattling children. With them he was as one of themselves, and appeared to be far more interested in, and delighted with, their sayings and doings, than with any thing else around him.

2. But in saying these things of him I speak of him simply as a man, and not as a Christian. How far his freedom from the vices and his possession of the virtues is to be ascribed to his having been a subject of saving grace, I will not pretend to determine; but this I know, that measured by the law of God, he had not attained to perfection; and none knew this better than himself. Whilst we that were around him saw nothing in him but excellencies, he appeared to see nothing in himself but sin; for how humble were his prayers, and how affecting were his confessions! Rarely, as I formerly noticed, did he ever speak of himself; but when he did, it was never as any thing else than as a poor, guilty, hell-deserving sinner. His whole air and manner bespoke the humility of his mind as a Christian; and what is no less interesting, there was ever upon his countenance *that* which told you that he was a man dead to the world, that his heart was not here, and that he was accustomed to live on terms of the closest communion with God. Cheerful he could be, and cheerful he often was; but more commonly he appeared solemn and thoughtful; and not unfrequently he was so melted, that there was an involuntary gush of tears from his eyes, and sighs of the most affecting kind from his heart. Repeatedly have I, from the pulpit in which I am accustomed to preach, heard his sobs, suppressed though they always were, whilst he has been listening to the word of God,—a duty to which he never failed, with the greatest devoutness, candour and pleasure, to attend.

3. As a missionary his whole heart was engaged. During the first period of his residence in this country he laboured, as

we have already seen, with the greatest diligence in preaching to the natives both at home and abroad. Of late years, it is true, that this was not the case, but then it is to be recollected, that owing to his weak state of body, he was no longer able to engage in this laborious employment. Besides, he had a settled conviction that God had particularly called him to the work of translation; and to this he gave himself, as was formerly noticed, with all his might. Nothing could divert him from it. The Government of India, aware of his great abilities as a linguist, offered him, some four or five years ago, no less a sum than 1000 rupees a-month, (or £1200 a-year) if he would devote himself wholly to their service in the preparation of books; and when this was refused, they offered him 500 rupees a-month, (or £600 a-year) if he would give them only half his time: but neither was this accepted. And for what, in a pecuniary sense, did he labor? At the commencement of his career in India, and until his marriage, he had only besides his food and lodging, the small sum of 16 rupees a month, (the personal allowance, at that time, of each missionary at Serampore) out of which he had to supply himself with clothes, and with whatever else he might require. And for some time after his marriage he had the merest pittance, not exceeding, when, in company with a wife and child, he took up his residence in Calcutta, the sum of 120 rupees a-month, out of which, I believe, he had to pay house-rent, as well as all other expenses. It is true, that after this, he, through his own exertions and by a somewhat more liberal allowance from the Society, was more amply provided for. Yet what, after all, was his salary? At the time of his death he had not, with the exception of a house rent-free, more than 250 rupees a month, out of which he had not only to support himself and family, but to pay[•] for the education of a son in England. But with this he was abundantly contented. Money, compared with the salvation of souls and the glory of God, was no object with him. And so completely was his heart set on his missionary work, that I believe he would, rather than have abandoned it, have con-

sented to have occupied a hut, and to have accepted of a handful of rice, and a draught of water. Bad as our world is, it is not yet altogether destitute of instances of the greatest disinterestedness, and of the most burning love to God and to souls. Poor our friend commenced his missionary career, poor he lived throughout it, and poor he finished it. But he is not poor now.

4. As a preacher, how shall we speak of him? Every discourse he delivered was not only most accurately thought out, but every leading idea, together with much of the filling up, was usually committed to paper. And, as might have been expected from such a man, and from such a method, his sermons were replete with instruction, with devotional feeling, and with sentiments of the purest and most exalted kind. I will grant you, that his discourses had not always the power that the efforts of some others have displayed; but this was chiefly to be attributed to the weakness of his voice, and to the still greater weakness of his body. But for soundness of doctrine, for simplicity of language, for vividness of illustration, for solemnity of manner, and above all for fulness of truth, he was, I think, never excelled. I have indeed often wondered that his ministrations should have been so frequently neglected by some from whom other things might have been expected: and surely, if they have any thing of conscience left, they must bitterly weep in the recollection of having many times pained his meek, his holy, and his sensitive spirit, by allowing him, after so much preparation, to address their empty seats rather than their understandings and their hearts. I will not say that his sermons were peculiarly distinguished for greatness of originality, for loftiness of imagination, for boldness of conception, or for vastness of depth,—although there was far more of this in them than was usually apprehended by many of his hearers,—but they were distinguished for that which was far better, even for a perpetual, and for a varied, and for a most interesting exhibition of the doctrines essential to salvation. I think I can safely say, that at least three-fourths of all the discourses

which I heard from his lips were on the great topics of salvation by the death of our Lord Jesus Christ,—a subject of which he was apparently never weary, and which he never failed to treat in a way that delighted and impressed all who attentively listened to him.

But he is gone: and his end was most affecting. He never intended to leave the country, but to live and to die in it in the service of his Lord. I recollect him saying, in my presence, in the beginning of the present year, to a gentleman who was about to sail for England: “I should esteem it one of the greatest calamities that could befall me to have to go home.” And he did so regard it. A few hours after his medical advisers had been with him, and had given it as their opinion that he ought to return to his native land, I called to see him. The moment I entered the room he burst out in a fit of the most heart-rending weeping, and speaking as soon as he was able, he said: “They have *condemned* me to go home.” It is true, that after this he became more reconciled to the measure; but still it was only the hope, that by going away for a season he might thereby be enabled to return to his labors with renewed vigor, that induced him at all to enter upon the voyage. How he felt and spoke during the last few days of his life, we do not as yet know; but this matters not. We need not a knowledge of the events of his closing hours to give us the assurance that it is now well with his meek, and gentle, and refined, and exalted spirit. There is indeed something painful in the occurrence that he should have died away from his home and his friends, and that his body, like that of Chamberlain and the first Mrs. Yates, should have been consigned to the sea; but neither does this matter. His soul is now above the troubled waters; and his body will, at the appointed time, be as certainly raised from the deep, as if it had been committed to the ground.

There has recently appeared from the pen of a lady, Mrs. Abdy, a beautiful little poem entitled: “May you Die among your Kindred,—An Oriental Benediction,”—verses which

when I read them the other day (and they were brought by the ship which announced Dr. Yates' death, and in fact, on which he died), I could not help imagining had been composed in anticipation of the melancholy event, and sent hither for the comfort of his sorrowing friends. With the reading of these lines, which will not occupy more than an additional three minutes of your time, I will now conclude, humbly apologizing for having detained you so long beyond the usual period allotted for worship.

MAY you die among your kindred :
May you rest your parting gaze
On the loved familiar faces
Of your young and happy days ;
May the voices whose kind greeting
To your infancy was dear
Pour lovingly, while life declines,
Their music on your ear.

May you die among your kindred :
May the friends you love the best
List to your failing accents,
And receive your last request,
Read your unuttered wishes,
On your changeful features dwell,
And mingle sighs of sorrow
With your falt'ring faint farewell.

May you die among your kindred :
May your peaceful grave be made .
In the quiet cool recesses
Of the grave-yard's hallowed shade ;
There may your loved ones wander
At the close of silent day,
Fair buds and fragrant blossoms
On the verdant turf to lay.

'Tis a tender benediction :
Yet methinks it lacks the power
To cast a true serenity
On life's last solemn hour.

Ye whom I love, I may not thus
Love's Christian part fulfil ;
List, while I ask for you a boon
More dear, more precious still.

So may you die that, though afar
From all your cherished ties,
Though strangers hear your dying words,
And close your dying eyes,
Ye shall not know desertion, since
Your Saviour shall be near,
To fill your fainting spirit with
The " love that casts out fear."

So may you die, so willingly
Submit your soul to God,
That evermore your kindred,
As they tread the path you trod,
May picture your existence
On a far-off heavenly shore,
And speak of you as one not " lost,"
But only " gone before."

So may you die that, when your death
To pious friends is known,
Each shall devoutly, meekly, wish
Such lot to be their own ;
Not heeding if you died in want,
In exile, or in pain,
But feeling that you died in faith,
And thus " to die is gain."

Dr. Yates was born at Loughborough, in England, December 15th, 1792 ; and, after being 30 years a missionary, died on the Red Sea, July 3d, 1845, aged 52 years and 7 months. His body was, eight hours after he expired, committed to the deep, in Latitude 19 North, and Longitude 39 East.

NOTE.

Whilst penning the few preceding remarks on the character of Dr. Yates, I felt that it was due to his memory to say something of him as a *Translator* ; but rather than attempt any thing of this kind myself, I judged it best to apply to the Rev. J. Wenger, who, more than any of us, has, for a number of years past, been particularly associated with the deceased in Biblical labors. In kind compliance with my request the following was handed to me,—a communication which, I think, will be read by all with peculiar interest :

“The remarks which I have to offer on the subject of Dr. Yates’s character as a Translator of the Scriptures refer exclusively to his Bengálí version of the Bible ; for in his labours in Hindustání, Hindí and Sanskrit, I took no active part, nor am I qualified to form an opinion respecting them.

“I was associated with him in October, 1839, almost immediately after my arrival in this country. The first work in which I took a part was the List of Biblical Proper Names in English and Bengálí, which he was anxious to see completed and printed before the Old Testament should be put to press. During the progress of that work I soon perceived that Dr. Yates was a man accustomed to labour with great expedition and imperturbable regularity, and that I should find it no easy matter to keep pace with him.

“About the beginning of March, 1840, the Old Testament was at length put to press : but the lamented death of the late Mr. Pearce, on whose assistance we had calculated, together with the difficulty of making a fair commencement in so great a work, seriously retarded our operations until the month of May. The manuscript put into the compositors’ hands, was the third transcript of the version, and it must have cost Dr. Yates an immense amount of labour to prepare it. We now, however, treated it simply as a version submitted to us for revision, improvement and publication ; and consequently we both

undertook, separately, to compare it with the original. In this I had to take the first turn ; and whenever I thought any passage was not correctly rendered, I used to write my remarks and to put down, in Roman characters, what I had to propose as an improved rendering, in the margin of the proof. These remarks were then forwarded to Dr. Yates, who weighed them, and either rejected or adopted or modified my proposed renderings. When a clean proof had been taken of this, he compared it with the original, and corrected accordingly, if I did not object. In this way we went once through the whole of the Old Testament, and a second time through the Psalms, the Proverbs, Isaiah and Daniel ; also once through the whole New Testament for the edition of 1841, and a second time through the Gospels, the Acts, and the first three Epistles for the edition which is now in the press.

“ During this process, extending over a space of more than five years, numerous subjects presented themselves, on which our opinions were at variance. Now, considering that Dr. Yates was my senior by many years, a thorough Hebrew and Greek scholar, well acquainted with the works of the ablest commentators, and infinitely my superior in point of acquaintance with the Bengálí, nothing would have been more natural for him than to have, in many instances, set aside my remarks, or attributed my strictures to youth and inexperience. But never once did I in this matter (nor indeed in any other) perceive any thing which approached to a shadow of pride. And considering that he had had all the trouble of originally preparing the version, it would not have been surprising, if he had occasionally felt hurt at my finding fault with his work : but never once did he show any such sensitiveness. If the version had been the work of a total stranger, I do not think he would or could have shown a more candid disposition in listening to what I had to say. It is true that once when I had stated in the margin of a passage in the New Testament, that many people strongly objected to his rendering of it, he wrote underneath, “ I know it, my son, I know it :” but this was owing to his firmness, not to

sensitiveness. So long as he himself could not see anything wrong in a passage, nothing could induce him to alter it. He shewed the most majestic disregard of all mere authority, whether of antiquity, or of numbers, or of a great name. He was shaken neither by clamour, not by friendship, nor by importunity. But from the moment he perceived that a passage was erroneously rendered, and discovered where the error lay, he was quite ready to make the requisite improvement. And in this matter he was most open to conviction : he would listen to and consider with the greatest candour any reasons that were offered, and when they failed to convince him the first time, he would allow me to repeat them again and again, before coming to a final decision. In fact his humility was quite as admirable as his firmness. He appeared to be sitting, like a child, at the feet of Truth, anxious to treasure up her every word and to yield implicit obedience to her commands.

“As a translator, his first and foremost characteristic was a sincere and conscientious desire to ascertain and express the true and full meaning of the original. He was most careful, I may say most scrupulous, in cross-questioning his Native Assistants, in order to find out whether the Bengálí words and phrases he used, did or did not convey to the Native mind exactly what he intended to say ; and he gave himself no rest until they did.

“A second object in his translations was to avoid all that was unmeaning, perplexing or superfluous. He tried to make the word of God plain, short, and sweet. And for this he had a peculiar talent. Often have I admired the beautiful simplicity, the transparent clearness, or the rich brevity of his renderings. And I have spent hundreds of hours in vain attempts to improve upon certain passages which I thought were not satisfactorily rendered. When I flattered myself with having succeeded in making them more exact, I found they had become unidiomatic, awkward and unintelligible ; and when I thought of abridging them, they became obscure. I am satisfied that those of his renderings which might, by some, be objected to,

are in many instances, the least objectionable of any of which the Bengálí language will admit.

“He also aimed at a style uniformly pure and dignified. He allowed of no vulgar expressions, and excluded with equal firmness of determination all high flown Sanskrit terms. ‘Will not be understood’ was the remark, by appending which he almost invariably condemned the use of such words, when suggested or defended by myself.

“That he was a perfect translator, I am far from affirming. I differ from the view he took of many passages. And sometimes he acted the part of an interpreter rather than that of a translator; but I am quite certain that he did so unconsciously, excepting those few places where a mere translator would talk mere nonsense.

“If, however, a finely balanced mind, endowed with splendid talents and enriched by solid and extensive erudition; if an immoveable firmness of conscientious conviction, rooted in an ardent love of truth, and chastened by humility unfeigned; if these qualities, accompanied by untiring industry, a tender conscience, and fervent prayer, constitute a biblical translator, then such a translator was William Yates.”

We append to the foregoing the following notices, respecting Dr. Yates and his literary labours, from the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* and the *Bengal Hurkaru*.

DEATH OF THE REV. W. Yates, D. D.

[From the *Calcutta Christian Advocate* of Aug. 9.]

We have this week to record the removal by death of one of the most devoted Christian Missionaries connected with Indian Missions,—The Rev. W. Yates, D. D. of the Baptist Mission in this city. The removal of such a man as Dr. Yates from the midst of us is no ordinary loss. He was not a common man. He was the property not of a party but of the Church, and his labors have to a great extent been useful to all. He has been in India upwards of thirty years, during which time he has been diligently and successfully engaged in his Master's cause. His labors in translation and in other literary and scholastic pursuits have

been of no ordinary character. The following list will afford some idea of his unwearied efforts in this important department of labor :

LITERARY WORKS AND SCHOOL BOOKS, ETC.

In English.—Essays in reply to Rámmohan Ráy ;—Memoirs of Chamberlain ;—Memoirs of Pearce ;—Theory of the Hindustání particle *ne* ;—Theory of the Hebrew verb, in the *Christian Observer*.

In Sanskrit.—A Grammar, the 2nd edition of which will be published in a few days ;—A Vocabulary ;—A Reader ;—Elements of Natural Philosophy ;—An expurgated edition of the Hitopadesh ;—The Nalodaya ;—A Dictionary, of which 672 pages are printed. The work will contain in all about 900 pages.

In Hindustání.—An Introduction to the language ;—Selections ;—Spelling Book I. and II. ;—Reader I. II. and III. ;—Pleasing Stories ;—Student's Assistant.

In Hindi.—Reader I. II. and III. ;—Elements of History.

In Arabic.—A Reader.

In Bengálí.—Pleasing Tales ;—Elements of Natural Philosophy ;—Epitome of History ;—Celebrated characters of Ancient History ;—Abridgement of Ferguson's Astronomy ;—An expurgated edition of the Hitopadesh ;—Sársangraha or Vernacular Class Book ;—An Introduction to the language with Selections—not yet printed, but nearly ready for press.

Religious works in Bengálí.—Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, part I. ;—Baxter's Call to the Unconverted.

BIBLICAL TRANSLATIONS.

Bengálí.—The whole Bible.

Sanskrit.—The New Testament ;—the Psalms ;—Proverbs, Genesis with 20 chapters of Exodus, Isaiah ;—and in MS. the whole Pentateuch ;—Job, the writings of Solomon, Daniel.

Hindí.—The New Testament.

Hindustání.—The New Testament.

DR. YATES, HIS LABORS AND THE GOVERNMENT.

[From the *Bengal Hurkaru*.]

We alluded, a few days back, to the death of Dr. Yates, on board the *Bentinck*, and then stated that we hoped to be able to present a detailed account of his valuable labours in this country. We give some parti-

culars from the *Christian Observer* and the *Christian Advocate*. We must offer a word or two ourselves, by way of calling the attention of Government to the claims of Dr. Yates's family.

We allude not to the excellence of his character : many excellent men, we are glad to say, have laboured usefully in this country : nor do we allude to his length of service as a Missionary in India—though few have worked as Dr. Yates worked in that capacity for 28 years. We allude not to these things, but to Dr. Yates's great and important services to Government and the people, and the cause of education, in his translations, in his grammars and dictionaries, and in his school books. Dr. Yates facilitated the progress of many in the vernacular languages ; he laid open the character of the Sanscrit language, and he worked for the School Book Society, which provides Government with school books for their Colleges. All this he did year after year with a patient industry which was peculiarly his own. He worked for others and not for himself, in a land whither nearly all men come to provide for themselves and their families, or to raise themselves in society. We have heard many speak of this good man with respect and honor : we never heard any one utter a word to his disparagement. He was a learned, humble, pious man, and was eminently a public benefactor. On this ground, therefore, we think that Government should not allow his family to be dependent merely on the small annuity of a Missionary Society. It would be an act highly honorable to the Government of India spontaneously to mark its sense of Dr. Yates's useful career. Such men ought not to be under the ban of public authority, or neglected by the country to whose welfare they devote themselves. Their families are placed in straitened circumstances, not through follies and extravagance, but simply through self-denial and devotion ; they die poor, not because they have no ability or industry to exert in public professions, but because they consecrate all their ability and all their energies to the great end of promoting true religion. It is an honorable thing to the British nation that it recognized the claims on its respect of Howard the philanthropist, and, in later times, of Dr. Morrison, in China. We do not see why the Indian Government cannot, with strict consistency, do honor to the memory of a man like Dr. Yates, who did so much to benefit the Indian people.

We do not speak thus in consequence of having received any intimation that pecuniary help is peculiarly needed by Dr. Yates's family—

although we believe the fact to be, that Dr. Yates never made, or sought to make money, and never had an income out of which it was possible to save any considerable sum : we speak spontaneously from a sense of justice, and because we have heard quite enough of Dr. Yates to cause us to revere his memory.

A P P E N D I X

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH

OF THE

REV. W. YATES, D. D.

AFTER the foregoing pages were printed, the following very interesting communication relative to the last illness and death of Dr. Yates came to hand. It was drawn up by the Rev. J. S. Wardlaw, Dr. Yates's fellow-passenger from Madras, and who with true Christian kindness and the greatest assiduity attended on him until he breathed forth his spirit into the hands of his Redeemer. The account given of Dr. Yates's illness and truly peaceful and happy death will be read with deep interest, and excite in many minds feelings of gratitude to God for the grace bestowed on his servant, and prompt the desire, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

Saloon of the "Oriental," July 12th, 1845.

It was my wish to have a letter in readiness to dispatch from Suez ; but I found that if I wrote to you before my arrival there, my communication must be extremely brief and hasty. I thought it better, therefore, to defer writing till now, as Captain Shortrede informed me that he was sending you a few lines, which seemed to render a little delay on my part a matter of no consequence. Some time before this reaches you his letter will bring the painful tidings of the removal by death of your much esteemed and highly valued colleague, the Rev. Dr.

Yates. About 2 o'clock on the morning of the 3d he slept in Jesus, and his spirit was numbered with the "spirits of the just made perfect." His end was *peace*. For *him* we cannot mourn. "Absent from the body" he is "present with the Lord." He has gone from *earth* to *heaven*, from the sorrows of this life to the joys which are at God's right hand, to the possession of that reward which the Saviour has promised to bestow on his faithful servants. But for *ourselves* we have cause to sorrow. An able and devoted labourer has been taken from the field,—one whose place will not be easily supplied. His loss will be universally deplored by those who feel an interest in the cause of Christ in India. To yourself and all immediately associated with him in the work of the Lord his removal will be a *severe* trial. I desire to express my deep and heartfelt sympathy with you, and more especially with those on whom the weight of this afflictive dispensation most heavily falls, his bereaved partner and others united to him by the tender ties of nature's affection. May the Lord sustain and comfort them. May they find his grace "sufficient" for them in this "time of need," and be enabled to say in humble and joyful resignation to his will, "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord!" He who has inflicted the wound is able and willing to pour the oil of heavenly consolation into the bleeding heart.

When I came on board at Madras I found that our dear brother, though rather better than when he left you, was still in a very *precarious* state. This made me feel anxious to be with him as much as possible, and, as far as my enfeebled health would permit, to minister to his wants. Every morning that it was in my power, I paid a visit to his cabin, and, when he was able to bear it, read the Scriptures to him and prayed. In the evening the state of my eye-sight prevented me from reading, but before he went to rest for the night I knelt beside him and offered up a short prayer, and it was seldom that he had strength for any thing more. He frequently said as I was leaving him, "Thank you, dear brother, for your kindness,"—while I felt it a privilege to be able to contribute in any way to his comfort. I was much with him at other times also, and the more I saw of him the more I loved him, and the more desirous I was to serve him.

After we sailed from Madras he continued, for a season, to improve. He was able to be a good deal on deck—the weather being fine. His spirits revived, and he seemed gradually to be gaining strength.

Hope was inspired that he would be permitted to see his native land ; and in the hope which others were fond to cherish he himself participated. He was, at the same time, entirely resigned to whatever the Lord might see fit to appoint. I happened, one morning, to read the 118th Psalm : when I had finished he repeated the 18th verse, " The Lord hath chastened me sore, but he hath not given me over unto death"—adding, " These are remarkable words, they seem so applicable to my case." " Yes," I replied, " the Lord has indeed stricken you sore, and I sincerely trust that he will not yet give you over unto death ; but we know not what may be the ordering of his providence." " No," said he, " and whatever *he* orders is for the best : I am entirely in His hands, and there I would leave myself. Let Him do what seemeth unto him good !"—It was only a few days after this that he had a severe relapse. On the night of the 20th June, Dr. Jones was called to see him. He found him alarmingly ill—suffering from a severe attack of the disease under which he had for many years laboured. The pain he endured was so violent, and the exhaustion caused by it so great, that had the attack continued much longer than it did, there is reason to think that he could not have survived it.

From this time all hopes of his reaching England were at an end, and fears began to be entertained that he would not live till we arrived at Suez—fears which were but too surely realized.*

When both Dr. Jones and Dr. Stevenson expressed their serious apprehensions as to the result, it seemed desirable to let him know their opinion, lest he should have any arrangements to make before his death. I agreed to do so—assured that the communication of such intelligence would not disturb the tranquillity of his mind. Nor did it. He seemed prepared for the information, and simply said—" The will of the Lord be done ! He is very gracious and I have no desire beyond his pleasure." Shortly after this he appeared to be fully sensible that the hour of his departure was at hand. As an evidence of this, and as a proof of the perfect composure with which he anticipated its arrival, I may mention that he put into my hand, one day, a small packet, saying—" This contains a likeness of the late Mr. DeRott : I shall feel

* Had our brother been spared to reach Suez it is my conviction that he never could have crossed the desert—even had he been as well as he was at the best. The experience of Captain Shortrede and others leads them to the same conclusion.

obliged if you will take care of it and deliver it to the Directors of your Society. I expected to have the pleasure of conveying it to them in person, but there is no likelihood of my doing so now." Throughout, his mind was perfectly calm and serene. Even in the moments of most poignant suffering (and he suffered much latterly) I never heard him "breathe a murmuring word." He seemed entirely reconciled to all that his Heavenly Father saw meet to lay upon him. I said to him on one occasion, "You are a great sufferer, dear brother." "Yes," he replied, "I suffer a good deal; but my *worst* sufferings are nothing compared with my desert, or with what my Saviour endured on my account:—and there is a glorious prospect in view. How beautiful," he continued, "is the language of the Apostle, 'our light affliction which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding, even an eternal weight of glory'—We have *glory* for *affliction*; The affliction is *light*, there is a *weight* of glory;—the affliction is *but for a moment*, the glory is *eternal*."

From the nature of his complaints it became necessary to administer powerful *opiates*. He was often unable, in consequence, to converse with me, but when he could give expression to his thoughts he continued to do so as one who had long felt the value of the great truths of the Gospel, and who had been accustomed to draw from them the consolation and joy which they are fitted and designed to impart. For himself he had no anxiety. It was manifest that death, in whatever form, had no terrors for him. He reposed with lively confidence on the grand doctrine of the cross, and the promises of a covenant-keeping God. I said to him one day, "The Saviour has declared 'I will never leave thee nor forsake thee'—you feel that he is true to his word?" "Oh yes," he replied, "he is with me now, and will be with me to the end, 'though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil for *thou* art with me, thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.'" He added, "I know in whom I have believed, and that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day." —If he had any anxiety at all, it was for those loved ones whom he was called to leave behind. But when speaking of them he said—" 'The Lord will provide.' It is the will of my Master to call me away and *he* will take care of those who remain. They are safe in his hands."

A few days before his death I asked him, as I was wont to do, on

entering his cabin, how he felt. He replied—"I feel that I am *sinking*. I fear I shall not be long with you now; but I can say with Job—'all the days of my appointed time will I wait till my change come.' " "And you can add," I continued, "with him, 'For I know that my Redeemer liveth.' "—He went on himself to the close of the passage—"and that at the latter day he will stand upon the earth: and though, after my skin, worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh I shall see God."—After a brief interval I repeated these words, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day;" adding—"you can adopt that language, cannot you?" He remained silent for a few moments and then said—"With many imperfections, with much that makes me feel myself an unprofitable servant, I have endeavoured, during my sojourn in India, to do my Master's will, and to fight in His cause." "And you feel," I continued, "that it is truly a *good* fight in which you have been engaged?" "Oh yes," he replied, "if I had a thousand lives I should deem them well spent in the service of Christ, and would willingly sacrifice them all for the sake of him 'who loved me and gave himself for me.' " "My only regret," he added, "is that I have been so soon called from the field."

The following morning I read the 40th chapter of Isaiah to him. As I closed he said, "I have found, and still find, in my experience, the truth of these words: 'They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary, and they shall walk and not faint.' " He then proceeded to speak, in a very pleasing way, of the peace of mind which he enjoyed in a sense of the Divine presence and favor; and in a simple and undoubting reliance on the wisdom and goodness of his heavenly Father. Afterwards I read the 15th chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians. When I had finished, I said, "You, dear brother, can adopt the language of the apostle—'Thanks be unto God who giveth us the victory.' " "Yes," he replied, "*Through Jesus Christ our Lord*," laying all the emphasis he could on the words. "There is," he continued, "an *ellipsis* of the sense in that verse, but it is easily supplied." He then stated clearly and beautifully (though his voice was so faint that I could scarcely catch what he said) "*how* we had the victory through Christ as 'having, by death, destroyed him

that had the power of death,' " dwelling especially on the *perfection* of his righteousness and the *all-sufficiency* of his atonement. After a pause he said, " Victory is a word full of glory. It is recorded of a great General, that on being wounded to death just as the enemy were about to flee he exclaimed, ' Mind not for *me*, the *victory* is won !' How much more may we exult in the consideration that the Redeemer has triumphed over death—the completeness of the conquest being strikingly expressed by himself ; ' I beheld Satan falling as lightning from heaven.' " He seemed to be much exhausted and I left him to repose a little.

During the two succeeding days I saw our dear brother frequently ; but, from the cause already mentioned, he was in such a state, that I had no opportunity of reading to him, or of conversing with him.

. On the morning of the 2nd July, I found him very far gone. He had begun to suffer from difficulty of respiration. " You are in great pain," I said, " but you enjoy tranquillity of mind ? " " Yes," he replied, " and I now long to be released. ' Come Lord Jesus, come quickly ! ' " I repeated these words—" I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord"—and asked him if he had the same delightful persuasion which the Apostle thus expressed. " Oh yes," he said, " it is here (laying his hand upon his heart) and it is deeply, immovably fixed." I then asked him if there was any particular portion of the Word of God which he would like to hear. He said, " You will oblige me by reading the translation of Elijah." I did so. I then read part of the 8th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans and engaged in prayer.—After which he said, " I feel that I must rest a little." I left him accordingly. He *dosed* nearly all day, so that I was unable to have any further conversation with him. About ten at night his servant came to tell me that he was much worse, and that Doctor Jones wished me to come and see him. I went immediately to his cabin. I saw that the hand of death was upon him. The difficulty of breathing had greatly increased, so much so that he could hardly articulate. He was perfectly sensible, however, and continued so till he breathed his last. " You are quite happy ? " I said. " Yes," he replied. " You rejoice in Christ Jesus ? " " Oh yes." " You suffer much outwardly

but there is perfect peace within?" "Yes." "All then is well?" "Yes."

I saw that it was difficult and even painful for him to answer my questions, and thought it better not to trouble him further. I then took my seat by his side to witness the final scene, and minister to his relief if it were in my power;—and I shall not soon forget the thrilling interest with which I watched over him—an interest rendered the more intense by the circumstances in which he was placed, at sea, and far from those dearest to him. During the few closing hours he was extremely restless, and never remained for any length of time in the same position. I expected a severe struggle, but there was *none*. An increased hardness of breathing told that the last moment was near. It ceased, and,—all was over! At ten o'clock in the morning his remains were conveyed to the silent deep. By the Captain's request I read the 'Burial Service' of the Church of England, as I felt that it was very appropriate in the case of our dear brother. The engines were stopped while I did so, and nearly all the passengers were present in token of their respect for the deceased.

The thought of his thus finding a grave in the dark waters may be painful to natural feeling. But grace can triumph over nature. We know that "the sea shall give up its dead;"—and, thanks be to God! we can say over the closing billow, as well as over the closing earth, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."

In looking at the mournful result, a regret may, perhaps, be felt, that our brother should ever have been sent away from his family and friends. But in sending him, both yourself and others acted for the best; and I can bear my testimony to the fact, that all was done for him on board which lay within the power of his medical attendant. We are thus called to regard the issue simply as the ordering of Him "Who doeth all things after the counsel of his own will." "Whose judgments are unsearchable and his ways past finding out."

It may be hard for us to acknowledge such a dispensation to be the dictate of *wisdom* and of *love*. Yet we are sure that it is. The Disposer of events is "too wise to err, too good to be unkind;" and when we come to look back upon time in the light of eternity we shall see that this, and every affliction in our lot, was only a part of the means

which his grace employed to make us “meet for the inheritance of the saints in light.” May the visitation of his hand be abundantly sanctified! May it prove effectual in leading those now in the field of labor to devote themselves more unreservedly than ever to the great work given them to do, and to unite more fervently than ever in the prayer that the “Lord of the harvest would send forth more labourers into his harvest.”

I must close. I feel that the account which I have given you of our dear brother's last illness is exceedingly imperfect, but you will make every allowance for me when you remember my position—*an invalid on ship-board*. Farewell! May the “Father of mercies” bless you!—and in duty and in trial may “the joy of the Lord be your strength.”

Believe me,

In Christian sympathy and love,

Ever faithfully and affectionately your's,

JOHN S. WARDLAW.

F U N E R A L S E R M O N

FOR

MRS. EVANS,

WIFE OF THE REV. W. W. EVANS, OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

PREACHED

IN THE CIRCULAR ROAD CHAPEL,

BY

A. LESLIE.

It will be necessary, in order to prevent all disappointment, that I should, in reference to the occasion which has now called us together, commence by telling you, what I have already more than once stated in this place, that I am not permitted to communicate to you any thing of the history or experience of our deceased friend, Mrs. Evans,—it having been her earnest and dying request, that nothing should be said of her after she was gone. Most sincerely do I regret this prohibition ; for assuredly her history was one that would not only bear being told, but would, if fairly exhibited, be greatly to the praise of the rich, the free, the sovereign, the converting and the sanctifying grace of God, and would, also, with His blessing, be not a little useful to us who are left behind. No great crime would, I apprehend, be committed in the evading of her request, and this especially as no promise was given to her of compliance ; but I, for one, do not feel at present, as if I could altogether neglect a dying wish, and particularly the wish of one who was so much beloved by us as was Mrs. Evans. Allow me, however, to direct your attention to a passage of Scripture, by the illustrating of which, I think I shall be able to exhibit to you traits of character the very counterpart of those which so eminently appeared in her.

Acts ix. 36—39. *Now, there was at Joppa, a certain disciple, named Tabitha, which, by interpretation, is called Dorcas, this woman was full of good works, and alms-deeds which she did. And it came to pass in those days that she was sick, and died : whom, when they had washed, they laid in an upper cham-*

ber. And forasmuch as Lydda was nigh to Joppa, and the disciples had heard that Peter was there, they sent unto him two men, desiring him that he would not delay to come to them. Then Peter arose, and went with them. When he was come they brought him into the upper chamber : and all the widows stood by him weeping, and shewing the coats and garments which Dorcas had made while she was with them.

I. Nothing here, nor in what remains of the narrative, is told us of the early history of Tabitha or Dorcas. Enough, however, is stated to warrant us in the making of such conjectures as will, I think, be admitted by all to be sufficiently probable. Her name and her place of residence indicate that she was by birth a descendant of the faithful Abraham; and all that is mentioned of her doings, renders it evident that she was a daughter in whom the patriarch would have much delighted. As not more than five or six years had elapsed from the time of Christ's appearance in public to that of Tabitha's death, and as this short period would scarcely account for the formation and the gaining of such a character as appears to have belonged to her, we feel inclined to the conclusion, that she must have been one of those Jewish females, (of whom there were not a few,) who, like Anna at the temple, most longingly looked for the coming of the Messiah, and who, when he did appear, most ardently embraced him as their Lord and their Saviour. This prospective faith of theirs having been of the same holy nature with our own, was, in all probability, the origin of the greater part of what was so excellent in the conduct of Tabitha.

In what I have now said, I have attributed to the faith of Tabitha but a part only of her good works; for I do not forget that, in the formation of such characters as hers, the influence of example has commonly had no ordinary share. May we not, therefore, with some degree of probability, suppose, that Tabitha had been favoured with a pious mother,—a mother who had labored to form her mind, and who had accustomed her to the practice of all those benevolent acts for which she was afterwards so much distinguished. But whether this were so in the case of Tabitha or not, such was the favored lot of our deeply lamented friend, Mrs. Evans. She had a mother who was, not only to all her children, but to a great part of society around her, a pattern of every thing that was good: and so blessed was this holy woman in the influence she exerted, that the most, if not the whole, of her numerous family, have arisen to be most useful and honorable in the world, and two of them to be preachers of the glorious gospel. Let all parents, therefore, and especially all mothers, mark this and remember

it. Children are oftentimes the most servile imitators of their parents; and particularly daughters of their mothers. Where, therefore, the female part of a household are abandoned to frivolity and to vanity, it will, in the majority of instances, be found that they have been accustomed to listen to remarks made by the maternal lips such as never should have been uttered; to have had ideas instilled into their minds such as never should have been spoken; to have been the witnesses of deeds such as never should have been performed; to have been ushered into companies and places such as never should have been entered; to have been allowed to have as associates and friends such as should have been most carefully avoided; and to have been permitted in the indulgence of habits such as should have been most firmly resisted. But let this pass, and let us come again to Tabitha.

II. We have spoken of her early history: let us now notice what may be gleaned from the narrative respecting the qualities of her mind. And of these enough is intimated to us to make us to be almost fully acquainted with her, and if we have any taste at all, exceedingly to admire her. In order to bring out her mental peculiarities into view, it will be necessary for us to recollect that it was a custom among the Jews, as it was also among the Greeks and Romans, frequently to change the names of individuals, when arrived at maturity, for others indicative of the qualities, mental or bodily, with which they shewed themselves to be endowed. I do not know that this was the fact in the instance before us; but from the whole complexion of the narrative I am strongly inclined to believe that such was the case. She was, says the text, “named Tabitha, which, by interpretation is called Dorcas,” that is, a doe, or a hind, or a deer,—a creature in every way pleasant both to the eye and to the mind. And to females among the Jews this name may, in all probability, have been given, in reference to the words of Solomon who, when speaking of a wife of youth, says of her, though employing a different word from that used in the verses before us: “Let her be as the loving hind, or as the pleasant roe.” Now, if my conjecture be correct as to the change, in after life, of the name, it will follow, that our Tabitha must, at least, have been very graceful in person, whatever she might have been in mind. But of the excellence of the latter we have no reason whatever to doubt. The acts of her life proclaim the benevolence of her heart. And as this is a virtue usually found in combination with others, it may, perhaps, be permitted us to imagine what, in several other respects, may have been the mental qualities of Tabitha.

May we not, therefore, in the *first* place, suppose, that along with her benevolence of mind there was a perpetual flow of the greatest sweetness of temper? I know, indeed, that the two are not always, nor necessarily, conjoined; but I, at the same time, know that they are seldom apart. At any rate, few, I am persuaded, will be found who could bring themselves to believe, that in one who was as the loving hind and as the pleasant roe, there could have been any thing like sourness of spirit. The throng of people into her room at her death, and the tears shed over her by the daughters of affliction, shew that she must have been most heartily loved: and I cannot for a single moment imagine that it was in the power of her charities alone to produce such a gush of mournful tenderness. The manifestation of liberality will, no doubt, stir up a spirit of gratitude; but it requires the exhibition of sweetness of temper to call forth the warmth of affection. And how lovely is the latter in all, and especially in woman! What a beauty it imparts to her features, and what a charm it gives to her society! A house where there is this, is a home indeed, though it should be only a hovel; and a dwelling destitute of this, is a prison indeed, though it should be in reality a palace!

But shall we not, in the *second* place, ascribe to Tabitha a temper happy as well as a temper sweet? A person may be thoroughly mild, gentle and inoffensive, and yet be destitute of every thing like an open and happy cheerfulness. There may be no pettishness, no fretfulness, and no anger, and yet there may be such a degree of reservedness, of silence, of coldness and of gloominess, as may have a painful and an almost repelling effect on all who come within the circle of its influence. But we can imagine nothing of this kind to have belonged to Tabitha. Her very name inclines us to believe, that she was not only a woman happy in herself, but one who studied the attractive art of rendering her happiness diffusive,—attending to all, whether old or young, whether rich or poor, who happened to be near her; having a kind word to say unto each; listening with a sincere and interested air to whatever was addressed to her by any; overlooking none because of their poverty, their unpolished speech, or the awkwardness of their manners; and utterly forgetting herself in her attempts to make the whole of her company comfortable and easy. This in such an insincere, and rude and scorning world as ours, is a character of no ordinary worth; and when it does appear, all are delighted; and when removed, all are distressed.

But, in addition to this, shall we not, in the *third* place, commingle with Tabitha's temper of sweetness and happiness,

a thinking and a speaking well of all, and an envying of none ? This is the very essence of benevolence,—nay, it is benevolence itself. Who can imagine in a Tabitha, that is, in one who was as the loving hind and as the pleasant roe, anything like the manifestations of slander, of detraction, of ill-natured remark, or of evil-speaking in any form ? Or who, for a moment, can suppose, that in the superior elevation, the better fortune, or the greater adornment of any of her neighbours, there was anything like the exhibition of discontent, of jealousy, of mortification, or of envy ? Of every thing like this, there must, or she belied her name, have been in Tabitha the most thorough negation. Unquestionably no one's character ever suffered from her. The most charitable construction was continually put upon the doings of all. And where it was not possible to speak in laudatory terms, the most strict and imperturbable silence was constantly maintained. The success and the welfare of any of her acquaintances were to her matters of the greatest happiness and joy ; and the adversities and sorrows of others, causes of the deepest sympathy and regret.

Such, I think, must have been the mental qualities of Tabitha. We have no evidence whatever that she was distinguished for any thing like wittiness of remark, for strength of reasoning, or for interesting conversational powers. These, in all probability, never belonged to her. But there could not possibly have been wanting, in one whose death was so loudly lamented, an air of kindliness, a display of cheerfulness, an exhibition of amiableness, and a freedom of manner, such as could not have failed to have made all her guests, her associates and her visitors to think more highly of humanity than perhaps they were accustomed to do. And is such a character as this unattainable by all, excepting by a highly favored few ? Who with the 13th chapter of 1st Corinthians open before him will hazard such an assertion ? Besides, have we not ourselves seen the whole of these excellencies embodied in the very place where God has caused us to dwell ? And is it not, therefore, worth while for all, and especially for females, to be the imitators and possessors of so much loveliness ? O what a different scene this our world would present, were all, in their several circles, to be what, from our text, we have ground for believing Tabitha to have been !

III. But Tabitha was celebrated for something even higher than for the excellent qualities of her mind. Our text says of her, that she “ was full of good works and alms-deeds which she did.” Of the latter we are told somewhat, but of the former nothing. The narrative, however, will favor us in

the making of some such conjectures respecting them, as will not, we hope, be considered either improbable or useless.

And, in the *first* place, may we not attribute to Tabitha, since we are told that she had a house of her own, the good work of the entertaining of the saints of God, and especially of those who might occasionally happen to be sojourners in the seaport of Joppa,—a town, which, from its position, was most likely, a place of considerable resort? Hospitality was a virtue extensively practised in the early period of the church; and of so much importance is it in the estimation of the Spirit of God, that he has enjoined it upon all Christians to the end of the world. And can we suppose, that in Tabitha, who was as the loving hind and as the pleasant roe, there could have been any thing like a neglect of that which was not only a command, but of that which, to such a heart as hers, must have been one of the sweetest luxuries of life? Depend upon it, that she not only most heartily threw open her doors to the Christian friend and the stranger, but that she most diligently labored to make them as much at home as she could,—studying their various wants, providing for them the best which she was able to afford, and striving to make them feel that they, by their company, rather conferred a favor upon her, than she, by her hospitality, an obligation upon them.

And may we not, in the *second* place, include also among Tabitha's good works, a kind and constant visiting of such of her friends and acquaintances as happened to be sick or dying in the town of her abode? Her very name seems to intimate, that neither the remoteness of her dwelling, nor the heat of the sun by day, nor the dampness of the dews by night, ever operated upon her as obstacles to her being by the bed-sides of those whom she thought would, in all probability, be the better for her sympathies, her attentions and her cares. A love of ease, and an unconcernedness about the sorrowful and the suffering, could have made no part of the composition of the heart of one who was as the loving hind and the pleasant roe. There never could have been any saying: "O *I* can do nothing! Others are there! *My* presence and services are neither looked for, nor needed! Besides, *my* health, and *my* state altogether, demand that *I* should take care of myself!"

And, in addition to this, may we not, in the *third* place, ascribe to Tabitha, a laboring to her very utmost to diffuse a knowledge of the precious word of the Lord among all those to whom she had an opportunity of communicating it? As it does not appear that she had any children of her own, is it going too much out of our way to suppose, that she, occasionally at least, devoted herself to the embuing of the young

and the ignorant in her neighbourhood with an acquaintance with those Scriptures which made Timothy wise unto salvation; to the fitting of them, both by her teachings and her example, for the useful if not for the ornamental in life; and to the giving of them many valuable hints for their future guidance and comfort in passing through the world? I know not that she presided over a school, nor is it likely that she did: but had this been her vocation, can we imagine any thing other in the case of one who was as the loving hind and the pleasant roe, than that the very sight of her was a source of gladness to her pupils, her presence among them a cause of delight, and her absence from them, especially when sickness was the obstacle, a ground of depression and of gloom? All this and more than all this, we may truthfully imagine; for all this, and more than all this, has been seen in the reality in the midst of ourselves.

IV. But whether Tabitha had much to do with the young or not, we know from the narrative, that she had not a little to do with the mature in years; for thus speaks the word: "And when Peter was come, they brought him into the upper chamber: and all the widows stood by him weeping and shewing the coats and garments which Dorcas made while she was with them." If we were left to indulge in imagination as to what might have been the good works of Tabitha, we are not so situated as it respects her deeds of charity. Omitting however, much that might be said about them, let the two following observations suffice:

1st. Works such as hers, and labors so extensive, seem plainly to tell us, that Tabitha must have been an uncommon economist of time. If it be even certain that she had no family of her own on whom to attend, yet having had a house of her own, and that house having, in all likelihood, been much frequented by the widow and the fatherless, to say nothing of the stranger and the friend, it is clear, that she must have had many things of a domestic nature about which to occupy her thoughts. But whatever was the amount of these, she nevertheless found time to make, with her own hands, a variety of raiment for the poor. And she, in all probability, the rather engaged in the labor herself than hired others to do so, *just* that she might be enabled to clothe more than she might otherwise have been competent to do. But whether we are right in this conjecture or not, it is obvious, that she must, from what she accomplished, have been exceedingly careful about the odds and ends of her time. She could have been no dozer away of her days, nor could she have spent many of her moments in needless visiting and in unprofitable talk. Will

it be too much to infer that, when she was well, she spent at least five or six hours of every day of her life in works of benevolence and mercy?

2nd. But not only must Tabitha have been no common economist of her time, but she must also have been no common economist of her money. Not a word is said of her that would lead us to the conclusion that she abounded in wealth. It is likely enough that she was in easy and comfortable circumstances; but nothing beyond. To have been able, therefore, to have clothed so many of the destitute as she did, it is certain, that she must have spent but little upon herself, and still less upon the vanities and shews of the world. She could not, for instance, have decked herself out in fine and gay clothing, nor could she have adorned herself in ornaments of silver, of gold and of precious stones. Women who do this have usually little to spare for the poor; and, from the quantity of time commonly consumed in arraying themselves, they have seldom any of this commodity left for the clothing of the naked. Neat and becoming, no doubt, Tabitha always was; but gaudy and fine she never could have been.

V. But there is yet another particular narrated of Tabitha which must not be overlooked, and that is, she was a Christian. She is here called “a disciple,”—a name which, in her case at least, implies conversion, profession and docility of mind.

1. At what period of her life, or by what means she was brought to the knowledge of the truth, or what, on the occurrence of this important event, were the peculiar exercises of her mind, we are nowhere told. Indeed, it is, not at all unlikely, that, from a spirit of the deepest humility, and from an unwillingness to say a word of herself, she studiously kept all such matters in the dark. She could not, however, conceal the fact that the change had been most thoroughly accomplished. There were evidences of this in every disposition which she manifested, and in every action which she performed. She was emphatically a disciple in *deed* and in *truth*.

2. And conversion having thus been most surely effected, it displayed itself in the leading of her publicly to take up her cross and to follow her Lord. The whole town of Joppa knew as well that Tabitha was a Christian as she did herself, and perhaps somewhat better than she did herself. At what age she was enrolled among the members of Christ's flock we have no means of ascertaining; but let all the young now present know, and let them lay it also deeply to the heart, that there has recently been another among them, who, besides our lamented friend Dr. Yates, was admitted to the communion of the church at the early age of 14 years.

3. And having thus been admitted as a member of the church of Christ, Tabitha was there as "a disciple," that is, as a learner, as one who was seeking instruction in the ways of the Lord. And this having been her character, she, we may be sure, was never absent from any of the meetings of the saints. Neither wind, nor rain, nor company, nor a little sickness, were ever, in all likelihood, excuses with her. The word read or spoken, must, too, have received her closest attention, have been treasured up in her mind, have been afterwards the frequent subject of her talk, and have often, in that upper room of hers, (such apartments being always, among the Jews, places of devotion,) afforded her matter for application in behalf of herself and others. Her designation, also, forbids the thought, that she could ever have been guilty of thrusting her peculiar opinions upon others, or of dogmatizing upon any topic which might be discussed in her presence. On the contrary, there must have been in her a watching to know, and no little pleasure felt and manifested when her information was increased.

And that she was indeed all which we have stated her to have been, is strikingly obvious from every thing that transpired on the occasion of her death. No sooner is it known abroad, that the spirit of Tabitha has left its clay tenement, than there is instantly a rush to her house. Disciples are immediately there who wash, dress and prepare the body for the tomb. Others are there who without any delay, run off the distance of 12 or 14 miles to Lydda to acquaint Peter with the event. And a host of widows are there who, when the apostle comes, shew to him, with tears in their eyes, the coats and garments which Dorcas made while she was with them. Such occurrences as these are strong and unequivocal proofs of the real excellence of Tabitha's life, and of the estimation in which she was held by the poor and the worthy.

But to bring all to a conclusion,—who does not see, in this character of Tabitha, the power and the nature of the converting and sanctifying grace of God? If we even allow that Tabitha was naturally a person of great amiability, of great gentleness, and of great benevolence of mind, still, I think, it will be readily admitted, that she could not have been all that she appears to have been, without having had her heart affected by the Spirit of God. Without this, she could not, for instance, have been a disciple; nor, do I think that without this, she could have been so distinguished for her good works and her alms-deeds as it is obvious she was. To Him, therefore, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift, be the whole glory of all that was so excellent and so praise-

worthy in Tabitha. It becomes, however, a serious question whether the converting and sanctifying grace of God does or does not, in every instance in which it is bestowed, produce in a greater or in a less degree all the blessed effects to which your attention has been called. If the Bible be appealed to, the matter is plain. What, then, are we to say of those persons who have never become disciples, and who have never made a profession of faith in Christ? And what of those, who, though they may have done so, are yet churlish in their dispositions, slanderous in their speech, unkind in their conduct, selfish in their doings, and careless of both the souls and the bodies of those who are about them? Must they in truth, be all pronounced destitute of the grace that saves? Yes. Such must be the declaration. They are yet unconverted! They are yet in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity! And they are yet exposed to all the despair and horror of the lost! If I have erred in ascribing so much of good to Tabitha, yet I have not, as many of you know, been all the time exhibiting to you a mere *fancy picture*. I have only been describing to you what, with your own eyes, you have recently seen. And why, after the residence of five short years, has the original, in all its loveliness, been removed from our midst? Has it been that we were too unworthy to have more of her company? Yea, rather has it not been, that, feeling the greatness of our loss, we may think more of the beauty of holiness, learn more to admire it, and be more effectually aroused to become the imitators of those who through faith and patience now inherit the promises?

And who does not see, also, in the character of Tabitha, what is that line of action which is of the greatest worth in the estimation of God. Tabitha was not, as we have already had occasion to notice, a woman of mere contemplative piety. On the contrary, she was just what Jesus Christ himself was,—a person of real activity, continually going about doing good, not living to herself, but seeking perpetually the welfare of others. No oration could have been made over her dead body dilating on the powers of her mind, or on her achievements in literature; but an oration much better than this was actually made in the tears of the widows, and in the exhibition of the coats and the garments which she had made while she was yet with them. And God, in the events which immediately followed,—events on which I have no time left to make any remark,—most clearly demonstrated how valuable he judged such a life as Tabitha's to be to the world. It is for usefulness rather than for any thing else that he detains his people upon earth; for thus does he speak: "Ye

have not chosen me, but I have chosen you, and ordained you, that ye should go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should remain."

And let it, in conclusion, be once more observed, that the character of Tabitha is one that may be imitated by all. All cannot be characterized for mental attainments, but all may be distinguished for works that are good, and for deeds that are charitable. And happy will they be who are thus approved at the last. Of them it will be said by one who can neither mistake nor misjudge: "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them."

Mrs. Evans was born in England, and died in Calcutta, October 3, 1845. Aged 38 years.

A TRIBUTE

TO THE MEMORY OF A BELOVED FRIEND.

SHE sleepeth in Jesus; her sorrows are o'er,
Nor grief, nor temptation, can harass her more,
Her spirit, no longer a tenant of clay,
Now basks in the sunshine of immortal day.

How peaceful her slumbers! then dare I repine,
That she was first called from the turmoil of time,
To inherit the mansion prepared in the skies,
Where cares never weary, nor sorrows arise?

But O, to my heart, beloved friend, thou wast dear,
And as mem'ry recalls thee, affection's fond tear
I cannot repress, though I love thee too well
To wish thou couldst once more resume thy clay cell.

No, rather would I, in the vista, behold
That day when my Saviour to me will unfold
The glories of Heaven, then meet thee at home,
No longer a stranger and pilgrim to roam.

That mercy which taught thee in life's early morn
To flee to the Saviour, did sweetly adorn
Thy subsequent course with each lovely grace,
But to Him will we render the full meed of praise.

For could we behold thee before the bright throne
Casting low at his footstool thy blood-purchased crown,
And catch of thy heavenly song but the theme
It would give *all* the praise and the glory to Him.

O yes, in that chorus no self-praise is heard,
To Grace rich and free all the honor's referred ;
Let us join even now to sing the glad song,
And soon in notes sweeter the lay we'll prolong.

M. T.

October, 1845.

TWO SERMONS
ON THE
G O S P E L M E S S A G E
AND
CHRISTIAN ORDINANCES,
PREACHED AT
GOWAHATI AND NOWGONG, ASAM, IN NOV. 1846.

BY NATHAN BROWN, A. M.
MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.

"It is always a suspicious thing when men seek to win your acquiescence, or your neutrality, not by satisfying you on the merits of the question at issue, but by making you regard it with indifference; nor can any habit of mind be more dangerous, in practical religion, than that which would lead you to set aside or supersede any inquiry, as insignificant, instead of setting yourselves to determine it, under the guidance of the Spirit, and by the standard of the Word of God."—*Pastoral Letter of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, July, 1845.*

SIBSAGOR, ASAM:
PRINTED AT THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSION PRESS.
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O. T. CUTLER, *Printer.*

INTRODUCTION.

It was not the design of the writer, in preparing the following discourses, to add any thing new to the arguments contained in the many excellent works which have been published on the subject of Christian ordinances; but simply to present his hearers with a scriptural view of their **NATURE** and **PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE**, as connected with **FAITH IN CHRIST**, the only foundation of the sinner's hope. While the advocates of Formalism, in their hostility to evangelical doctrines, are endeavoring to exalt the efficacy of the sacraments beyond all scriptural limits, it is to be feared that many good men have been led into the opposite extreme of depreciating these rites below their proper position in the Gospel economy. While the former are exclusively and vehemently urging those passages which are supposed to favor their peculiar tenets, it must also be confessed that the latter refer to these portions of scripture with an infrequency and reluctance, which show that their own views, in relation to the importance of the ordinances, are not in accordance with the teachings of the New Testament. There is, if we mistake not, at the present day, a growing disposition, among several denominations of Protestant Christians, to regard positive institutions with comparative indifference. The frequent practice of quoting the words of our Savior's commission thus: *He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned*; betrays a disrelish for the part omitted that cannot be justified. Such exhortations as that of

Peter, Repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins; or of Ananias to Paul, Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins; are seldom quoted, unless it be in a modified form, or for the purpose of explaining them away; as if these were dangerous passages, that belonged not to the friends of evangelical truth, but were to be left for the use of its opponents. We believe, on the contrary, that there is an appropriateness and consistency, a force and a beauty in every portion of God's word, when understood in the sense it was intended to convey; and we deem it safe to use, without abridgment or qualification, the same exhortations now, that were used, by divine inspiration, in the times of Peter and Paul.

A few notes, mostly selected, have been added in an Appendix, to show that the statements advanced, in reference to matters of fact, are sustained by history, and the concurrent testimony of ecclesiastical writers.

S E R M O N I .

THE GOSPEL MESSAGE. *

“Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature: he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.”

* MARK xvi. 15, 16.

YOU are aware, my hearers, of the solemn occasion on which these words were uttered. They are the farewell message of the Savior of sinners to a ruined world. - Our blessed Lord had finished a life of suffering and sorrow; he had sunk in the agonies of death upon the cross; after having lain for three days in the cold and gloomy grave, he had arisen, no more encompassed with human infirmities, but clothed with omnipotence—the Lord of all power in heaven and on earth; and now, preparatory to his ascension to the right hand of the Majesty on high, he had gathered his little band of followers, to receive his parting blessing, and his final message of mercy to all the lands and tribes and tongues of this habitable world. Standing thus upon the boundary line that separates earth and heaven, what were the momentous truths selected by our Savior, as most important for his followers, to be

* Preached at Gowahati, Asam, Nov. 1, 1846, on the Sabbath preceding the administration of the ordinance of Baptism.

kept in memory till the end of time? *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature: he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.* This is the message, my friends, and this is the commission, with which I appear before you this night. Shall I then venture to amend or alter a single word of the solemn message? Shall I venture to call any part of this my Lord's command non-essential? Shall I erase the word *baptize* from the former clause, and read, *He that believeth shall be saved?* Or shall I insert the word *baptize* in the latter clause also, and affirm, *He that believeth not, and he that is not baptized, shall be damned?* God forbid that I should add or diminish a single iota, either from the promise or the threatening. Fearful is the responsibility of that minister of the Gospel, who ventures to pass over, or cast into the shade, any part of the divine message. Sooner let my right hand perish, than I would put my finger on any portion of my Lord's command, and pronounce it non-essential. No, the Gospel which we have received, that will we preach, in its fullness as well as its freeness.

In treating of the Gospel message, we propose to arrange our observations under four heads.

- I. Inquire *what it is to believe.*
- II. *What it is to be baptized.*
- III. *Why faith and baptism are conjoined, as the conditions of salvation.*
- IV. *Why damnation is predicated of unbelief only.*

- I. *What is faith, or believing in Christ?*

Here it is necessary to keep in mind an important distinction.

There are two kinds of faith—a living faith, and a dead faith. By the latter we mean a mere speculative assent to the truths of the Bible, that produces no effect upon the heart and life. This kind of faith is useless. It is not the faith required in the text. A man's belief may be perfectly orthodox on every point of Christian doctrine, and still his heart be as cold as an iceberg in the northern seas. What says the apostle James of this kind of faith? "Thou believest that there is one God; thou doest well, the devils also believe and tremble." Yes, thousands in our world are deluding themselves with the idea that they believe in Christ, when their faith is not a whit better than that of the fiends in hell. Ask them if they believe themselves to be sinners, and they will tell you, "Yes, I know I am a sinner;" but their hearts are all the while like a block of marble, and the tear of anguish never steals down their cheek. Do you believe in Christ as your only Savior, and do you really love him? "Of course I do," will be the ready reply; but not one warm throb of bursting gratitude does the Savior behold in that icy breast. Such individuals may be very exact in performing their religious duties; witness the regularity of their devotions, the solemn words they take upon their tongues, and you would suppose them real and faithful servants of God; but their hearts are not in it; they have merely schooled themselves into a system of formalism; there is nothing spontaneous, no outbursting of strong emotion, no living, breathing reality in their devotion—nothing but the icy stillness of spiritual death. Look at them again when their devotions are ended, and see with what eagerness and delight they engage in the pursuits of the world; and you will be convinced in a moment, that it is the WORLD they

love; there centre their warm affections; and were it not for the calls of duty, or custom, or a troubled conscience, they would never lend a thought to God and heaven.

This dead faith comes naturally. It grows up with nominal Christians from their childhood. Ask them when they first believed in Christ, and they will tell you they have always believed in him; not remembering that *we are all by nature the children of wrath*; that the *carnal or natural mind is enmity against God*, and needs to be *renewed by the Holy Ghost*. They cannot say, in the language of the man that was born blind, "One thing I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see."

Very different is the faith, or belief, spoken of in the text—that living faith which saves the soul. To believe in Christ is to *trust in him*—to have *confidence in his promises*, so strong as to surrender both soul and body into his hands, for time and for eternity—to *embrace him as our Savior*, with a warm and joyful love. This faith is connected with *repentance*. Sin looks hateful; and this not merely because it exposes to punishment. The penitent believer would not desire to indulge in sin, if he could do so with impunity. His heart breaks with sorrow to think of his offences against God. He would give worlds that he had not committed them. This distress varies in different individuals. Sometimes days, or weeks, or perhaps months are spent in the most intense anguish, before any satisfactory hope of pardon is obtained. In other cases the word and Spirit descend upon the soul like the gently falling dew; the message is heard, believed, obeyed; and the willing convert at once arises and is baptized, and goes on his way rejoicing.

But however diverse the manner, the change is always manifested by a life of obedience. Repentance and reformation always go together. The first question of a believer is, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" And he not only *inquires* what God would have him do, but he *does* it. No matter what the duty is—however difficult or trying it may be—though it may lead him to the ends of the earth—though it may bring his head to the block, or his body to the flaming fire; if he is a real believer in the eternal promises of God, he will not confer with flesh and blood, but will unhesitatingly obey. He is directed to build an ark for the salvation of himself and family from an approaching deluge; he believes the word, and toils on, for a hundred and twenty years, amid the scorn and scoffs of the whole world. He is commanded to take an only son, and offer him up for a burnt offering; and wonderful to behold! he goes to a distant mountain, and raises the knife to slay his darling child. He hears the voice of God calling him away from the palace of a Pharaoh; and esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt, he rises and obeys. He sees the fiery furnace heated for his reception; and with an unfaltering voice he declares in the presence of an infuriated monarch, "Our God whom we serve will deliver us out of thy hand, O king." The den of lions is decreed for the worshipers of Jehovah; and he goes into his chamber, opens his windows, and prays three times a day, as he had done aforetime. These, it may be said, are extraordinary examples; they are so, but the same spirit exists on earth still; there are thousands and thousands of humble Christians at the present day, who would follow the ancient martyrs to the dungeon or the stake, sooner than they would violate

their consciences, or swerve from their duty to their God. Thousands, do I say? Yes, every one who is a true believer, however faint and feeble, would, if pushed to extremity, choose affliction, persecution and death, with the people of God, rather than dishonor his heavenly calling by disobeying any known command. My dear friends, examine yourselves, whether you be in this faith; deal justly and truly with your own souls; and decide, as for eternity, which of the two kinds of faith it is that you possess—a living faith, like that of all God's people, or a dead faith, that will only lull your consciences, and finally fix your state in a world of everlasting woe.

II. We come to the second inquiry, *What is Christian baptism?* I unhesitatingly answer, it is the baptism of *penitent believers*. “He that *believeth* and is baptized.” The baptism of an unbeliever is not Christian baptism. The baptism of an unconscious babe is not Christian baptism. God has no where commanded it. It was unknown in the primitive church. The proofs of this position are too numerous to present at large in this discourse; nor is it necessary that I should enter minutely into the subject, as the New Testament is so explicit on this point; in addition to which the many excellent works that have been written on the subject, with ancient records, providentially preserved, furnish conclusive evidence as to the practice of the early church. I will however briefly state a few of the most striking facts, which have produced in my mind the full conviction, that infant baptism is not an institution of Christ.

1. When this rite was first introduced by John the Baptist, at the commencement of the Christian dispensation, he informed his

hearers that their title to the ordinance did not come by natural generation; that their being the descendants of a pious ancestor, which entitled them to admission into the Jewish church, was no qualification for the church of Christ. "Bring forth fruits meet for repentance; and think not to say within yourselves, we have Abraham to our father; for I say unto you that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham." Accordingly it is recorded of those who received baptism at his hands, that "they were all baptized of him in the river of Jordan, *confessing their sins.*" Hence it is obvious that John did not baptize infants.*

2. That the practice of our Savior and his disciples was the same, appears clear from the fact, that when little children were brought to Christ for his blessing, he did not baptize them. Had it been his intention that the rite should be applied to infants, he would certainly not have omitted it on this appropriate occasion; but instead of baptizing them, or directing his disciples to do so, we are informed that "he laid his hands on them, and departed thence." Besides, had the disciples been in the constant habit of baptizing infants with their parents, (for we read that they baptized more disciples than John,) it is incredible that they should have rebuked those who brought these children to Christ.

3. The practice of the apostles after Christ's ascension, was the same; it was only believers that they baptized—"both men and women," not infants; those that "gladly received the word," and such alone, were considered members of the Christian church. Some have supposed that when the Philippian jailer was baptized

* See Appendix, Note A.

with all his household, there must have been infants among them; but this we find was not the case, for we read that he “believed in God with all his house.” Crispus also “believed on the Lord with all his house;” the household of Stephanas are said to have “ad-dicted themselves to the ministry of the saints;” the household of Lydia are spoken of as “brethren,” i. e. disciples, whom Paul “comforted.”

4. Throughout the whole New Testament the Christian church is represented as a “spiritual house,” a building composed of “live-ly stones”—of such as are “new creatures,” “children of God by faith in Christ Jesus;”—those who, having been “buried with Christ in baptism, have also *risen with him* through the *faith* of the ope-ration of God, who hath raised him from the dead;”—those who are saved, not by baptism as an outward cleansing, but as “the answer, or profession, of a good conscience towards God.” 1 Pet. iii. 21.

The scriptures being thus clear, we are under no necessity of go-ing further. We profess to believe that the scriptures are a full and sufficient rule both of our faith and practice. But as those who practice infant baptism appeal to tradition and history, it may be well for a moment to examine this point also. What then do we find from history was the practice of the ancient church? Ask the learned divines of Germany, who have devoted their lives to the study of the early Christian writings and the history of the church; among whom is Neander, the most eminent ecclesiastical his-torian now living; and they assure us that infant baptism was un-known in the time of the apostles. These writers cannot be sus-pected of partiality to Baptist sentiments, since they uphold in-fant baptism, as a useful institution, though not of divine appoint-

ment. With their reasons of policy for retaining a human invention, we have nothing to do; *our* only question is, What did Christ command, and what did the primitive church practice?*

But to state a few striking and unquestioned facts. We know from history that St. Ambrose, St. Jerome and St. Austin, in the fourth century, were all born of Christian parents, yet none of them were baptized in infancy. The same fact is recorded of several successive Roman emperors, subsequent to the establishment of Christianity, who, though born of Christian parents, did not receive baptism till after they had arrived at manhood. Is it possible then that at this period the custom of infant baptism could have been prevalent? St. Chrysostom, born of Christian parents in the year 347, was not baptized till twenty-one years of age. Gregory Nazianzen, born in the year 318, whose parents were Christians, and *his father a bishop*, was not baptized till about thirty years of age. These are facts that cannot be disputed; the persons named are among the most distinguished of the fathers; and the conclusion is inevitable, that infant baptism could not, at that period, have been the established custom of the Christian church. The first baptism of an infant recorded in history, is that of the dying son of the Emperor Valens, in the year 370.†

2. Another remarkable fact is, that the early British Christians did not practice infant baptism. It is known that Christianity was introduced into Britain very early—some have supposed as early as the times of the apostles. Four hundred years afterwards, when Austin was sent from Rome to convert the Saxons, it is recorded that he gathered a synod of the British Christians, and propounded

* Note B. † Note C.

unto them these three things: "1. That ye keep Easter in due form and time as it is ordained. 2. That ye give Christendom to children; and 3. That ye preach unto the Angles the word of God; as aforetime I have exhorted you." To these three propositions the British Christians would not assent. It is obvious therefore that they knew nothing of infant baptism—they would not give *Christendom to children*.*

3. The records of persecuting Rome show, that during the ascendancy of the Romish hierarchy, from the end of the fourth century down to the period of the Reformation, one of the grand charges against the various bodies of Christians whom they regarded as *heretics*, but whom we acknowledge as the "NOBLE ARMY OF MARTYRS"—one of the principal charges against these persecuted and scattered churches, was that they denied the baptism of infants. There are also extant several confessions of the Waldenses and Albigenses, in which they avow their adherence to believers' baptism alone. These were the true successors of the apostles; their bishops, though driven with their flocks to the dens and caves of the mountains, maintained in its purity the faith once delivered to the saints; and through them have the worship and ordinances of Christ's house been preserved, unmixed with the corruptions of the Romish church, from the time of the apostles to the present day.†

We see therefore, both from scripture and from history, that the proper subjects of baptism are believers alone. Let us further inquire, *What is baptism*, in regard to its *form*?—what is the true import of the term? You are aware that *baptize* is a Greek

* Note D. † Note E.

word; to the Greeks then let us go, to ascertain its proper meaning. If they universally consider the term to mean *washing*, or *pouring*, or *sprinkling*, it is probable that such will be its original meaning. What then do the Greeks understand by baptism? IMMERSION. Wherever the Greek church has extended its influence, there immersion has ever been practiced. No Greek will acknowledge sprinkling or pouring to be baptism; consequently he regards the various sects of Protestant Pedobaptists as unbaptized. To confirm us in this interpretation of the word *baptize*, we have the usage of Greek writers in all ages, who invariably use the term in the sense of *plunging*, or *overwhelming*.

Having ascertained the meaning of the Greek word, we are prepared to read the accounts of the administration of this ordinance in the New Testament; and there we find all the circumstances in exact accordance with the idea of immersion. John baptized *in a river*, the Jordan; near Enon, because there was *much water* there; the candidates *went down into the water*, and *came up out of the water*, which would have been quite unnecessary if they were merely sprinkled.

But we may be sure that baptism is immersion, because it is a symbol of Christ's burial and resurrection. "Know ye not," says the Apostle Paul to the Romans, "that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Therefore we are *buried with him by baptism* into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life." And again to the Colossians, "*Buried with him in baptism*, wherein also ye are

risen with him through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead." Now to speak of being buried with Christ by sprinkling, or pouring, or any thing short of immersion, would be manifestly absurd.*

Oh how solemn and glorious is this ordinance, when administered to a penitent believer, in accordance with the primitive example! When the witnessing assembly gathers around the water side, where prayer is wont to be made—when the willing convert, by this solemn act of submission, in the presence of God, of angels and of men, renounces forever the pomps and pleasures and vanities of this present world; and in token of his death to sin and his rising to newness of life, follows his adorable Redeemer down into the waves of Jordan, and is there buried with him, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost! Happy, happy, happy beyond expression, is the soul that with a sincere and willing obedience takes this solemn vow, and receives this solemn seal of the Savior's pardoning love! He is not ashamed to confess Christ before men; and him shall Christ also confess before the angels of God.

Such, my friends, is the command of Christ to every one of us; and we know with what a solemn emphasis he has said, "If ye love me, *keep my commandments.*" But if we substitute something else in place of the divine institution—some human invention, after the traditions of men, and not after Christ—however zealous or devout we may be in other duties, how can we expect to meet the approbation of Him who assures us that "*to obey* is better

* Note F.

than sacrifice, and to *hearken* than the fat of rams?" Let me exhort you, my dear friends, not thus to trifle with Christ's commands, nor ever countenance that awful profanation by which ordinances designed for believers only, are applied to careless impenitent sinners, and to unconscious babes!

Ever to be regretted is it that the Protestant Reformers, in renouncing the innovations of the Romish church, should have spared this one remnant of human tradition, and instead of taking the simple Bible for their guide, should have lent their sanction to infant sprinkling—a rite which destroys the simplicity and purity of the Christian church; and through which, instead of a holy spiritual building, we now behold a mixture of iron and clay—of the precious and the vile—believers and unbelievers, yoked together in unequal and unscriptural union. However harmless infant baptism may at first sight appear, it has hung like a dead weight on the vital prosperity of the Protestant cause; and wherever this one relic of Popery remains, there we find it insensibly dragging back the churches to the arms of the Romish faith, or lulling them into formality and worldliness. There is no safety—no safety from the most fatal errors, but by taking the pure, unadulterated word of God, as the rule of our faith and practice. And let us, my friends, thus take it, and cleave to it with the zeal of the martyrs; and when told that baptism is a matter of indifference, a mere ceremony, that may be dispensed with or altered, as expediency may dictate; then let us steel our hearts against the insidious seduction and firmly answer, If believers' baptism was of sufficient importance for Christ to command, it is of sufficient importance for me to obey; wherever I discern the foot-

prints of my Master, there will I follow; and no human persuasion shall induce me to swerve from the ancient path.

III. We come now to our third inquiry, *Why faith and baptism are conjoined, as the conditions of salvation.*

In all those passages where faith and baptism are conjoined, we must remember that faith is the *substance*, baptism the *sign*; faith is the *inward*, baptism the *outward* act of obedience; faith is the *possession* of God's grace, baptism its *profession* before men; faith is the *ground* of justification, baptism its *evidence*. The meaning of the text is therefore nearly the same as if it had been said, He that believes and acts accordingly—he that believes and obeys—he that believes and manifests his faith by his works—shall be saved.

With this view of the text, we suppose baptism to be selected from among the various Christian duties, as the representative of the whole. This we know is the manner of scripture. The commands of God are exceeding broad. "Thou shalt not kill"—prohibits anger, malice, hatred, and the like. So when Christ would select a single act to represent the whole circle of Christian duties, he chooses baptism—the solemn initiatory act of obedience—and on this ordinance, in connection with faith, he bestows the promise of salvation. And why should baptism, more than prayer, or the Lord's supper, or public worship, or any other part of Christian duty, be thus distinguished? The answer is, that baptism being the first outward act of obedience—the symbolic entrance upon a new life—the door of admission into the visible church—the solemn vow of allegiance to Christ, and the pledge of devotion to his service through life; it was peculiarly

fit that it should be honored as the representative of Christian duties. Shall we then say that other duties are less essential to salvation? No; "teach them to observe **ALL THINGS whatsoever I have commanded you.**" The omission of any known duty, however small, if unrepented of, will expose us to final condemnation; for if we are unwilling to follow Christ fully, we are not following him at all. "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me." "And whosoever doth not bear his cross and come after me, cannot be my disciple."

Nothing is more strongly and repeatedly insisted on by Christ, as a condition of discipleship, than the full surrender of ourselves to him. The Savior requires a whole-hearted obedience. He will not have us shun the cross, or put our hand to the plough and look back. Alas, alas, for the half-hearted Christian, that clings to the hope of heaven with one hand, while with the other he is grasping after pleasures and honor—guided by the love of ease and convenience, and by the maxims and customs of this world; that endeavors to secure salvation at as cheap a rate as possible, instead of throwing his whole soul into his Master's service—instead of laboring for his glory with a warm and passionate devotion. Hear the language of Christ to the church of Laodicea: "Because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth."

Let us bear in mind the conclusion to which we have arrived—that the text, in its extended and proper import, signifies not merely, *he that believeth and is baptized*, but he that believes and obeys *all his Lord's commands*, so far as he is able to dis-

cover them,—shall be saved. The design of the former portion of the verse being thus clear, we proceed

IV. To inquire, lastly, *Why the threatening of damnation is applied to unbelief only*: “He that believeth not—shall be damned.” Why does it not read, He that believeth not, and he *that is not baptized*, shall be damned? Because the doctrine is not true. The omission is evidently intentional; and the unavoidable inference is, that some will be saved without baptism. Shall we then understand the words of Christ according to their obvious design; or shall we go to the fathers, to Cyprian, Augustine and others, who maintained that without baptism salvation was impossible? Thus laying the foundation for infant baptism; and finally consigning over to eternal perdition even unconscious babes, should they die before they had received the rite. The idea that the Almighty will punish an unconscious infant with everlasting damnation, for no fault of its own, but solely for the ignorance or neglect of its parents, is a doctrine truly horrible; worthy of the very darkest of the dark ages; worthy of the Molochs of paganism; but that professed Christians of the nineteenth century should entertain such revolting ideas of the character of God—of that just and holy Being who has assured us that the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father—is indeed most melancholy!

But the text has, in reality, no reference to infants at all; if it had, their condition would be hopeless, for we know they are incapable of believing; so whether baptized or not, the declaration, “He that believeth not shall be damned,” would be decisive against them. We find however, that the text is spoken only of

those to whom the message should be delivered ; those who were capable of hearing, understanding and believing it. Among these, we have no doubt, are a countless multitude of Christ's chosen ones, who, though dying unbaptized, will be found on the right hand at the judgment day. Such are those who from physical causes are unable to receive the ordinance, as the thief on the cross, who repented in his dying moments, and was the same day received into Paradise. Such are pious individuals of certain sects who sincerely though erroneously believe that water baptism is not required of us in the scriptures. Such are those who conscientiously believe that their having been christened in infancy is sufficient. Persuaded that what their fathers have practiced for so many generations must be scriptural, they entertain no doubt that sprinkling is baptism, and that it is rightly applied both to believers and their children. To suppose that unconscious errors, arising from causes like these, will be ranked with acts of positive transgression by an impartial Judge, were the height of sectarian bigotry. No, blessed and happy is the portion of the righteous, of every name and denomination, who have embraced the Savior, and obey him according to the light they possess!

But we must remember that the errors of others cannot be an excuse for us. The question for us is, Have we honestly endeavored to ascertain the will of Christ, and then have we yielded obedience? If any one would be conscientious in regard to the duty of baptism, let him go to the Bible, and with all

the light he can obtain, endeavor, not to find arguments for his own practice, but to ascertain the real doctrine and practice of Christ and his apostles; and determine within himself, Whatever I find here, that will I conform to; whatever I discover in my own practice that is wrong, that will I instantly renounce; I say, let an individual examine the Bible in this spirit, and when he can conscientiously say, I fully believe that I have been *baptized*, according to the original institution; then, and not till then, can he lie down to rest upon his pillow, in the enjoyment of a happy composure, and a sense of the divine approbation. But if he shrinks from the examination; if he dreads to search for fear of finding himself in error; gloom and darkness, doubt and distress will gather over his mind, and the happy assurance of God's favor will be withdrawn.

In conclusion, let me urge upon you, my friends, the importance of accepting the invitations of the Gospel; of believing on the Lord Jesus Christ, as the only and all-sufficient ground of hope for perishing sinners. The Gospel message is one of infinite mercy and infinite love; it cost a Savior's agony and tears; it cost a Savior's dying groans. That Savior is worthy of your everlasting love; yes, he is the object of love and delight to all the glorious hosts of heaven; ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands of mighty angels worship him on his glorious throne, saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and wisdom, and riches, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing. This, my dying

fellow sinner, is the Being that stretches out his arms to you; his kind inviting voice is now addressing you, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls; for my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." Oh come unto him! He is the only Being, in heaven or earth, that can make you happy. Come, and your soul shall live! Come, and you shall have a refuge when this world is on fire! Come, and your feet shall tread the streets of gold; your hands shall hold an angel's harp; your brow shall glitter with the sparkling diadems of an immortal crown; you shall see the King in his beauty; you shall be singing in glory, when millions and millions of ages shall have passed away—millions and millions of ages after the iron gates of hell shall be closed upon the workers of iniquity!

I have delivered the message. I trust it has been according to the truth of God; I trust the doctrines you have heard this night will, in every important particular, stand the test of the judgment day. I trust I can say with Paul, We have not walked in craftiness, or handled the word of God deceitfully; but by manifestation of the truth, have commended ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. And if the truth, my dear hearers, has been commended to your consciences, I exhort you to yield a willing and ready obedience, and embrace the Lord Jesus Christ, as your God and Portion

evermore. Oh do not linger, and hesitate, and stifle the still small voice that now whispers within your hearts. "To-day, after so long a time; as it is said, To-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts." Yes, dying sinner, to-day, this very night, even this moment, while the message is sounding in your ears, lift up the silent prayer, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" . . . And may the Lord Almighty hear that feeble prayer, and write your name in the Book of eternal Life! Amen.

S E R M O N I I .

OUTWARD ORDINANCES SYMBOLICAL.*

ROMANS ii. 28, 29.

"He is not a Jew which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God."

IT is for the most part through the medium of sensible objects that the human mind acquires an idea of spiritual things. Many of the most important truths of religion, if presented in their naked reality, it would no doubt be impossible for us, in our present state, to comprehend. We only acquire a partial knowledge of them by similitude and comparison. God has accommodated himself to this imperfection of our minds, in the revelation which he has made of his will. He has clothed the truths of eternity in the dress of time. He has translated, so to speak, spiritual and infinite realities into the dialect of finite and imperfect mortals. To convey to us the momentous truths of another world with more distinctness, he has instituted the language of signs—earthly symbols, shadowing forth and tracing

* Preached at Nowgong, Nov. 29, 1846, previous to the administration of the ordinance of baptism to ten candidates; one of whom was the eldest daughter of the Rev. Mr. Bronson, aged nine years, and six were pupils of the Nowgong Orphan Institution.

on the mind the images of spiritual things. From the fall of man, sacrifices were ordained and preserved as a part of worship, for the purpose of teaching more impressively the need of an atonement for sins, and the doctrine that without the shedding of blood there can be no remission. In this way mankind, and especially the Jews, were prepared to understand the necessity of Christ's propitiatory sacrifice; and in every country where the custom of sacrifices has been preserved, we have a medium of expression, through which we can convey to the minds of men the plan of redemption through the merits of our Savior's blood.

Among the various rites through which religious truths were communicated and impressed upon the minds of the Jews, circumcision occupied a prominent rank. This was the distinguishing badge by which the posterity of Abraham were separated from the corruptions and idolatry of surrounding nations, and preserved as a distinct and peculiar people. Circumcision was an emblem of moral purity. From the words of our text we learn that, as a symbol, its ultimate and chief reference was to the heart; that in this respect the outward sign was useless, without the inward spiritual purity which it shadowed forth; that in the sight of God, he only was a Jew, who was such in a spiritual sense; that the true and real circumcision was that of the heart, not of the flesh; in the spirit, and not in the letter.

We see then that the ritual institutions enjoined in the scriptures have a double import; or rather consist of two parts, the outward and the inward—the sign and the thing signified; that

the latter is by far the most important; insomuch so, that the outward observance, if unaccompanied by the inward reality, is accounted as nothing; the circumcision of the flesh is regarded as no circumcision, unless there be with it the circumcision of the spirit also. That men have ever been disposed to magnify the outward ordinance, and rest in the literal, while neglecting the spiritual part, will not alter the truth of God. Though millions of the Jews rested in the outward observance of their religious rites, as if this were all that could be required of them, yet God regarded all those as heathen, who with the outward rites mingled not also a pure and penitent heart.

The doctrine of the text we conceive to be this: That outward ordinances are the symbols of inward and spiritual blessings. In the text the apostle applies this doctrine to the Jewish rite of circumcision; our present object is to apply the same argument to the two Christian ordinances, baptism and the Lord's supper. The reasoning of the apostle is manifestly applicable to all external rites, Christian as well as Jewish.

I. In applying the words of Paul to the ordinance of baptism, we design to draw no parallel between that and the rite of circumcision. That the two are entirely different institutions is clear; though some learned men have endeavored to prove their identity. In one important respect they are similar; as circumcision was the distinguishing mark which separated the Jewish people from Gentile nations, so baptism is the peculiar mark designed to distinguish the members of the Christian church from the unconverted world. In other

respects the two rites exhibit a strong contrast; circumcision was applied to the natural seed of Abraham, baptism is applied only to the spiritual seed of Christ; baptism is an act of personal faith, circumcision was the seal of the faith of Abraham; the subjects of circumcision were only males, the subjects of baptism are believing men and women. That baptism is not the same ordinance as circumcision, nor a substitute for it, is plain from the fact that John baptized those who had been circumcised; an unmeaning repetition, if the two rites were identical. Christ was both circumcised and baptized. That the apostles knew nothing of the substitution of one rite for the other, appears from the long discussion in regard to the observance of circumcision recorded in the 15th chapter of Acts; when a knowledge of the fact that baptism had come in the room of circumcision, would have settled the disputed question in a moment. We find however that their decision was based on entirely different ground, namely, that circumcision was unnecessary, since the Mosaic ritual was not to be introduced into the Christian church. Paul also in his epistles distinctly informs us, that the hand-writing of ordinances which was against us, is blotted out, (Col. 2: 14); that Christ has abolished, not altered, the law of commandments contained in Jewish ordinances. Eph. 2: 15.

We proceed therefore* to the consideration of baptism, as the outward symbol of an inward and spiritual grace; and that grace we find to be *regeneration*. Regeneration, or conversion to God, was inculcated by John in his first establishment of this rite, under the term *repentance*, or *reformation*, which he preach-

ed as the indispensable qualification for baptism; nor, with the single exception of our Savior, who submitted to this rite as an example, did he ever baptize any; but upon confession of their sins, and a credible profession of an inward change. Hence his baptism is called "the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins;" repentance was the inward reality—the condition upon which sins were remitted; baptism the outward symbol and seal of this remission to the believer's conscience. Our Savior inculcates the same doctrine, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven;" where we have the two parts of the Christian character distinctly brought to view—the inward, or being born of the Spirit, which is regeneration in its proper sense; and the outward, or baptism, the symbol of this new birth—the figurative regeneration, by which we enter into the visible church of Christ's professed people. The kingdom of heaven, like the ordinance, consists of two parts; the inward spiritual kingdom, into which we enter by the converting influences of the Holy Ghost, and the outward visible kingdom or church of Christ, into which we enter by the initiatory rite of baptism.* The apostles regarded baptism and regeneration in this connected view; hence we sometimes find them speaking of salvation and the remission of sins as being dependent on baptism; by which we are to understand, that as our sins are removed, in reality, by the inward regeneration of the Holy Ghost, so, they are, symbolically, and by outward profession, washed

* This passage is susceptible of a different interpretation, which excludes all reference to baptism; but the common acceptation appears more natural, and better accords with other passages of a similar nature.

away in the external rite of baptism. In this combined sense, Peter gives the exhortation, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." Acts 2: 38. Ananias says to Paul, "Why tarriest thou? Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord." Acts 22: 16. Are we then to infer that the outward ordinance of baptism procures the remission of sins, or that water can wash away the stains of a guilty conscience? By no means. It is regeneration, or the baptism of the Spirit, which alone can effect the remission of sins; it is the union of this with the external rite, that gives the latter its only value, and secures for it the promised blessing; the inward repentance joined with outward obedience; the spiritual cleansing as the foundation, the outward baptism as a profession that we cast off and renounce our sins, and being washed from their defilement, enter on a life of purity and holiness. In like manner Peter, speaking of the salvation of Noah in the ark, after observing that "the like figure, even baptism, doth also now save us," (1 Pet. 3: 21,) lest his language should be misunderstood, immediately adds this explanation: "not the putting away the filth of the flesh"—it is not this outward act that has any efficacy—"but the answer of a good conscience towards God"—obedience and profession of our faith in Christ—it is this that secures the promise of salvation.

Sometimes instead of *repentance* and baptism, we find *belief* or *faith* enjoined, as the inward grace of which baptism is the emblem. The meaning however is the same, repentance

and faith being inseparable—and both constituting regeneration, or the new birth required by the scriptures. Hence Philip said to the eunuch, If thou *believest* with all thy heart, thou mayest be baptized. Those who *believed* Philip preaching at Samaria were baptized. The Philippian jailer *believed* and was baptized. Crispus and other Corinthians hearing the word, *believed* and were baptized. These expressions are in accordance with the commission given by Christ, He that *believeth* and is baptized, shall be saved. Other terms expressive of regeneration are occasionally used; thus they that *gladly received the word* were baptized. Acts 2: 41. Of Lydia it is said, the Lord *opened her heart*, and she was baptized. Acts 16: 14, 15. Of Cornelius and his friends Peter says, Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have *received the Holy Ghost*? Acts 10: 47. In all these, passages we see both baptism and regeneration conjoined, the one as the substance, the other as the symbol. Keeping this distinction in mind, several passages of scripture, over which many Christians have stumbled, become perfectly clear; and if, on the one hand, they show us that baptism is not that unimportant non-essential ceremony which some suppose, they also show us that it *is* by no means to be substituted for regeneration, and is not capable, in itself, of communicating any grace or virtue whatsoever.

The doctrine we have been endeavoring to substantiate, is clearly exhibited by Paul, in his epistle to the Romans: “Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him

by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection. Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin." Rom. 6: 3—6. To the Colossians he says, "In whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ. Buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him, through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead." Col. 2: 11, 12.

In these two passages we have a most full and extended view of the symbolical import of baptism; showing forth our death to sin, by the burial of our bodies beneath the baptismal waters, as an emblem of Christ's death and burial; and our resurrection to a life of holiness, by our again emerging from the water, in resemblance of Christ's rising from the grave. These two passages are so plain, that it would seem impossible for any candid inquirer to mistake either the typical nature of baptism, or the mode in which the ordinance is administered. If in baptism we are buried, it must certainly be by immersion; if baptism is an emblem of Christ's burial, then it must be in some mode that shall conceal the body for a time from human view; and, as if to make the similitude still more strong, it is likened to the planting of a seed in the earth, where it is concealed from sight until the new plant comes forth, an emblem

of the new-born Christian's life. And as these texts proclaim immersion, with a plainness and precision that no human ingenuity can evade or explain away, so do they in terms equally precise show forth the inward and spiritual design of the ordinance, and confirm, beyond the possibility of a doubt, the idea that baptism is but a figure—an emblem—by which a believer professes his death to sin, the renunciation of his old and corrupt nature, and his entrance upon a holy life; his being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God which liveth and abideth forever. Alas, alas, how spiritually blind and dead are they, who rest in the outward ceremony—who trust in it as a saving ordinance, while the inward regeneration to a pure and holy spiritual life, which this ordinance is intended to teach and to impress upon us, is entirely overlooked, or treated as chimerical!

II. We have examined the nature of that ordinance by which the new birth of the believer is symbolized; we come now to the consideration of the second New Testament ordinance, representing the means by which the life of this new-born Christian is sustained. This is the ordinance of the *Lord's supper*, in which the outward visible signs are bread and wine—emblematic of the body and blood of Christ offered up as a sacrifice for our sins, and embodying the great doctrine, that faith in this atoning sacrifice is the means by which we obtain supplies of grace, to nourish the spiritual life we have received.

How important, how glorious is this doctrine! As the body cannot live without food and drink, so neither can the soul that

is born into the kingdom of heaven live without constant supplies of that spiritual food which came down from heaven, and which Christ informs us is his flesh, his body, which he has given for the life of the world. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day." John 6: 53, 54. Is any one so dark of understanding as not to perceive that this language is figurative? That it is used to denote an act of faith—an act of the mind, and not of the body? Can any one imagine that the hearers of Christ literally ate his flesh and drank his blood? It appears, indeed, that some of them were stumbled at his language—they did not comprehend the nature of the great atoning sacrifice which he was about to make upon the cross; hence they said, "This is a hard saying, who can hear it?" Jesus then informed them of the spiritual nature of the doctrine at which they were offended. "It is the *spirit* that quickeneth, the *flesh* profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you, they are *spirit*, and they are life." John 6: 63. But if Christ's hearers were inexcusable for not understanding this language before his death, how much more unreasonable are they who, at the present day, with the New Testament in their hands, can tell us that the material lips and mouth of mortal man receive and eat the very flesh and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ! How painful the thought, that thousands and thousands, believing in this absurd doctrine, and building upon it their everlasting hopes, should neglect the great reality—the spiritual reception by faith of that

atonement which alone can give the sinner life and peace. But we are referred to the words of our Lord, "This is my body, and this is my blood." Are we then to believe that the bread which Christ held in his hand was actually his own body? That the wine in the cup was really his blood? Were the disciples so unused to metaphorical language, and so ignorant of divine things, as to understand these expressions literally? Then when he told them he was the door, they must have understood that he was really and truly a door; when he said he was the vine, they must have understood that he was so literally; that he was actually a vine—a plant of the earth—of which his disciples were the living, growing branches. Such childish perversions of the figurative language of the Bible, it would be absurd to mention, were not the doctrine of transubstantiation, or the conversion of the sacramental bread and wine into the real "body and blood, soul and divinity" of our Lord, enjoined upon the greater part of Christendom, to be believed on pain of eternal damnation! And even the learned doctors of a Protestant church, in this nineteenth century, can sit down in their studies, and concoct books and tracts that are an outrage upon common sense, for the purpose of bringing back all that remains of the Reformation into the foul embraces of the church of Rome—that great whore that "sitteth upon many waters," who has made herself "drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus." Yes, and we are told that as baptism washes away sins in the first instance, so it is through the instrumentality of bread and wine, which have been duly con-

secrated on the sacramental altar by a regular priesthood of Popish descent,* that sins subsequent to baptism are expiated and forgiven. We bless God that our descent and doctrines come through a different channel—even through those scattered and persecuted flocks, who sealed their testimony with their blood, and handed it down uncorrupted to posterity—those true and faithful witnesses, slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held—whose souls John beheld under the altar, and who cried with* a loud voice, saying, “How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?” Rev. 6: 10.

The ordinance of the Lord’s supper was instituted by our Savior on the night previous to his crucifixion, as a rite commemorative of the offering up of that “one sacrifice for sins,” by which “he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified.” Heb. 10: 12, 14. This do, said the Savior, *in remembrance of me*. These words sufficiently show that it was emblematical. “For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord’s death till he come.” 1 Cor. 11: 26. *This is my body—this is my blood*; that is, these are the symbols of my body and blood—means whereby you are to call my sufferings to remembrance—figures to remind you that it is by faith in my atoning sacrifice, that spiritual life is communicated and maintained in your souls. “The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion (the common partaking) of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion (the common par-

* Note G.

taking) of the body of Christ?" 1 Cor. 10 : 16. The import of these passages is obvious, that as bread and wine nourish the body, so the soul obtains spiritual nourishment, when by faith it feeds on the body and blood of our crucified Redeemer. Without a spiritual discernment of the Lord's body, a mere outward participation of the Lord's supper is an act of presumption, and involves the unworthy partaker in awful guilt. "Whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord;" that is, he is guilty of profaning the symbols of Christ's body and blood. "For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation (rather, *condemnation*, or *punishment*,) to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." 1 Cor. 11 : 29. Without faith then, the outward symbols are useless, and worse than useless; nor can they be profaned by unconverted persons without incurring fearful guilt.

From the remarks which have now been made on the symbolical nature of the two Gospel ordinances, instituted by Christ for the observance of his disciples, we proceed to draw a few practical inferences.

1. We see the error of administering baptism before regeneration. If baptism be the outward sign of admission into the kingdom of heaven, and the seal of the inward pardon and regeneration of the soul, the impropriety of applying it to those who are dead in trespasses and sins is evident. If Christ's church is a spiritual building,—composed of lively stones, then how great is the guilt of those ministers who knowingly introduce into this church such as have no place

there; those who, so far from repenting and believing in the Lord Jesus Christ, are for the most part unconscious infants, that are incapable of exercising either repentance or faith. And is there not a fearful responsibility incurred by those Christians who remain in a corrupt and worldly church, and lend the weight of their practice and example to sustain an unscriptural union of saints and sinners, contrary to the solemn exhortation of the apostle: "Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers; for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? And what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? Or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?" 2 Cor. 6 : 14, 15.

2. We see from the remarks which have been made, the order of the two symbolic ordinances of the New Testament; baptism first, and afterwards the Lord's supper. As we are first born into the world, and then receive the nourishment adapted to sustain these bodies; so we are first baptized—receive the symbol of the new birth, and then partake of the emblems of that spiritual food by which our new inward life is to be preserved. Hence we are baptized but once, as we are once born; but the reception of the sacramental supper is frequent, to show that we need constant supplies of spiritual nourishment to sustain our souls in the divine life. Some have maintained that it is a matter of indifference which rite is received first, baptism or the Lord's supper; but there is a beauty in outward symbols, as well as a harmony in inward realities; and to receive the symbol of spiritual food before we have received the symbol of the new birth, is to destroy the

beauty and significancy of these lovely rites, which Christ has instituted for the regulation of his house. We find the apostles always observed the order of the two sacraments; first baptism, and then the breaking of bread; converts were baptized and added to the church, and then they continued steadfast in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and prayers.

3. We see from the symbolical nature of baptism, the impropriety of anabaptism, that is, baptizing a person the second time; for as we can be born but once in a natural sense, and but once in a spiritual sense, so in a symbolical sense we can enter the visible church by baptism only once. We also see the error of the Greek church in practicing trine immersion, baptizing in the name of each person of the Trinity. This involves the idea of three births, and thus destroys the significancy of the emblem. It is moreover chargeable with making an unwarrantable distinction in the Godhead, for we are not baptized in the name of three Gods, but of one God. Accordingly, in many passages of the New Testament, we find the expressions, "Baptized into *Christ*;" "baptized in the name of the *Lord Jesus*;"—conveying the idea of but one baptism, though there can be no doubt that it was administered, according to Christ's direction, in the name of the Trinity.

4. As we have seen the danger of making baptism a saving ordinance—the appointed and sole channel of converting grace,—so we remark, finally, the error of those who consider the right administration of this ordinance as a matter of little consequence, and who speak of it as non-essential—not neces-

sary to salvation. We may well be shocked at the irreverence of selecting any of God's commands and pronouncing them non-essential, for most assuredly they are not so. We know from the whole tenor of scripture, that obedience to every divine command is, in ordinary circumstances, essential to salvation. The only exception is, where the omission arises from unconscious ignorance or inability, and not from an unwilling heart. If the wilful eating of an apple ruined the whole race of Adam—if among the Jews the uncircumcised person was to be cut off from the congregation of the Lord, we may be sure that under the Christian dispensation no known command of the Savior can be violated with impunity. Where the duty of baptism is made known to the conscience of an individual, obedience is just as essential as prayer, the observance of the sabbath, or any other duty.

The solemn nature of the Christian ordinances will indeed make us shrink from a rash and unprepared participation of these sacred rites. Both the sacraments, as we have seen, point to the sufferings of Christ; the one to his mangled body and flowing blood; the other to his death and burial in the gloomy grave—to his triumphant resurrection and ascension to the right hand of his almighty Father, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. It is fit that guilty mortals should approach these divine symbols with fear and trembling. To profess in the sight of God, of angels and of men, our death to sin and our resurrection to a holy life, requires a more than human strength—a more than human faith. Yet we see the lambs of the flock—yea, even little children

with a full understanding of the solemn obligation, descend with a firm step and a joyful heart into the emblematic grave—there to be buried with their Lord and Master, and thence to rise with him, to a new and happy life, in which sin shall no more have dominion over them. Happy converts! Happy lambs of the Savior's fold! Happy soldiers of the cross! God hears their vows and accepts their prayers; the Holy Ghost seals their adoption, and purifies their hearts with Christ's atoning blood; angels bend from heaven to behold the happy scene, and strike their harps of joy over repenting sinners; saints look on, and feel the raptures of Canaan kindling in their souls; while the world are constrained to admire and wonder, and confess that the power and the presence of the Lord God of Elijah are with us! God grant that such glory may be shed over the scenes of this day; that the Holy Dove may hover around with his loving wing, and the heart of many a witnessing spectator be touched with converting grace!

And when in the evening of this hallowed sabbath we shall meet to commemorate in another form the dying sufferings of our exalted Lord, may strength and faith be given us to eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of God! *We* have been the murderers of that blessed Savior; it is *our* sins that brought him down from heaven—*our* sins that helped to drive every nail, and sharpen every pang that entered the Savior's heart. And now we are required to sit down and feast upon the body that we have slain; to drink the blood that we have shed; to confess that our life springs from his death, that all our joys and all our hopes are nourished by his unutterable

sorrows and dying groans. This is a hard saying; it is crossing to human nature, it is humbling to our carnal pride; but since it is our Lord's command, we will come forward, with sorrowing hearts and a trembling fear, and eat of the food and drink of the cup which our loving Savior so freely offers. Though it be an act under the solemnity of which an angel might shudder, yet will we stretch out the hand of our feeble faith, and partake of the feast which our Lord appoints.

And thus shall all the lambs of Christ's fold continue often to eat and be refreshed by these gracious symbols, till they reach their Father's home. Here in this valley shall gathering flocks of willing disciples thus meet to show forth their Lord's death, until the day when he shall come in the clouds of heaven. The work that is here begun will go forward. The flame that is kindled will never be extinguished. The light that now dawns upon the eastern mountains is the precursor of a glorious day. We can already see the strong red rays from the upper limb of the rising sun. Spread, glorious light. Penetrate these shades of death. Visit every cave and dungeon of this polluted land. And when the sound of the last trumpet shall gather the saints of Asam—the living and the dead—may it be our blessed portion to find a place among that happy band! Which may God grant for his Son's sake. Amen.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—Page 9.

“THE baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven, or of men?”—is a question which appears no less perplexing to many in modern times than it was to the Jews. So evidently unavoidable is the conclusion that infants had no part in John’s baptism, that many Pedobaptists have been led to adopt a view directly opposed to that of the Evangelist Mark, who tells us that the baptism of John, in connection with his preaching, was *the beginning of the Gospel of the Son of God*—that is, the commencement of the New Testament dispensation. They maintain, on the contrary, that it has no claim to be regarded as *Christian baptism*;* but was a rite borrowed from the Jewish ceremony of proselyte baptism. We, however, believe it to have been direct *from heaven*, and *not of men*; John himself ascribes it to a special divine commission, (John 1: 33); and it was in every essential particular the same as that administered by Christ’s disciples, both before and after his death. Was the baptism of John a *baptism of repentance*? So was theirs. Acts 2: 38. Was it a *baptism for the remission of sins*? That of Peter was the same: “Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, *for the remission of sins.*” Did they baptize in the name of Christ? John also said unto the people, “That they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on *Christ Jesus*,” Acts 19: 4; and although Christian baptism had not then attained its full and

* It should also be remarked, that a late distinguished Baptist writer, the Rev. ROBERT HALL, defends the opinion that the baptism of John was not Christian baptism.

explicit form, yet John may be considered as having virtually baptized in the name of the Trinity, while he proclaimed the coming Messiah, and the Holy Ghost that should be given. Matt. 3 : 11. That baptism *in the name of Christ*, and baptism *in the name of the Trinity* is the same, we may learn from those passages in which the former term is used, while there can be no doubt that the ordinance was administered in the form prescribed by our Savior after his resurrection. "Be baptized in the name of *Jesus Christ*;" Acts 2 : 38. "He commanded them to be baptized in the name of the *Lord*;" Acts 10 : 48. In the case of those who had been irregularly baptized, probably by some of John's followers, without either faith in Christ, or a knowledge of the Holy Spirit, (Acts 19 : 1—5), it is simply recorded that, after being instructed by Paul, they were baptized *in the name of the Lord Jesus*; which the sacred penman must certainly have understood as equivalent to baptism in the name of the Trinity.

On this subject CALVIN has the following just remarks: "It is very certain that the ministry of John was precisely the same as that which was afterwards committed to the apostles. For their baptism was not different, though it was administered by different hands; but the sameness of their doctrine shows their baptism to have been the same. John and the apostles agreed in the same doctrine: both baptized to repentance, both to remission of sins; both baptized in the name of Christ, from whom repentance and remission of sins proceed. John said of Christ, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world;' thus acknowledging and declaring him to be the sacrifice acceptable to the Father, the Procurer of righteousness, and the Author of salvation. What could the apostles add to this confession?—If any difference be sought for in the word of God, the only difference that will be found is, that John baptized in the name of Him who was to come, the apostles in the name of Him who had already manifested himself."—*Hinton's History of Baptism*, p. 63.

Those must indeed be weighty considerations, which could induce us to believe that the baptism wherewith our BLESSED LORD WAS BAPTIZED, was not Christian baptism !

NOTE B.—Page 11.

CURCELLÆUS, a learned theologian of Geneva and professor of Divinity, says “The baptism of infants, in the two first centuries after Christ, *was altogether unknown*; but in the third and fourth was allowed by some few. In the fifth, and following ages, it was generally received.”—*Instit. Rel. Christ.* L. i. c. 12.—In his second Dissertation on Original Sin, he says: “The custom of baptizing infants did not begin before the third age after Christ was born. In the former ages no trace of it appears, and *it was introduced* without the command of Christ.”—*Booth's Pæd. Exam.* P. ii. ch. ii.

The learned VENEMA thinks it “certain that pedobaptism was practiced in the second century; yet so that it was not the custom of the church, nor the general practice; much less was it generally esteemed necessary that infants should be baptized.”—“Tertullian has no where mentioned pedobaptism among the traditions of the church, nor even among the customs of the church that were publicly received and usually observed; nay, he plainly intimates, that in his time it was yet a doubtful affair. For in his book, *De Baptismo*, (cap. xviii.) he dissuades from baptizing infants, [rather, *young children*,] and proves by certain reasons, that the delay of it to a more mature age is to be preferred; which he certainly would not have done if it had been a tradition and a public custom of the church, seeing he was very tenacious of traditions; nor, had it been a tradition, would he have failed to mention it.”—*Hist. Eccles.* tom. iii. sec. ii. §108.

In Germany, NEANDER, a Pedobaptist, in his *Church History*, p. 198—200, declares it “certain that Christ did not ordain infant

baptism," and that "we cannot prove that the apostles" did; that even in the second century, in the time of Tertullian, "it was not usually considered an apostolical ordinance." But he states that "the theory of the unconditional necessity of infant baptism developed itself from the idea," "that without outward baptism no one could be freed from inherited guilt, saved from eternal punishment, or brought to eternal happiness." He even cannot find proof that "this idea was generally received by the North African church," until "the middle of the third century," yet thinks infant baptism useful, and in a mild way advocates it.—*Christian Review*, July 1846, p. 198.

The celebrated German critic, BRETSCHNEIDER, in his recent work, (*Theology*, vol. i. p. 469,) observes: "All the earlier traces of infant baptism are *very doubtful*; on the contrary, Tertullian is the first who refers to it, and he censures it. Origen and Cyprian, on the contrary, defend it. In the fourth century its validity was generally acknowledged, although the church fathers often found it necessary to warn against the delay of baptism. Even Pelagius did not dare to call the correctness of it in question. Augustine pointed out the removal of original sin, and the sins of the children as its definite object; and through his representations was its universal diffusion promoted."—*Hinton's Hist. of Bap.* p. 255.

Professor HAHN, of Breslau, (*Theology*, p. 556,) says: "According to its true, original design, it can be given only to adults, who are capable of true knowledge, repentance, and faith. Neither in the scriptures, nor during the first hundred and fifty years, is a sure example of infant baptism to be found; and we must concede that the numerous opposers of it cannot be contradicted on Gospel ground."—*Ibid.* p. 234.

OLSHAUSEN, vol. ii. p. 455, reasons thus: "By the introduction of infant baptism, which was certainly not apostolical, the relative position of baptism, after the ebullition of spiritual gifts had passed away, was changed; the outward act returned back to the rank of John's baptism, and necessarily received confirmation, as

supplying an internal deficiency;"—and in vol. i. p. 158: "In infant baptism, *which the church at a later period, for wise reasons, introduced*, the sacred rite returned back," &c.—*Ibid.* p. 234.

MYERS, in his commentary on Acts 16: 15, (vol. iii. p. 215,) observes: "Baptism without faith never appears [in the scripture,] and is contrary to Matt. 28: 19. The *early and continued opposition to infant baptism* would have been inexplicable, if it had been an undoubted apostolical institution."—*Ibid.* p. 235.

"One of these last [observances] was *infant baptism*, a departure from the original form of the sacrament, which had existed for centuries in the church; for which, indeed, very pertinent reasons can be offered, *but it is nevertheless A DEPARTURE.*"—*Menzell's Mod. Hist. of the Germans and the Reform.* vol. i. p. 123.

NOTE C.—Page 11.

Bishop TAYLOR says: "There is no pretence of tradition, that the church in all ages did baptize all the infants of Christian parents. It is more certain that they did not do it always, than that they did it in the first age. St. Ambrose, St. Hierom, and St. Austin, were born of Christian parents, and yet were not baptized till the full age of a man and more."—*In Booth's Pædobap. Exam.* P. ii. ch. ii. ref. 6.

St. Ambrose was elected to the archbishopric of Milan "at the age of thirty-four, and *before he had received the sacrament of baptism.*"—*Gibbon's Rom. Emp.* chap. xxvii. vol. iii. p. 417.

* "*Hieronymus Stridonensis*, or Jerome of Stridon, in Dalmatia, was born of Christian parents, about the year 331. His father, *Eusebius*, gave him the best advantages for education. He was early sent to Rome, where he studied many years, and under the best masters. About the year 363, he was baptized, and left Rome to travel for improvement in knowledge."—*Murdock's Mosheim*, vol. i. p. 302, note.

The Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge contains the follow-

ing account of *St. Austin*, or *Augustine*, who was born A. D. 354. "His parents *Patricius* and *Monica*, were Christians of respectable rank in life, who afforded their son all the means of instruction which his excellent genius and aptitude for learning seemed to require."—After his conversion, "*Augustine* wished to retire at once from so wicked a world, as that in which he had passed the first thirty-two years of his dissolute life. His secession, however, was only a temporary one; for he and *Alipius* were, a few months afterwards, received by baptism into the Catholic church."—*Encyc. of Relig. Knowl.* art. *St. Augustine*.

Gregory Nazianzen, born in the year 318, [329, according to *Gibbon*,] whose parents were Christians, and his father a bishop at the time of his birth, was not baptized till about thirty years of age; and *Chrysostom* also, born of Christian parents in the year 347, was not baptized till near twenty-one years of age.—*Grotius*, Annot. on Matt. xix. 14; *Gen. Biog. Dict.* art. *Gregory Naz.*; *Dupin's Eccles. Hist.* cent. iv and v.

The celebrated philologist *KORAES*, one of the first Greek scholars of modern times, says: "Infant baptism seems to have been introduced in the third century; at first only in Africa, subsequently by degrees also in other countries. Not venturing to decide upon this matter, we would only say, that even supposing infants to have been baptized in the apostolic times or shortly afterwards, the practice was neither uniformly adopted, nor always or every where observed. This is evident from numerous instances of persons living in or about the fourth century, who were not baptized till after they had reached the age of manhood. Such was the case with *Ambrose*, *Jerome*, *Augustine*; *Chrysostom*, *Basil*, *Gregory*; and among the emperors with *Constantine*, *Constantius*, [sons of *Constantine the Great*,] *Valentinian*, *Gratian*, *Theodosius*, and with innumerable other persons. The discourses addressed by many of the fathers of the same century, to persons deferring baptism, prove the same thing. It is further confirmed by the canons of several councils, and also by the well-known anecdote of *Athanasius the Great*, who when

a boy, on a certain occasion whilst at play, catechised and baptized his play-fellows, who until then had remained unbaptized. The time when infant baptism was generally introduced cannot easily be determined.”—*Leslie's Hist. View of the Baptists*, p. 33.

“The sons of Constantine,” says Gibbon, “must have been admitted from their childhood into the rank of catechumens, but they imitated, in the delay of their baptism, the example of their father.”—*Gibbon's Rom. Emp.* ch. xxi. vol. iii. p. 33.

We are also informed by Gibbon, that Valentinian II. son of the Christian emperor Valentinian I., who was born only four years previous to his father's death, and who shared with his brother Gratian the imperial dignity, died *unbaptized* at the age of twenty-one; on which occasion, says the historian, “the humanity of Ambrose tempted him to make a singular breach in his theological system; and to comfort the weeping sisters of Valentinian by the firm assurance, that their pious brother, though he had not received the sacrament of baptism”, was admitted to “the regions of eternal bliss.”—*Gibbon's Rom. Emp.* ch. xxvii. vol. iii. p. 445.

Of Theodosius the Great, the same author remarks: “Theodosius was the first of the emperors baptized in the true faith of the Trinity. Although he was *born of a Christian family*, the maxims, or at least the practice of the age, encouraged him to delay the ceremony of his initiation; till he was admonished of the danger of delay, by the serious illness which threatened his life towards the end of the first year of his reign. Before he took the field against the Goths, he received the sacrament of baptism from Acholius, the orthodox bishop of Thessalonica.”—*Rom. Emp.* ch. xxvii. vol. iii. p. 399.

Robinson, in his *History of Baptism*, affirms that in all the writings of the fathers, “although they gave great numbers of histories of the baptism of adults, yet there is not one account of the baptism of a child till the year 370, when Galates, the dying son of the Arian emperor Valens, was baptized by order of the monarch; who swore that he would not be contradicted.”—*Christian Review*, May 1846, p. 6.

"The sum of the evidence of history," says Hinton, "is this:—that infant baptism is first clearly alluded to by Origen;—first found in actual practice in Africa, patronized by Cyprian, in the middle of the third century;—that it was admitted, in case of danger of death, in Europe in the fourth century;—that many eminent men, sons of Christian parents, were not baptized till more than thirty years of age, so late as the fourth century;—that the clergy, after the accession of Constantine, endeavored to promote the baptism of new-born infants, which was invariably followed by the other ordinance, [the eucharist]; and that this practice was founded on doctrines which, if true, rendered it necessary, to every humane mind."—*Hinton's Hist. of Bap.* p. 280.

NOTE D.—Page 12.

The following account of a conference between Austin the abbot and the early British Christians at Bangor, is preserved by Robert Fabian, an English chronicler who wrote about the year 1512.

"Then he (Austin) gathered a synode, to the which came seven byshoppes of Brytons with the wisest men of that famous abbey of Bangor. But first, they took counsel of an holy man, wher they should be obedient to Austayne or not. And he said, yf ye find him humble, or meke, as to Christes disciple belongeth, that then they should assent to him, which mekenes thei shoude perceave in him, yf he at their comming into the synode or counsell, arose agayne them. When the sayde byshoppes entered the sayde synode Austain sat styl in the chaire, and removed not: whereupon they were wroth, and disdayned him, and would not obey his requestes. He then sayd, sirs ye wol not assent to my hestes generally, assent ye to me specially in iii things: The first is, that ye kepe Ester in due fourme and time as it is ordayned. The second, *that ye give Christendome to children*: and the thyrde is, that ye preache unto the Anglis the word of God *as aforetimes I have exhorted you*. And all

the other deale, I shall suffer you to amend and reform within yourselves: *but they wold not thereof*. Then Austayne sayd unto them, and warned them by manner of inspyration; that since they wold not receave peace of theyr brethren, they should of other receave warre and wretche: the which was after put in experience by Ethelfridus king of Northumberland."

It is obvious then, from this account, what were the sentiments of our noble ancestors on the subject of baptism,—*they were Baptists; they would not give Christendom to children*; nor would they either receive or propagate the corrupt doctrines of Austin and his fraternity of forty monks who accompanied him. And it is as obvious by whom the custom of christening children was introduced into the land of our homes.—*Leslie's Historical View of the Baptists*, p. 10.

NOTE E.—Page 12.

"From the beginning of the fourth century, in the first place the Cathari, and afterwards the Donatists and the Luciferi, began to appear, separate from the 'Church.' They spread from Asia Minor, and appeared in considerable numbers in all the different countries in Europe, as well as extensively in Asia and Africa, till history finds the same class of Christians in the five vallies of Piedmont. From this point, the view extends downwards to the Lollards and Wickliffites of England and Germany, the Berengarians of France, the Arnoldists of Brescia, and the followers of John Huss and the United Brethren of Bohemia; and down to the time of the reformation by Luther. What may be said of any one of these sects, may, with some exceptions, be said of all the rest."—*Christian Review*, May 1846, p. 7.

The Novatians, who seceded from the Romish church, on account of its laxity of discipline, in the third century, and the Donatists, who separated from the African church at the commencement of the fourth century, nearly resembled each other in their doctrines

and discipline, and "are charged by Crispin, a French historian, with holding together in the following things: First, for purity of church members, by asserting that none ought to be admitted into the church, but such as are *visibly true believers and real saints*; secondly, for purity of church discipline; thirdly, for the independence of each church; and fourthly, they baptized again those whose first baptism they had reason to doubt. They were consequently termed *rebaptizers* and *anabaptists*."—*Orchard's Hist. of For. Baptists*, p. 85.

An African council held at Mela in Numidia, A. D. 416, at which Augustine presided, issued twenty seven declarations, or ecclesiastical laws, eight of which were directed against Pelagianism: that against Baptists was in the following terms: "Also it is the pleasure of the bishops to order that *whosoever denieth that infants newly born of their mothers are to be baptized*, or saith that baptism is administered for their own sins, but not on account of original sin derived from Adam, and to be expiated by the laver of regeneration, *be accursed*."—*Robinson's Hist. of Bap.* p. 217.

St. Augustine, writing against one of the Donatists, says: "Thou acknowledgest that children are guilty of original sin, yet absolvest them *without the laver of regeneration*, and permittest them to go into the kingdom of heaven. These things are very perverse, and against the Catholic faith."—*Westlake's Gen. View*, p. 14.

"The Luciferians, a body of seceders, (so called from Lucifer, a Sardinian bishop,) it clearly appears from the discourses of St. Augustine, refused to baptize infants, contrary, as he says, to the then practice of the church."—*Hinton's Hist. of Bap.* p. 285.

"We have seen the Novatians continue in Italy till the end of the sixth century. In the seventh, churches holding similar sentiments existed, according to the testimony of Gibbon, under the title of Paulicians, in the north of Italy. In the eighth century, as we are informed by Bonizo, bishop of Sutrium, the Paterines arose and became conspicuous during the pontificate of Stephen II. The Catholics of those times baptized by immersion; the Paterines, therefore, in all their branches, made no complaint of the

mode of baptizing; but when they were examined, they objected vehemently *against the baptism of infants*, and condemned it as an error."—*Ibid.* pp. 285, 286.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries there existed in Germany a numerous body of Cathari, or Puritans, "a sort of people," says the Abbot Egbert, very pernicious to the Catholic faith," because they "maintained their opinions by authority of scripture;" a sect who denied "the utility of baptism to infants," insisting that it "ought to be delayed till they come to years of discretion, and that even then those only should be baptized *who make a personal profession of faith, and desire it.*"—*Sermon against the Cathari: Bib. Pat.* tom. ii. pp. 99, 106.

In the twelfth century, Peter de Bruys appeared as the advocate of the truth in the south of France. One of his doctrines, says Mosheim, was, "That persons ought not to be baptized, *until they come to the use of reason.*" Peter de Bruys continued his labors during a period of twenty years, when he was called to seal his testimony with his blood. Within five years of his martyrdom, Henry, of Toulouse, who had been a disciple of his, appeared as a reformer. He traveled through different provinces and exercised his ministerial functions in all places with the utmost applause from the people. Writing to the Count of St. Giles, Bernard, abbot of Clairval in France, thus describes the state of affairs: "How great are the evils which we have heard and known to be done by Henry, the heretic, and what he is still every day doing in the churches of God! He wanders up and down in your country in sheep-clothing, being a ravenous wolf! but according to the hint given by our Lord, we know him by his fruits. The churches are without people—the people without priests—priests without reverence—and lastly Christians without Christ. The life of Christ is denied to *infants*, by *refusing them the grace of baptism*, nor are they suffered to draw near unto salvation, though our Savior tenderly cried out in their behalf, 'Suffer,' &c. Oh most unhappy people!"—*Hinton's Hist. of Bap.* pp. 292, 293.

"From the zeal and assiduity of Gundulphus and Arnold in Italy,

with Berenger, Peter de Bruys, and Henry in France, the followers of these reformers became sufficiently numerous to excite alarm in the Catholic church, before Waldo, of Lyons, appeared as a reformer. They were in different kingdoms known by different names, and are supposed at this period to have amounted to *eight hundred thousand* in profession."—*Orchard's Hist. For. Bap.* pp. 179, 182.

"In A. D. 1176," says Mr. Beeby, (Anabaptists and Baptists,) "at a council held in Lombez, the good men of Lyons were condemned: one charge was, *that they denied infants to be saved by baptism.*—A. D. 1179, Alexander III., in council, condemned the Waldensian or Puritan heresy, *for denying baptism to infants.*—A. D. 1181, Pope Lucius III. held a council at Verone, at which the Albigensian sect, or heresy, were damned for *teaching otherwise than the church of Rome about baptism*; and in the same year issued a decree confirmatory of former measures, in which it was stated, 'We declare all Catharists, Paterines, Poor of Lyons, Passignes, Josephists, and Arnoldists, to lie under a perpetual anathema.'"—*Leslie's Hist. View*, p. 17.

Cardinal BARONIUS, in his Annals, speaking of the decretal Epistle of Pope Innocent III. to the archbishop of Arles, respecting the Albigensian sect, says: "Among the Arlatenses were heretics who excluded infants from baptism, counting them incapable of that heavenly privilege; therefore did Innocent write this epistle to the archbishop of Arles, to confute and confound them. Wherein having given many arguments *to enforce the baptizing of infants*, he makes this decree, viz. That since baptism is come in the room of circumcision, therefore not the elder only, but also young children, which of themselves neither believe nor understand, shall be baptized, and in their baptism original sin shall be forgiven them."

This Pope, in order to confute and confound these Waldenses, promised full pardon of all sin, and paradise forever, to all that would bear arms against them for forty days; by which promise he assembled a vast army, who in six months or thereabout, butchered two hundred thousand of these pious and zealous opposers of the Roman Antichrist.—*Hist. of Relig.* vol. i. p. 206.

REINERIUS SACCHO, a Roman inquisitor, who had himself been connected with the Waldenses for seventeen years, and afterwards apostatized, writes of them thus: "Of all the sects, which have been, or now exist, none are more injurious to the Church; for three reasons: 1. Because it is more ancient. Some aver their existence from the time of Sylvester, (A. D. 335); others, from the time of the apostles. 2. Because it is so universal. There is scarcely any country into which this sect has not crept. And 3. Because all other heretics excite horror by the greatness of their blasphemies against God; but these have a great appearance of piety, as they live justly before men, believe rightly all things concerning God, and confess all the articles which are contained in the creed; only they hate and revile the Pope of Rome, and in their accusations are easily believed by the people."—*Reinerius contra Wald-* in *Perrin*, b. ii. c. i.

Of the Waldenses MOSHEIM says, "The origin of this sect is hid in the remote depths of antiquity."

BEZA, the cotemporary and colleague of Calvin, says: "As for the Waldenses, I may be permitted to call them the very seed of the primitive and purer Christian church, since they are those that have been upheld, as is abundantly manifest, by the wonderful providence of God, so that neither those endless storms and tempests by which the whole Christian world has been shaken for so many succeeding ages, and the western parts at length so miserably oppressed by the Bishop of Rome, falsely so called; nor those horrible persecutions which have been expressly raised against them, were ever able so far to prevail as to make them bend, or yield a voluntary subjection to the Roman tyranny and idolatry."—*Jones' Church History*, p. 343.

CHASSAGNON, who wrote the history of the Albigenses, 1595, says of them: "Some writers affirm that the Albigenses approved not the baptism of infants; others that they entirely slighted this holy sacrament, as if it were of no use to great or small. The truth is, they did not reject the sacrament, and say it was useless, but only counted it *unnecessary to infants, because they are not of age*

to believe, nor capable of giving evidence of their faith." Favian also says, "The Albigenses do esteem the *baptizing of infants superstitious*."

"The Waldenses and Albigenses do cast far from them all the sacraments of the Romish church, and among those *they do wholly reject that of infant baptism*; but for that baptism according to Christ's appointment, they have a very high value and esteem."—*Dutch Martyrology*, pp. 307—320.

In a treatise, says Dr. Gill, concerning Antichrist, which contains many sermons of the Waldensian barbs (or preachers), collected in the year 1120, and so speaks the sense of *their ancient pastors before this time*, stands the following passage: "The third work of Antichrist consists in this, that he attributes the regeneration of the Holy Spirit unto the dead outward work (or faith), *baptizing children in that faith*."

The following is the twelfth article of the Waldensian Confession of Faith, published, according to Sir Samuel Morland, in the year 1120: "We consider the sacraments as signs of holy things, or as the visible emblems of invisible blessings. We regard it as proper, and even necessary, that *believers* use these symbols, or visible forms, when it can be done. Notwithstanding which, we maintain that believers may be saved without these signs, when they have neither place nor opportunity of observing them."—*Jones' Church History*, p. 324.

In the year 1544, the Waldenses, to remove the prejudices that were entertained against them, transmitted to the king of France a confession of their faith in twelve articles, of which the following is the seventh: "We believe that in the ordinance of baptism the water is the visible and external sign which represents to us that which, by virtue of God's invisible operation, is within us; namely, the renovation of our minds, and the mortification of our members through Jesus Christ. And by this ordinance we are received into the holy congregation of God's people, *previously professing and declaring our faith and change of life*."—*Jones' Church History*, p. 326.

It is known, however, that a portion of the *later* Waldenses embraced the practice of infant baptism, and uniting with the followers of Luther and Calvin, were at length absorbed and lost among the Lutheran, Swiss, and other reformed churches. Yet the true successors of the ancient Waldenses still remained among the Lollards of England and the Mennonites of Germany, and in other parts of Europe, as we know from the persecutions they suffered for opposing infant baptism.

The following are a few facts selected from *Westlake's General View of Baptism*. "At Augsburg in Germany, in 1517, were burnt several godly and learned men of the Waldensian faith, for opposing infant baptism.—About the year 1522, an adict was published at Zurich, in which a penalty of two guilders was set upon all such as should withhold baptism from their children."—"In 1527, Leonard Skooner, a Baptist minister, was beheaded at Rottenburgh in Germany, and seventy more, of the same persuasion, were at the same place put to death.—Felix Mans, a faithful servant of Christ, and one of the first reformers in Switzerland, owning the same faith, was in the same year drowned at Zurich."—"In 1528, the learned Dr. B. H. Pacimontanus of the town of Waltazar, was burnt at Vienna for preaching and writing against infant baptism.—In 1532, a woman, for being baptized, was thrown into the lake of Haarlem. Her husband and two other men were burnt at the Hague."—"In 1533, "the harboring of Baptist ministers was forbidden in Holland, and a reward of twelve guilders was promised for every one of them that should be apprehended."—"In 1535 was issued the bloody edict of Charles V. "against the Anabaptist or Waldensian Christians, commanding all persons to renounce those persuasions and practices, upon penalty of the forfeiture of *life and goods* without mercy; the men to be burnt, the women to be drowned; and all that conceal, harbor, and do not in their places prosecute the law against them, to suffer the same penalty."—"In 1556, Philip II. king of Spain, renewed the edict which his father Charles V. had enacted. It was in force about 45 years; during which period thousands were burnt, drowned, ban-

ished, &c. for no other reason but because the objects of it conscientiously adhered to scriptural baptism.”—Dr. Featly, * a bitter enemy of the Baptists, tells us that “in Ponton, Cologne, Germany, Swederland, &c. *many thousands* of this sect, who defiled their first baptism by a second, were baptized the third time in their own blood.”

In England, “in the time of Henry IV. and Henry VI., the followers of Wickliffe and Lollard, were cruelly persecuted, and many of them were put to death, *because they would not baptize their infants, and for saying that infants are saved without it.*”—“In the reign of Henry VIII., about eighteen of the Baptists suffered martyrdom; and sixteen men and women were banished from this country, for opposing infant baptism.—In October 1538, a commission was sent to Cranmer, Stokesly, Sampson and others, to inquire after the Baptists—to proceed against them—to restore the penitent—to burn their books, and to deliver the obstinate to the secular arm.”—“In Queen Mary’s time, we find that several of the Baptists were imprisoned, who gave the following grounds against infant baptism, viz. First, because antiscritptural. Second, because commanded by the Pope. Third, because Christ commanded teaching to go before baptism.”—“In Queen Elizabeth’s time, in 1575, a congregation of Baptists were taken at their meeting near Aldgate; twenty-seven of whom were shut up in a dungeon, and one of them died in it, four recanted, two were burnt in Smithfield, and the rest were banished.—In this reign a proclamation was put forth, commanding all the Baptists to depart the kingdom, whether they were natives or foreigners, under the penalties of imprisonment or loss of goods.”—In the reign of James I., “Edward Wightman, of Burton upon Trent, was burnt at Smithfield. He was the last martyr that suffered by this cruel kind of death in England; and it may be remarked that William Sawtre [in the time of Henry IV.] the first that suffered in that manner, for his religious opinions, was supposed to have denied infant baptism: so that this sect

* The same who, in 1644, entreated the House of Lords, that Milton might be cut off “as a pestilent Anabaptist.”

had the honor both of leading the way, and bringing up the rear, of all the martyrs who were burnt alive in England."—*Westlake's General View*, pp. 17—21.

Bishop HURD, in his *History of all Religions*, says: "It is pretty clear from the writings of many learned men, that Dr. JOHN WICKLIFFE, the first English reformer, either considered infant baptism unlawful, or at best not necessary." The author of a "*History of Religion*," published in London in 1764, in four volumes octavo, says: "It is clear from many authors that Wickliffe rejected infant baptism, and that on this doctrine *his followers agreed with the modern Baptists*." Thomas Walden calls Wickliffe "one of the seven heads that came out of the bottomless pit, for denying infant baptism, *that heresie of the Lollards*, of whom he was so great a ringleader." And Walsingham says: "It was in the year 1381, that that damnable heretic, John Wickliffe, reassumed [took up, or embraced] the cursed opinions of Berengarius;" and that "*his followers did deny baptism to infants*."—*Leslie's Hist. View*, p. 20.

MOSHEIM, notwithstanding his hostility to the *Mennonites*, or *Anabaptists*, as he elsewhere styles them, makes the following confession: "In the first place, I believe the Mennonites are not altogether in the wrong, when they boast of a descent from those Waldensians, Petrobrusians, and others, who are usually styled *the Witnesses for the truth* before Luther. Prior to the age of Luther, there lay concealed in almost every country of Europe, but especially in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland, and Germany, very many persons, in whose minds was deeply rooted that principle which the Waldensians, the Wickliffites, and the Hussites maintained, some more covertly and others more openly; namely, that the kingdom which Christ set up on the earth, or the visible church, is *an assembly of holy persons*; and ought therefore to be *entirely free, not only from ungodly persons and sinners, but from all institutions of human device against ungodliness*."—*Eccles. History*, cent. xvi. sec. iii. p. ii. c. iii.

STARCK, Court preacher at Darmstadt, (*History of Baptism*, pp. 115, 118) says: "If instead of looking only at particular confes-

sions, we follow out their general mode of reasoning, we find that they not only rejected infant baptism, but rebaptized those who passed from the Catholic church to them; and that although the Anabaptists held a confection with Munzer, Storck, Grebel, Stubner and Keller, the *Waldenses were their predecessors.*"

LIMBORCH, professor of Divinity in the University of Amsterdam, says: "To speak candidly what I think of all the *modern* sects of Christians, the Dutch Baptists most resemble both the Waldenses and Albigenses."—*Hist. of the Inquis.* vol. i. ch. 7.

To the above quotations we may add the following testimony from a work published by Dr. UPEIJ, Prof. of Theology at Gottingen, and Rev. J. J. DERMONT, both learned Pedobaptists: "We have now seen that the Baptists, who were formerly called Anabaptists, and in later times Mennonites, were the original Waldenses: and who have long in the history of the church received that honor. On this account the Baptists may be considered the only Christian community which has stood *since the days of the apostles*, and as a Christian society which has preserved pure the doctrines of the gospel THROUGH ALL AGES."

NOTE F.—Page 14.

The Rev. Mr. HAGUE, in his Historical Discourse on the second centennial anniversary of the first Baptist church in the United States, gives the following extract from a work of ALEXANDER DE STOURZA, a writer of the Greek church, published at Studgart in 1816. "The Western church has done violence both to the word and the idea, in practicing *baptism* by *aspersion*, the very enunciation of which is a ludicrous *contradiction*. In truth the word *baptize* has but one signification. It signifies literally and perpetually to immerse. Baptism and immersion are identical; and to say baptism by aspersion, is the same as to say *immersion* by *aspersion*, or any other contradiction in terms. Who then, perceiving this, can hesitate to render homage to the sage fidelity of our church,

always attached to the doctrine and ritual of primitive Christianity?"

"While traveling in Greece," says Mr. HAGUE, I "was struck with the fact that it is impossible for a Greek to associate any idea with the term baptism except that of immersion. At Kalaimachi, a village on the Gulf of Athens, I was introduced to a learned Greek who spoke various languages. Among other subjects of inquiry, I spoke of the Greek church, and took occasion to say to him, the Italian church does not practice baptism as you do. As if to correct my inadvertent phraseology, he immediately rejoined, 'Baptism! oh no, no—they have *rantism* (sprinkling); we have baptism.'"—*Hague's Hist. Discourse*, p. 178.

In the year 1837, the Bishop of the Cyclades, who is a member of the Synod of the kingdom of Greece, published at Athens a theological treatise, entitled "*The Orthodox Doctrine.*" Referring to the Popish practice of sprinkling, he exclaims: "Where has the Pope taken this practice from? Where has the Western church seen it adopted, that she declares it to be right? Has she learnt it from the baptism of the Lord? Let Jordan bear witness, and first proclaim the immersions and the emersions. From the words of our Lord? Hear them aright; 'Disciple the nations, then baptize them.' He says not, then *anoint* them, or *sprinkle* them, but he plainly commissions his apostles to *baptize*. The word BAPTIZO, explained, means a veritable *dipping* (*boutuma*), and in fact, a *perfect dipping*. An object is baptized, when it is *completely submerged* (*kruptetai, concealed*); this is the proper explanation of the word BAPTIZO. Did the Pope then learn it from the apostles? Or from the word and the expression? Or from the church in the splendor of her antiquity? Nowhere did such a practice prevail, nowhere can a scriptural passage be found, to afford a shelter to the opinion of the Western church."—*Leslie's Hist. View*, p. 32.

The Nestorians, the Armenians, the Asian Jacobites, inhabiting principally Syria and Mesopotamia, the African Jacobites, Copts, and Abyssinians, administer baptism by trine immersion; as also do the Georgians. No branch of the nominally Christian church, however corrupt in other respects, has dared to change the law of

immersion into sprinkling, except the Roman hierarchy, and those churches which derived sprinkling from that polluted source.—*Hinton's Hist. of Bap.* pp. 189, 190.

The writings of the early fathers speak only of immersion. HERMAS, a cotemporary of the apostles, in his work entitled "Pastor," (Simil. 9, §16,) says: "the water of baptism, into which men *go down* bound to death, but *come up* appointed to life."

TERTULLIAN writes: "There is no difference whether baptism takes place in the sea or in a pond, in the river or the fountain, the lake or the bath; nor between those who were baptized in the Jordan by John, and those who were baptized in the Tiber by Peter." Again: "We are *immersed three times*, fulfilling *somewhat more* than our Lord has decreed in the Gospel."—*Tertullian de Bap.* ch. iv.

AUGUSTINE, (Hom. iv.) says: "After you professed your belief, three times did we submerge (*demersimus*) your heads in the sacred fountain."—St. CHRYSOSTOM: "We, as in a sepulchre, immersing our heads in water, the old man is buried, and *sinking down* the *whole is concealed at once*; then, as we emerge, the new man again rises."—*Stuart on Baptism*, p. 358.

St. BASIL, archbishop of Cesarea: "How can we be placed in a condition of likeness to his death? By being buried with him in baptism. How are we to go down with him into the grave? By imitating the 'burial' of Christ in baptism; for the bodies of the baptized are in a sense buried in water."—*Robinson's Hist. of Bap.* p. 65.

SALMASIUS, Professor of History at Leyden, says: "The clinics only, because they were confined to their beds, were baptized in a manner of which they were capable: not in the entire laver, as those who plunge the head under water; but the *whole body* had water poured upon it. Thus Novatus, when sick, received baptism; being *perichutheis, besprinkled*, not *baptistheis, baptized*."—*Apud Witsium, Œcon. Fæd.* l. iv. c. 16.

The case referred to by Salmasius, is thus narrated by EUSEBIUS: "He fell into a grievous distemper, and it being supposed that

he would die immediately, he received baptism, being *perichutheis* [lit. *poured around*] with water, on the bed whereon he lay, *if that can be termed baptism.*—*Eccles. Hist.* b. vi. c. 43.

Magnus inquired of CYPRIAN, (see Epist. 76.) whether persons thus baptized “were to be regarded as *legitimate Christians*, inasmuch as they were not baptized by *bathing*, but by *affusion*.” Cyprian expresses his opinion, that “when there is a *pressing necessity*, with God’s indulgence, the holy ordinances, though *outwardly abridged*, confer the entire blessing upon those who believe.”—*Christian Review*, vol. iii. p. 106.

“We read not in the scripture,” says BOSSUET, bishop of Meaux, “that baptism was otherwise administered [than by plunging]; and we are able to make it appear by the acts of councils, and by the ancient rituals, that for *thirteen hundred years*, baptism was thus administered *throughout the whole church*, as far as was *possible*.”—*Dr. Stennet against Russen*, p. 175.

TYNDALE: The *plungynge* into the water sygnyfyeth that we dye and are *buried* with Chryst, as concernynge the olde lyfe of Synne, which is Adam. And the *pullynge* out agayn sygnyfyeth that we *ryse agayne* with Chryste in a newe lyfe.”—*Obedyence of a Chrysten Man*, fol. 76.

CALVIN, who lent his influence to the establishment of pouring or sprinkling, makes the following concession: “The word *baptizo* signifies to *immerse*, and the rite of immersion was observed by the ancient church.”—*Institutes*, l. v. ch. 15, §2.

LUTHER: “Baptism is a Greek word, and may be translated *immersion*, as when we immerse something in water, that it may be wholly covered. And although it is almost wholly abolished, for they do not *dip* the whole children, but only pour a little water on them, they *ought nevertheless to be wholly immersed*, and then immediately drawn out; for that the *etymology* of the word seems to demand.”—*Luth. Op.* vol. i. p. 336.

VENEMA: “The word *baptizein*, to baptize, is nowhere used in the scripture for sprinkling.”—*Inst. Hist. Eccl. Vet. et Nov. Test.* tom. iii. sec i. §138.

BEZA remarks as follows: "Christ commanded us to be baptized; by which word, it is certain, immersion is signified.—*Baptizesthai*, in this place, (Mark 7 : 4,) is more than *niptein*; because that seems to respect the *whole body*, this only the *hands*. Nor does *baptizein* signify to *wash*, except by consequence; for it properly signifies to *immerse* for the sake of dyeing.—To be baptized in water signifies no other than to be immersed in water, which is the external ceremony of baptism."—*Booth's Pæd. Exam.*

BRETSCHNEIDER, in his *Theology*, vol. ii. pp. 673, 681, says: "An entire immersion belongs to the nature of baptism."—"This is the *meaning of the word*."

HAHN, *Theol.* p. 556: "According to apostolic instruction and example, baptism was performed by immersing the whole man."

VON COELLIN, *Hist. Theol. Opin.* vol. i. p. 459: "Baptism was by immersion; only *in cases of the sick* by sprinkling. It was held necessary to salvation, except in cases of martyrdom."

NEANDER, vol. i. p. 361: "*Only with the sick* was there an exception," in regard to immersion.

FRITSCH, *Bib. Theology*, vol. iii. p. 507: "With infant baptism, still *another change*, in the outward form of baptism, was introduced, that of *sprinkling with water*, instead of the former practice of immersion."

"In this country," says the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, art. Baptism, "*sprinkling was never used in ordinary cases till after the Reformation*."

Dr. WALL, vicar of Shoreham in Kent, a strenuous advocate of Pedobaptism, referring to the primitive practice of immersion, says: "This is so plain and clear, by an infinite number of passages, that as one cannot but pity the weak endeavors of such Pedobaptists as would maintain the negative of it, so we ought to disown and show a dislike of the profane scoffs which some people give to the English anti-pedobaptists merely for the use of dipping:—when it was, in all probability, the way by which our BLESSED SAVIOR, and, *for certain*, was the most usual and ordinary way by which the ancient Christians did receive their bap-

tism. 'Tis a great want of prudence, as well as of honesty, to refuse to grant to an adversary what is *certainly true, and may be proved so.*"—*Hist. of Infant Baptism*, vol. ii. p. 351.

Professor STUART, a learned American Pedobaptist divine, after exhibiting extracts from Hermas, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, Dionysius, Gregory Nyssen, and others, thus proceeds: "But enough. 'It is,' says Augusti, '*a thing made out,*' viz. the ancient practice of immersion. So indeed all the writers, who have thoroughly investigated this subject, conclude. I know of no one usage of ancient times, which seems to be more clearly and certainly made out. I cannot see how it is possible for any candid man, who examines the subject, to deny this."—*Stuart on Baptism*, p. 359.

NOTE G.—Page 34.

AN idea of the peculiar efficacy of what is called "Apostolical Succession," through the Bishops and Popes of Rome, is not confined to those clergy of the Episcopal church who profess Tractarian views; but is often intimated, with more or less distinctness, by those of a more liberal creed. As an illustration, we select a passage from the "Annual Sermon before the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, constituting the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," preached in New York, June, 23d. 1846, by the Rev. T. Atkinson, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Baltimore. The preacher, after remarking severely, but justly, on the doctrines and corruptions of the Romish church, and her incapacity for successful missionary efforts, inquires:

"Can, then, Protestant bodies which have rejected the apostolic constitution of the church, can they most successfully do this great work? Let us candidly admit, that they have done much that shames us. That their missionaries, if unfurnished with the apostolic commission, have not unfrequently shown apostolic fervor, and singleness of purpose, and self-renunciation; that their people, if

unprovided as ours are with the means, have sometimes shown more of the fruits of grace. But no man can seriously think that a church not constituted according to the will of God, can be equally efficient with one that owes its existence and its organization to His will."—*Spirit of Missions*, July, 1846, p. 221.

Here we have it asserted, with sufficient distinctness, 1. That all missionaries not episcopally ordained, have no APOSTOLIC COMMISSION; and 2. That their people are destitute of THE MEANS OF GRACE. That a church without the *means* of grace should exhibit the *fruits* of grace, is indeed surprising; and is moreover in direct contradiction to Christ's own rule: "*By their fruits ye shall know them.*" And if our baptism fail, as a *means of grace*, merely for want of a proper medium, what shall be said of that which is indubitably proved to be NO BAPTISM, but purely an invention of men?

It is true we place no great confidence in so called "*Apostolic Constitutions*," "received by tradition from the fathers;" but we have AN APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTION of more certain authority, to which we firmly adhere. From that inspired standard we learn the gifts and qualifications of Apostles: and we find that, *in their peculiar apostolic office*, they have, and can have, NO SUCCESSORS. As *teachers and preachers* of the gospel, they were succeeded by *faithful men* who were able to *teach others also* the things which they had heard; and whose ordination was by "the *laying on of the hands of the PRESBYTERY*." 1 Tim. 4: 14. These *presbyters* (or *elders*) were the primitive *bishops*; as we learn from Acts 20: 17, where Paul, having called together the *presbuterous*, ELDERS of the church at Ephesus, said to them, (verse 28,) "Take heed—to the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you *episcopous*, BISHOPS." Here we find not only that *elders* were called *bishops*, but that there were several in the *same church*; which would have been impossible, had the office of the New Testament bishops resembled that of bishops in modern times.—Paul uses the terms bishop and elder as synonymous, in Tit. 1: 5, 6: "Ordain *elders* in every city, as I had appointed thee; if any be blameless,—for a *bishop* must be blameless." In 1 Tim. chap. 3, he describes

only *two* orders of officers, bishops and deacons. Also in Phil. 1 : 1, he recognizes bishops and deacons only, as the *officers* of the church.

Such is the ministry instituted by the Apostles, as we learn from the New Testament records, and we need no testimony from the fathers to confirm it. We will, however, transcribe two passages, the first from a distinguished father, the second from one of the Popes.

ST. JEROME : " Among the ancients, *presbyters and bishops were the very same*. But by little and little, that the plants of dissension might be plucked up, the whole care was devolved upon an individual. As the presbytery, therefore, *know* that they are subjected, by the custom of the church, to him who is set over them, so let the bishops know that they are greater than presbyters, *more by custom than by any real appointment of Christ*."—*Hieronymi* Comm. in Tit. 1 : 1; Op. tom. iv. p. 413.

POPE URBAN II : " We regard deacons and presbyters as belonging to the sacred order, since these are the only orders which the primitive church is said to have had. For these only have we APOSTOLICAL AUTHORITY."—*Conc. Benerent*, an. 1090, can. 1.

In reference to the episcopal claim to an uninterrupted apostolical succession, viewed as a question of history, we may adduce the testimony of the learned Archbishop WHATELY, who thus remarks :

"There is not a minister in all Christendom, who is able to trace up, with any approach to certainty, his own spiritual pedigree. The sacramental virtue, (for such it is that is implied—whether the term be used or not—in the principle I have been speaking of,) dependent on the imposition of hands, with a due observance of apostolical usages, by a bishop, himself duly consecrated, after having been in like manner baptized into the church, and ordained deacon and priest,—this sacramental virtue, if a single link of the chain be faulty, must, on the above principles, be utterly nullified for ever after, in respect of all the links that hang on that one. For if a bishop has not been duly consecrated, or had not been, previously, rightly ordained, his ordinations are null, and so are the ministrations of those ordained by him, and their ordination of others (sup-

posing any of the persons ordained by him to attain to the episcopal office); and so on, without end. The poisonous taint of informality, if it once creep in undetected, will spread the infection of nullity to an indefinite and irremediable extent.

“And who can undertake to pronounce that, during that long period, usually designated as the Dark Ages, no such taint ever was introduced? Irregularities could not have been wholly excluded, without a perpetual miracle; and that no such miraculous interference existed, we have even historical proof. Amidst the numerous corruptions of doctrine and of practice, and gross superstitions, that crept in during those ages, we find recorded descriptions, not only of the profound ignorance and profligacy of life of many of the clergy, but also of the grossest irregularity in respect of discipline and form. We read of bishops, consecrated when mere children; of men officiating who barely knew their letters; of prelates expelled, and others put in their places, by violence; of illiterate and profligate laymen, and habitual drunkards, admitted to holy orders; and, in short, of the prevalence of every kind of disorder, and reckless disregard of the decency which the apostle enjoins. It is inconceivable, that any one, even moderately acquainted with history, can feel a certainty, or any approach to certainty, that, amidst all confusion and corruption, every requisite form was, in every instance, strictly adhered to, by men, many of them openly profane and secular, unrestrained by public opinion, through the gross ignorance of the population among which they lived; and that no one, not duly consecrated or ordained, was admitted to sacred offices.”—*Kingdom of Christ Delineated*, p. 182.

Such is the condition of the historical argument for an unbroken apostolical succession,—such the evidence on which the Episcopal clergy claim to be the only authorized ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ, and refuse to recognize as valid the ministry of any other body of Christians!—*Christian Review*, March, 1844.

THE
SINGULAR INTRODUCTION
OF
The English Bible
INTO BRITAIN
AND ITS CONSEQUENCES:

ILLUSTRATIVE OF
THE PARAMOUNT DUTY AND IMPERATIVE OBLIGATION
OF BRITISH CHRISTIANS TO OTHER NATIONS
IN THE PRESENT EVENTFUL PERIOD.

“ All things are best fulfill'd in their *due* time ;
And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.”—MILTON.

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MDCCCLXIX.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

SINCE the publication of the Annals of the English Bible, it has frequently been suggested to the Author, that some brief statement of the leading facts, which are still so little known, should be committed to the press for general circulation ; but now this appears to be the more incumbent, as the recent astounding events, both in Europe at hand, and in India afar off, have, in one point of view, lent far greater importance to that general history. These events certainly have imparted peculiar and unwonted solemnity, both to the obvious duty and immediate obligation of all British Christians ; while such is our singular position, that no “ shaking of the Nations ” as yet, need prevent us from putting forth all our strength, individually and collectively, in the direction here advised. It is however, only a very small proportion of the principal facts which could be embraced in the following pages, but these, it is presumed, are remarkably applicable to the present eventful crisis.

“ Midst all the war’s tumultuous noise,” if the war of *opinion* lies at the root, the Word of God alone can finally settle the whole. Obligation to Divine Truth involves Religious Freedom. For though even in this highly favoured land, blest with substantial civil liberty above the nations around it, there have been men of strong intellect, and very laborious, who have never felt this, what does it prove but that, neglecting the fountain of Supreme wisdom, the most sagacious have missed their way ? The most intelligent may become infatuated !

“ Ah ! how the human mind wearies herself
With her own wanderings, and, involved in gloom
Impenetrable, speculates amiss !
Measuring, in her folly, things divine
By human ; laws inscribed on adamant
By laws of man’s device, and counsels fixt
For ever, by the hours that pass and die ! ”

Still, with regard to the Sacred Volume itself, in our vulgar tongue, to which all parties in the kingdom profess to appeal, it

has so happened, and in a manner ever to be admired, that not one of them, without ignorant presumption, has ever been able to rise up and say—"That Book is ours," or "We gave it to our Country." Our English Bible having been commenced and finished on the Continent, and then imported, has for ever excluded all such arrogance; so that Tyndale especially, and even Rogers, who left not their names behind to be the foolish boast of any sect, are ever to be regarded as belonging only to the *Nation*. To all Christians in this country they have been the benefactors, nor in relation to us, as a people, can any two men ever stand upon the same ground.

The course of action recommended in "the Annals," therefore, is one that rises far above all parties, or party questions, and so it does in the following pages. It presents one of the finest and most effectual cures of every narrow and selfish feeling; while the Cause itself is one which derives encouragement both from the past and the future. Of old, it was once foretold—"the street shall be built again, and the wall, *even* in troublous times"—and so they were. But in a nobler sense, and in a more glorious undertaking, the Christian's activity may now abound; and far more so after he has received the Divine assurance, that no "labour in the Lord" ever has been, or ever will be "in vain." This is a Cause which is not only destined to universal prevalence, but is one which, it would seem, is never to arrive at its *highest purity and power* till it has reached its *greatest extent*. Malachi i. 11; Isaiah xl. 6-9. There is indeed no other in which that watchword, ONWARD, is at once so safe and so incumbent, and especially at the present moment.

CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON.

EDINBURGH, 18th June, 1849

THE
SINGULAR INTRODUCTION
OF
THE ENGLISH BIBLE
AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

THERE is no individual mind in this country now able to estimate the value, or measure the consequences, of the immutable standard of Divine Truth having been exhibited to the eye of the nation at large. But beyond any question, it is to the possession and perusal of the Sacred Volume, without note or comment, in our vernacular tongue, that Britain now owes all that has raised her up, all that has preserved her, and now serves to distinguish her, among the nations of Europe or of the World.

It might have been presumed that the eminent individual to whom, as an instrument in the hands of Almighty God, she was first indebted for this inestimable boon, would, by this late day, have been embalmed in the bosom of a grateful posterity, and that, long before this, he would have stood by himself alone, or at the head of all his contemporaries in the early part of the sixteenth century. Yet strange as it must ever appear, it has not happened till our own day that any thing approaching to justice has at last been attempted to the memory of William Tyndale. Nor is there any way of accounting for this long delay but by the fact, that his claims on the admiration and gratitude of posterity have, either through ignorance or the spirit of party, been historically

transferred to other men. Everything relating to Tyndale, from his cradle to the stake at which he was strangled and consumed to ashes, has required to be sought out, sifted, and then verified by no very easy research.

But when this our native land was covered with all the gloom of superstition, with a darkness, both felt and feared in every corner, what a pressure must have lain upon the heart and conscience of only one man, glowing with ardour to dispel the clouds! For under this oppressive sense of obligation there appeared not a single individual who was capable of fully sympathizing with him in it, or sharing the load. When a great and hazardous undertaking is to be accomplished, it would seem to be the law of Heaven, that all the meekness, the reliance, "the untameable efficacy of soul" which are demanded, must be confined to the bosom of only *one* man. Whether walking on the hill at Little Sodbury in Gloucestershire, pacing the library of the manor house, or sitting at the dinner table, morning or evening, there was no getting rid of the obligation felt. This was Tyndale, as when he has told us—"I perceived by experience, how that it is impossible to establish the lay people in *any* truth, *except the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes, in their mother tongue*, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text." Or as at another time, when provoked by the perverse ignorance of a rich ecclesiastic in his neighbourhood, he replied—"If God spare my life, ere many years *I will cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture than you do.*"

The ardent desire of his heart, however, could not be achieved upon English ground. To penetrate those dense clouds which hung over all Britain, he must embark for a foreign shore, for it was from thence, and even in the *same* memorable year, that the Light divine came into both England and Scotland; though, like the operations of Nature itself, nothing could be more unpretending in its character. First, Tyndale began with a single gospel, then a second, or Matthew and Mark, and then the New Testament entire, the Translator of which no man at home yet knew, nor could any even divine from whence the invaluable productions came! The fact is, that Tyndale's first New Testament, and indeed all that followed for years, were far from being *published*, in

the present sense of that term, though this has been often erroneously so stated in various modern abstracts, which is to rob the hazardous enterprise of its peculiar character and glory. But recently it has been proved that two editions had been finished by the end of 1525, as both were in England throughout the year 1526; one of them at least, if not both, so early as the beginning of February; nay and a third (pirated) edition before the close of that year. These earliest secret importations took immediate hold of many minds. They were so very powerful in their effects, that whether in London, to which they first came, or in Oxford and Cambridge, whither they were first sent, the enemies of Divine truth were, to a man, all alike in a state of violent agitation. Many of the canons and students of both Universities having got hold of the Sacred Volume and read it with avidity, were thus brought to the knowledge of the truth, so that the alarm of the authorities, from the King downwards, had reached its climax.

And thus, not in cities only, but in many a corner far distant, the work went on, even after Tyndale was known and held up to scorn, as the origin or "chief captain" of the hated undertaking. The Hollanders having discovered that the thirst or demand was so great, set their printing presses in order, and one edition after another, genuine or pirated, followed with such rapidity and secrecy, that before our Translator expired, in 1536, including two more from himself, one in 1530, and a carefully corrected one in 1534, the number altogether amounted to no less than *fourteen*! So many, at least, have now been ascertained. The last of these, a beautiful book in folio, and now very rare, being the *first* edition printed on our *native* soil, and by Bertholet the King's printer, has even still a degree of that mysterious secrecy attached to it, by which the entire series had been so dexterously managed; as it was printing in *London* before, or at the very moment when, Tyndale was receiving, at Vilvorde, the crown of martyrdom! From the year 1530 the Pentateuch also, translated from the original Hebrew, as the New Testament had been from the Greek; and from 1531, the book of Jonah, with a long, bold, and seasonable warning to all England, had been in circulation.

During these ten or twelve most eventful years of Tyndale's

life, a finer instance of unruffled determination, and unbroken perseverance, is certainly not to be found in English history. Before he began he had deliberately counted the cost, so that in all that he has left us of his own composition, there is often a calm dignity peculiar to himself. "In burning the New Testament," said he, "they did none other thing than that I looked for, no more shall they do if they burn *me* also, if it be God's will it shall so be." Having from the first consulted only with God and his own conscience, he possessed an indescribable severity of conviction, that he had but *one thing to do*, and though perpetually exposed to seizure and death, not a day was to be lost by him, nor was lost. Take for illustration one of his weeks. "A man very frugal and spare of body, a great student and earnest labourer in setting forth the Scripture of God—He reserved to *himself* two days in the week, Monday and Saturday," and how were they employed? On Monday he visited all such poor men and women as were fled out of England by reason of *persecution*, and these, once well understanding their principles and condition, he liberally relieved and comforted, providing for the sick and diseased. On Saturday he walked round into every corner and hole, and where he found any to be well occupied, yet over-burdened with children, or else aged and weak, them he relieved—and thus he spent his two days of *pastime* as he called them. The rest of the days of the week he gave wholly to translation and other subsidiary writing with all his characteristic diligence. When the Lord's day came, he went to some Merchant's Chamber, to which others resorted, where he expounded the Scriptures, "which proceeded so fruitfully, sweetly and gently from him, much like the writing of John the Evangelist, that it was a heavenly comfort and joy to the audience to hear him read the Scriptures. After dinner there was another meeting or hour spent in the same manner."

It must have been in the course of one of those precious weeks that Tyndale had the courage to offer a meeting to Mr. Stephen Vaughan, the Ambassador to Flanders from Henry VIII., when, instead of seizing the ardent translator, he very boldly advised his King and Council to desist from persecution, but in vain. And this was the man against whom all the authorities in Britain so raged! Against whom the Lord Chancellor of England wrote and printed in black letter above

a thousand folio pages! And whom the Government at last so pusillanimously left to perish at the stake, as an outcast from all human society! This is the man.

For his masterly exposure, proceeding from the purest *patriotism*, of the ruinous policy of one Lord Chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey—his powerful refutation and discomfiture, out of zeal for the purity and prevalence of *Scripture*, of a second, Sir Thomas More—his Scriptural sentiments respecting the first principles of Christianity, and his able illustration of its duties, from the Sovereign downwards, we must refer for fuller explanation, if not to his own works, to ‘the Annals of the English Bible,’ recently published. But for his distinct understanding of the formidable ground he had so resolutely taken from the first, on which he had fully resolved to live and die, we may quote his “ensample of an ivy tree.” Even as a model of pure Saxon, or of English undefiled, it stands unrivalled by any writer of his age, not even excepting his opponent More, whom Sir James Mackintosh has inadvertently pronounced to be “the first writer of a prose which is still intelligible.”

“To see how our holy Father came up, mark the ensample of an *Ivy tree*. First, it springeth out of the earth, and then a while creepeth along by the ground till it findeth a great tree : then it joineth itself beneath alow unto the body of the tree, and creepeth up a little and a little, fair and softly. And at the beginning, while it is yet thin and small, that the burden is not perceived, it seemeth glorious to garnish the tree in winter, and to bear off the tempests of the weather. But in the mean season, it thrusteth roots into the bark of the tree, to hold fast withal ; and ceaseth not to climb up, till it be at the top, and above all. And then it sendeth his branches along by the branches of the tree, and overgroweth all, and waxeth great, heavy, and thick ; and sucketh the moisture so sore out of the tree and his branches, that it choaketh and stifeth them ; and then the foul Ivy waxeth mighty in the stump of the tree, and becometh a seat and a nest for all unclean birds, and for blind owls which hawk in the dark, and dare not come at the light.

“Even so, the Bishop of Rome at the beginning crope along upon the earth, and every man trod upon him in this world. But as soon as there came a Christian Emperor, he joined

himself unto his feet, and kissed them, and crope up a little with begging—now this privilege, now that—now this city, now that; to find poor people withal, and the necessary ministers of God's Word. And the alms of the *congregation*, which was the food and patrimony of the poor and necessary preachers, that he called St. Peter's patrimony—St. Peter's rents—St. Peter's lands—St. Peter's *right*; to cast a vain fear and an heathenish superstitiousness into the hearts of men; that no man should dare meddle with whatsoever came once into their hands, for fear of St. Peter, though they ministered it never so evil; and that they which should think it none alms to give them any more, (because they had too much already,) should *yet* give St. Peter somewhat to purchase an Advocate and an Intercessor of St. Peter; and that he should, at the first knock, let them in.

“And thus, with flattering and feigning, and vain superstition, under the name of St. Peter, he crept up, and fastened his roots in the heart of the Emperor; and with *his* sword climbed up above all his fellowships, and brought them under his feet. And as he subdued them with the Emperor's sword, even so, by subtilty and help of *them*, after that they were sworn faithful, he climbed above the Emperor, and subdued *him* also; and made him stoop unto his feet, and kiss them another while. Yea, Cœlestinus crowned the Emperor Henry the Fifth, holding the crown between his feet. And when he had put the crown on, he smote it off with his feet again, saying—that he had might to make Emperors and put them down again.

“Then he made a constitution, that no *layman* should meddle with their matters, nor be in their councils, or wit what they did; that the Pope only should call the Council, and the Empire should but defend the Pope, provided alway, that the Council should be in one of the Pope's towns, and where his power was greater than the Emperor's. Then, under a pretence of condemning some heresy, he called a General Council, where he made one a patriarch, another cardinal, another legate, another primate, another archbishop, another bishop, another dean, another archdeacon, and so forth, as we now see.

“And as the Pope played with the Emperor, so did his *branches*, his members the bishops play in every kingdom,

dukedom, and lordship; insomuch that the very heirs of them by whom they came up hold now their lands of them, and take them for their chief lords. And as the Emperor is sworn to the Pope, even so every King is sworn to the Bishops and Prelates of his realm; and they are the chiefest in all Parliaments. Yea, they and their money, and they that be sworn to them, and come up by them, rule *altogether*.

“And thus—the *Ivy tree*, the Pope hath under his roots, throughout all Christendom, in every village, holes for foxes, and nests for unclean birds, in all his branches—and promiseth unto his disciples all the promotions of the world.”

After this similitude, no one can say that Tyndale was not perfectly aware of the state of the world into which he had been born. What supported him must be given in his own memorable words—“*If all the world be against us, God’s word is greater than the world.*” But though combining in no ordinary degree the wisdom of the serpent with the simplicity of the dove, it was by the emissaries of this hideous and baneful power, in England and Flanders combined, that our Translator was at last seized, imprisoned, and molested. Undaunted and faithful to the last, in October 1536, he was taken from the fiery stake to his great reward—in the palace of the Great King or the Paradise of God. Full of faith and rich in good works, he had not only laid up a good foundation against the time to come; but left behind him to his native land, and through it to its far spread colonies, a *legacy*, as the event has proved, infinitely beyond that which any single man has ever done since—in the Sacred Volume entire, about to be mentioned.

There is an old and laborious historian who has somewhere said—“I dwell here now, in a school of *obliviousness*,” and certainly if the oblivion in which Tyndale has been left be notorious, it is but a little less extraordinary that the individual friend, who duly appreciated his indefatigable exertions as a Translator, has, by a species of ungrateful consistency, been left to share it with him. We here allude to Rogers, condemned also to the flames, but in 1555, under the name of John Rogers, alias Matthew, a native of Warwickshire, whose earliest years must have been spent at the place of his birth in the vicinity of Birmingham, namely, Deritend, a well-known spot, then beyond the boundaries, though now included

in that large and enterprising town. But as we endeavour to do some justice to his character and descendants in the Appendix, we proceed with this brief narrative.

It is a curious coincidence in the death of these two eminent men, that they both left a quantity of *manuscript* behind them, of which, if their enemies had been at all aware, neither in the one case nor in the other, would a single leaf ever have been permitted to see the light. As to Rogers, whose manuscripts were recovered by his son on the day of his death, this appears from our Appendix to have been very important; but in the case of Tyndale it was far more so, since his translations of the Scriptures, as far as he had gone, are presumed to have been included. Having, like Paul at Philippi, been successful in opening the eyes of the Jailor and his family at Vilvorde, soon after the morning of his martyrdom, through the kindness of this man there was conveyed by himself to Tyndale's noble and memorable friend, Thomas Poyntz, at Antwerp, "a packet of papers," which there can be no doubt Rogers must have soon beheld, and once seen, with what peculiar sensations!

No time, however, was now to be lost, nor certainly was lost. The object that Rogers had in view was to forward the work, as well as do justice to the labours of the man he had admired, and who, it is understood, had first led him to the knowledge of salvation by the blood of the Lamb. And this justice he conscientiously did, being himself "a very able linguist and general scholar." Accordingly, the whole of the New Testament of 1534 translated from the Greek, and of the Old, from that Hebrew which Tyndale so esteemed, as far as the end of Second Chronicles, or exactly *two-thirds* of the entire Sacred Canon, are Tyndale's verbally, with an occasional variation only in the orthography; and as for the other *third*, there were a number of chapters, particularly from Isaiah, Ezekiel, Joel, Hosea, Amos and Zechariah, Esther, and the Proverbs, which had been printed along with the New Testament. Besides these, a translation having been attempted by Myles Coverdale had appeared, and Rogers may have taken advantage of it, though he had evidently sat in judgment on every page of the Psalms and the Prophets, since that version is not implicitly followed. In short, Rogers had the whole of Tyndale's version, whether in print or in manuscript, as well as

Coverdale's intermediate sheets before him, and having reached the close, he printed on the last leaf these words—

TO THE HONOURE AND PRAYSE OF GOD WAS THIS BYBLE PRINTED,
AND FYNESSHED IN THE YERE OF OURE LORDE GOD, A. MDXXXVII.

No month is mentioned, but it must have left the press by the middle of July, if not in the end of June, as the *first* copy had arrived in England about the first of August. At the end of the Old Testament stand conspicuously, adorned with flourishes, the letters W. T., to mark the very large share which he had in all that preceded; and as for the New Testament, it was too well known to require any such token. An exhortation to the study of the Bible is signed J. R. for Rogers, and he put the name of Thomas Matthew on the title, by which this bible, in folio, has been often designated. The noble printers, so well known afterwards, Grafton and Whitechurch, bore, *unaided*, the entire *expense*, as a speculation in business; thus holding out to posterity an unequivocal proof of the irresistible demand which Tyndale had created in the *Nation*, though not in the breast of the tyrannical monarch or his council, for of the whole undertaking they knew, as yet, literally nothing!

The singular providence of God, both as to the time and the manner in which this very book came into our Native land, is never to be forgotten, and it will be specially explained afterwards. But the Bible thus sent home, and so remarkably received, was soon again put to press, though still, like its predecessor, in a foreign land, and by the same printers; with Coverdale, sent as superintendant, and with even Bonner himself, then *hypocritically* smiling approbation. They commenced in Paris itself, at that time the very hot-bed of persecution, and once interrupted by the Inquisition, they saved the sheets, and finished the book at London in April 1539,—the fine Parisian types, the presses, and even the workmen, following soon after, now to print upon English ground the next folio Bibles. This was triumph the *second*, and now over all the power of the enemy, whether at home or abroad!

After perusing, therefore, even such a meagre narrative as this, a question naturally arises in the mind of the modern reader: Has anything ever been done since, to indicate our

gratitude as a nation, for the inestimable treasure received through these men? or our respect for their memory? And the answer is, Nothing—literally nothing!

“ Patriots have toil’d, and in their country’s cause
 Bled nobly ; and their deeds, as they deserve,
 Receive proud recompense. We give in charge
 Their names to the sweet lyre. The historic muse,
 Vain of the treasure, marches with it down
 To latest times ; and Sculpture, in her turn,
 Gives bond in stone and ever-during brass
 To guard them, and to immortalize her trust.
*But fairer wreaths are due, though never paid,
 To those who, posted at the shrine of Truth,
 Have fallen in her defence.”*

Not to speak of marble or “ ever-during brass,” no stone has ever been laid, no pillar erected, not even a School of Learning founded, or a Bible Printing Establishment opened, in grateful remembrance, of Tyndale especially, or even Rogers. To revive the memory of the neglected and forgotten benefactors of one’s country is always a pleasing and an incumbent task. Tyndale’s Bible, standing, as it does, at the head of such a host of followers, is no doubt his best monument, but this was the production and gift of his friend, even the sight of which now belongs not to every man ; and certainly it will not be to the credit of England, if such neglect, or forgetfulness of his country’s vast obligations to him, should continue much longer. On many accounts, the present day calls for some appropriate token. Independently of any pillar or other ornament, *a Printing Establishment in this country*, for printing the Sacred Volume in *foreign* tongues, the very events of the time suggest. This would be exceedingly appropriate, and form the proper top-stone to our English Bible. It is but recently, when searching for characters with which to adorn our Senate-House, that Wickliffe, the morning-star, has been very justly remembered ; though, at the same time, his *Bible* entire has not, even yet, appeared in print. Tyndale, much of whose language has been reading daily, and especially with every returning Lord’s Day, for three hundred years, has been forgotten !! Now London certainly, into which his New Testament was so dexterously conveyed at first, and for more than

ten years afterwards, with such effect—London, where it was openly acknowledged, even in the Convocation of 1536, by Fox of Hereford, before Tyndale expired, that “the lay people do now know the Holy Scripture better than many of us”—London, into which the Bible of 1537, once introduced, occasioned all the reigning authorities to bow and submit, is the appropriate place for some National Memorial.

And as for John Rogers, after the Appendix is glanced over, we presume there will remain not the shadow of a doubt as to the place where his Memorial ought to stand. The “men of Issachar of old had understanding of the *times*, to know what Israel ought to do, and they had all their brethren at their command.” And in Birmingham, happily, there are now many of a kindred spirit, who will not be slow to assist in any measure suited to testify their gratitude for the Sacred Volume in their mother tongue, so remarkably received into their native country; and their regard for the memory of a fellow-townsmen, who, in the presence even of his wife and children, so heroically gave himself up to the flames in Smithfield, in defence of Divine Truth.

Having thus alluded to the two primary agents, under God, to whom Britain must ever remain indebted, and for favours which she can never repay, we turn to a subject of infinitely higher moment, or the main design of these pages—the SACRED VOLUME itself—which, in its first reception and the consequences, we presume, will be found to urge upon all British Christians of the present day an imperative and obvious duty, of supreme and even national importance. The first reception has not, till recently, been pointed out with anything even approaching to accuracy, though in itself it proves to be a subject fraught with the most curious interest and instruction. The conquest, or close of the long war, waged by a single combatant against a nation so hostile to him, had not been looked into by our previous historians. Both “the man and his communications” appear as though they had been deemed below notice, or unworthy of any careful examination; a circumstance far more remarkable, as soon as it is discovered, that the Word of God came to *us* in a manner which must

ever distinguish it *from all the other vernacular versions in Europe*. Of these the most conspicuous and important was the German version, but how different has been the treatment of the original translator in Germany? What a contrast does the history of Luther and Tyndale, in this respect, present to the mind! The former translated the New Testament surrounded by the Thuringian forest, when safely concealed within the walls of the elevated castle of Wartburg; and then spent the rest of his days under the protection of his two Electors of Saxony, where, with Melancthon, Pomeranus, Justus Jonas, and others at his elbow, the Bible was completed. Tyndale left his native country, never to return, simply because there was not one corner in all England where he could with safety sit down to begin his noble design. There, at a distance, and in a foreign land, in concealment, it is true, but it was only as behind a curtain drawn by an invisible hand that he commenced. Friars, or scouts, and even Ambassadors, were sent after him in vain. It was then "the glory of God to conceal the thing," and elude the malignity of the English authorities. All the eager ingenuity in searching for the Translator, even by such men as Wolsey and the King himself, by Sir Thomas Elyot, Crumwell, or Sir Thomas More among civilians, while Warham, Tunstal, and other Bishops were ever on the alert, was equally set at nought. The curious, ingenious, and impenetrably *secret* introductions of the New Testament, edition after edition, copies arriving, as they confessed with chagrin, "thick and threefold;" or as the Lord Chancellor More expressed it, "by the whole vats full;" in other words, Divine truth thus coming, not like a hasty shower, but as a set rain which would never be over, and all this for the space of ten long years, rendered this period the most important, in point of influence on the human mind, in the subsequent history of this entire island. These long-continued arrivals, though as yet only like so much "secreted leaven," called forth that noble address of Edward Fox of Hereford to his brethren in Convocation, as early as the year 1536, and to which we already referred—"Think ye not, that *we* can, by any sophistical subtleties, steal out of the world again, the light which every man doth see. Christ hath so enlightened the world at this time, that the light of the gospel hath put to flight all misty darkness; and it will

shortly have the higher hand of all *clouds*, though we resist in vain never so much. *The lay people do now know the Holy Scripture better than many of us.*" These secret arrivals, therefore, when viewed as so many events in their consequences, were more auspicious to human improvement than any which adorn the annals of time in this country; producing, above all others, intellectual activity, the harbinger of free inquiry—the only sure cause of the progress of Society.

But when to these we add the importation of the Scriptures entire, the very next year, in one folio volume, to the surprise of all the reigning authorities of the day—the memorable reception or acceptance—so sudden—so unanimous—by men in power, who up to that moment had been arrayed against it—All this marks an era so distinct, that it must never more be confounded with the doings of any other men afterwards. The longer it is observed or examined, there will ever appear only two men as the *primary* agents, under God.

This folio bible of 1537, up to the day of its arrival in London, was not known to have been in existence! Printed abroad, under the able superintendence of Rogers, neither Crumwell nor Cranmer, nor Henry the Eighth, had the slightest idea of such a thing having been already finished! Cranmer was taken by joyful surprise, at a moment, too, when he was in no little perplexity, and applying to Crumwell to lay the translation before the King, they were all overruled, signally and at once, to receive and sanction that blessed Book to be read by all, which has formed the basis of all the subsequent editions for more than three hundred years! Up to this period, the authorities had bought up for destruction, and at great cost, the New Testament—they had, with wanton and daring profanity, for upwards of ten years, burnt it, wherever or whenever it could be found—they had gone farther, and burnt the men who read it, pleaded for it, or even possessed it! Nay, only the year before, they had basely connived at the martyrdom of the original Translator himself, in a foreign land! And yet no sooner was this entire Bible—the desire of Tyndale's heart—presented, than these men in power at once bowed assent!

Who then can fail to perceive, who can hesitate to confess the Providence of God, in the occurrences thus hastily reviewed? From the beginning a higher than human agency

was at work. But the events of following years demonstrate that God had not merely permitted, but appointed the departure of Tyndale from this country. *Abroad*, in so remarkably protecting him from his pursuers, and at *home* in as remarkably concealing his blessed Word from detection, the hand of the unseen Ruler becomes equally apparent. But certainly the most striking and memorable intervention—the token of watchful care, and the infinite kindness of the Almighty towards this country was reserved for the close. A critical moment, as men speak, was approaching, and the Supreme Ruler was now pleased to hang the whole enterprise upon that moment. In the thing wherein all along the enemies had dealt proudly, there was ONE above them, but now this critical moment had arrived. An appeal was to be made to the heart of one of the most stubborn and capricious monarchs that ever swayed the British sceptre. “A prince,” said Wolsey, when near the point of death, “of such princely heart, that rather than he will miss or want any part of his will or pleasure, he will endanger the loss of one half of his realm. For I assure you, I have often kneeled before him, the space sometimes of three hours, to persuade him from his will, but I could *never* dissuade him therefrom.”

But then, this prince had fully committed himself, and on the *wrong* side, long ago. Above ten years before this he had been the first man in his kingdom who had denounced the New Testament contained in this very Bible about to be presented—denounced it, lest his “dearly beloved people” should be “infected with the deadly corruption and contagious odour,” which, he affirmed, it contained. And, in addition, at this present juncture, he had evinced the extreme of caution, in not sanctioning the volume afterwards styled “the Bishops’ Book,” even though they, as a body, had submitted—“that if any word or sentence was meet to be changed,” they should “in that case conform themselves.” But no, he would not suffer it to go forth in *his* name.

What then was to be expected from such a quarter at present? In the simple request to be made to Henry, at the instigation of Cranmer, one of the most timid of all his servants, there seemed to be nothing to interest such a voluptuary. In Crumwell, the man who was to tender the request, we behold merely one who had previously denounced the original

translator by name ; nay, and winked at his martyrdom only the year before. So that when we advert to the monarch, and observe his subsequent conduct in once afterwards trying so vainly to restrict the reading of the Bible by “all his subjects” below the rank of “a gentleman or a gentlewoman,” we are shut up to the conclusion that the original royal sanction was simply what is often called “the whim of a moment.” Yet on that moment the eternal wellbeing of thousands, or rather millions, seemed to hang in jeopardy. But what then, or how much did Crumwell obtain ? Why that upon this Bible of 1537 there should be printed in red ink—“*SET FORTH WITH THE KING’S MOST GRACIOUS LYCENSE,*” *and now to be sold and read of every person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary !* More than two years after this the king might by a public document lift his voice again, granting to his subjects “the free and liberal use of the Bible in our own maternal English tongue,” but with all his natural caprice, never more shall he be able to revoke his original acquiescence ; though with regard to his royal injunctions, on other subjects connected with religion, he openly confessed his own impotence, and this was the *only* subject on which Henry the Eighth *ever* did.

We have now witnessed the notable reception of *one* Bible, but no more ; for it is now worthy of remark, that Grafton, the printer, brought over with him into England no more than *one*. The next arrival will be by his Servant, and these shall come into London, then raging with the *plague* ; so that there shall be no small difficulty about conveying six copies to Crumwell, as a present, for his success. And now Cranmer must thank Crumwell a *second* time, in writing, forgetting that he had done so already ! And as for the people, it seemed to them not only as though some unprecedented, but *incredible* thing, had happened. It was too good news to be true, for “certain there were who believed *not* that it had pleased the king” to do as he had done. However, so it was, this single first copy had turned the scale, and in looking back to it now, what or how much have we discovered ? In these New Testaments, so often committed to the devouring flames, and this one Bible, at the close of all, we behold the actual origin or commencement of a design by far the most powerful and extensive of any *now* upon the surface of this earth. For if we

now turn away, far from the reign of Henry the Eighth, what is the place which this one Bible of 1537 occupies in the present day among the annals of the Sacred Volume?

See it, standing at the head of an unbroken series of more than one hundred and forty editions of the Bible entire, and above one hundred editions of the New Testament separately, even *before* our present versions dated 1611. See then the printers, for many generations, unable to state the number of editions! Then turn to our own eventful day, when more attention has been called to the subject, and see copies of the Bible entire, and of the New Testament separately, to the amount of *twenty-seven millions*, pass through the press in less than half a century! Add to these the millions that have been issued in America, all within the same space of time, and then say whether the finger of a Secret Mover, far above the reach or even the ken of any human compact, be not apparent.

That foolish, not to say profane question, once agitated with so much virulence, whether the *Scriptures*, or what men called, or now call, the *Church*, be *uppermost*, is for ever settled. Viewed as an undertaking for the salvation of the human soul, the Word of God has been carried to a height infinitely beyond the reach of any party, large or small, among men; and it is to "the Mistress Island of all the British" that this has been demonstrated. Upon the cause thus so singularly begun the sun now never sets! And here is the *solitary* language spoken below the heavens, of which any thing approaching to this can be said! For the purposes of devotional reading, or of public worship, this English Bible is in use for *twenty-four* hours in continuance every week! Nay, from Port Victoria itself, or Hong Kong in China, to a second London on the American Continent, or Canada West, at the present moment, no day can dawn, or even night return, in which many eyes are not cast on the *same* sacred page! Now, at the commencement of this undertaking, when the power of royal authority, the fire and faggot, and the dungeon, were all employed to crush it in the bud, was there any one alive who could have imagined that posterity was about to be led along a train till it should reach to a conclusion so magnificent as this? Or is there *now* living any mind who can measure it in thought, much less in its consequences?

It was truly a noble idea of Tyndale's, in his dark and cloudy day, to look as far as to "the boy that drove the plough in England." But the Omniscient eye saw farther, and then began to provide for men who should live far beyond her shores—for natives of Britain, wandering on the banks of unknown rivers, dwelling in the deep recesses of a new world, or walking amid the sylvan grandeur of the Pacific! All along, there was no occasion for any gigantic agency corresponding to such a result, or of causes corresponding to such an effect. All that mighty array or artillery which man employs to accomplish his greatest ends, God can dispense with. Yet who can sufficiently magnify or adore that blessed Being, who through means so feeble, so blind as to the grand result, has brought the present generation to a state of things which has no parallel in the world? Verily the highest conceptions of Him, as a Sovereign Ruler, are framed, not through sudden, or stupendous, or terrific instrumentality.

But has this glorious, though as yet far too little observed, consummation been effected, without any opposition, say feeble or formidable? So far from this, though the cause has moved on like the irresistible progress of time itself, it has never been without both, nor have they yet ceased in our own day, nor in our native land. After the flames were abandoned by all, who had only perpetuated their own disgrace; even in the time of Henry the Eighth, the *Spirituality* of the day, as they impiously styled themselves, began to moot the subject of "authority," or as they craftily then said, *co-ordinate authority*, and some of their contemporaries were foolish enough to forsake the impregnable ground of Sacred Writ, without note and comment. But one day, when met in convocation, presuming to lay the English Bible before them, five years after its introduction, Henry, once more overruled, and now sitting in council, treated these men, even as a body, with sovereign contempt. Nor, though led on by Gardiner of Winchester, would his majesty show his prelates even the very slender courtesy of waiting a little, till they should rise and leave the capital! No, at once, most pointedly, and by proclamation, he gave out his sanction in favour of that noble, because single, citizen of London, *Anthony Marler*, who was already thousands of pounds in advance, for the Bibles then dispersed, and for the remainder, then offering for sale.

Nor is it ever to be forgotten, that at that most remarkable period, two centuries ago, when our present version was becoming the universal standard of appeal throughout this kingdom; and observe! *without* any royal proclamation having been ever issued, as in Henry's time, *without* any human authority having ever been attempted, much less imposed; that then the enemy began feebly to discover his old and wonted hostility. Perhaps the righteous jealousy and indignation of Milton never rose so high as at this presumption.

"As if," said he, "the Divine Scripture wanted a *Supplement*, and were to be eked out, they cannot think any doubt resolved, and any doctrine confirmed, unless they run to that indigested heap and fry of authors which they call *Antiquity*. Whatsoever time, or the heedless hand of blind chance, hath drawn from of old to this present, in her huge drag-net, whether fish or sea-weed, shells or shrubs, unpicked, unchosen, these are the Fathers. Seeing, therefore, some men deeply conversant with books have had so little care of late to give the world a better account of their reading, than by divulging needless TRACTATES, stuffed with specious names of Ignatius and Polycarpus, with fragments of old martyrologies and legends, to distract and stagger the multitude of credulous readers, and mislead them from their strong guards and places of safety, under the tuition of Holy Writ, it came into my thoughts to persuade myself, setting all distances and nice respects aside, that I could do religion and my Country no better service for the time, than doing my utmost endeavour to *recall the people of God* from this vain foraging after straw, and to reduce them to their *firm stations* under the standard of the Gospel, by making appear to them, first the insufficiency, next the inconveniency, and lastly the *impiety* of these gay testimonies, that their great Doctors would bring them to dote on."

And again—"To certain free and ingenuous minds, from an over awful esteem of those more ancient than *trusty* fathers, whom custom and fond opinion, weak principles, and the neglect of sounder and superior knowledge, hath exalted so high as to have gained them a blind reverence; whose books in bigness and number so endless and immeasurable, I cannot think that either God or nature, either Divine or human wisdom, did ever mean should be a rule, or reliance to us, in the

decision of *any* weighty and positive doctrine. For certainly every rule and instrument of necessary knowledge that God hath given us, ought to be so in proportion as may be wielded and managed by the life of man, without penning him up from the duties of human society; and *such a rule and instrument of knowledge perfectly, is the Holy Bible*. But he that shall bind himself to make *Antiquity* his rule, if he read but part, besides the difficulty of choice, his rule is deficient and utterly unsatisfying; for there may be other writers of another mind, which he hath not seen; and, if he undertake all, the length of man's life cannot extend to give him a full and requisite knowledge of what was done in antiquity. Why do we or any, therefore, stand worshipping and admiring this unactive and lifeless Colossus, that, like a carved giant terribly menacing to children and weaklings, lifts up his club, but strikes not, and is subject to the muting of every sparrow? If you let him rest upon his basis, he may perhaps delight the eyes of some with his huge and mountainous bulk, and the quaint workmanship of his massy limbs; but if ye go about to take him in *pieces*, ye mar him; and if you think, like pigmies, to turn and wind him *whole* as he is, besides your vain toil and sweat, he may chance to fall upon your own heads. Go, therefore, and use all your art, apply your sledges, your levers, and your iron crows, to heave and hale your mighty Polypheme of Antiquity to the delusion of novices and unexperienced Christians."

Who could have imagined that two hundred years later, by only a few men, not over "conversant with books," of no great depth, of no sound judgment, and of no originality of mind, such folly could have been wrought in England "to the delusion of novices and unexperienced Christians?" The mountainous "Colossus of Antiquity" we have already seen "falling upon the heads" of its votaries; but as for the wise and stern determination of Milton's age, he himself and many others had fully made up their minds; and they left it upon record, as a solemn warning to their posterity. Since it is one which their countrymen of the present day would do well to bear in mind, here it is—

"*We shall adhere close to the Scriptures of God, which He hath left us, as the just and adequate measure of truth, fitted and proportioned to the diligent study, memory, and use, of every faith-*

ful man, whose every part consenting, and making up the harmonious symmetry of COMPLETE instruction, is able to set out to us a perfect man of God. And with this weapon, *without stepping a foot farther*, we shall not doubt to batter and throw down Nebuchadnezzar's image, and crumble it like the chaff of the summer threshing floors."—"And this is one depth of God's wisdom, that he could so plainly reveal so great a measure of it, to the gross distorted apprehension of decayed mankind. Let others, therefore, shun the Scriptures for their darkness; I shall wish I may deserve to be reckoned among those who admire and dwell upon them for their clearness."

Though it was not owing to this powerful language, but to a benign and better influence from above; it was but a few years after this, and at a period when there was no King, no authority to command such a thing, that our *present* version of the Bible became the *received* one, all over Britain, as it has remained, ever since, the universal standard of appeal. This indeed did not take place till *forty* years after its first appearance, for the Genevan version was the prevailing *household* Book. The present version, printed without note and comment, gradually made its way by its own merits. It has long been a very prevalent error to imagine that our English Bible owed anything to *any* Government, as to the expense of its production, from Henry VIII. downwards. Even in the case of the current version, first printed in the reign of James VI., it owed nothing to him, either as to money, or to what is vulgarly called patronage, though a dedication in a very fulsome style was prefixed, now most properly often left out. It has been ruled indeed by Judges on the bench that the Volume belongs to the Crown on the ground of *property*, as James was long loosely imagined to have been at the *expense* of the revision, but this has now been proved to be an entire mistake. See the *Annals*.

Coming down, therefore, two centuries later, to our own far more eventful day, and this tract having only one object in view throughout, what is there in this important cause worthy of remark or remembrance, that is now calculated to keep the widely-scattered well-wishers united as one man, and prompt them to permanent and far more vigorous action?

We look no farther back than half a century, partly because it is, to us, a distinct and very marked period of time, and

partly because, during the whole course of it, Divine Providence has been loading Britain with *responsibility*. Could the commencement and progress of this responsibility be still more distinctly traced, it might be of material service to ourselves, and of great value to surrounding nations. But the following sketch must here suffice.

So early as the close of the last century, the hearts of a very few chosen spirits were touched, or assailed, by great and unwonted depression of mind, in which those around them could not sympathize. There may have been others, but at all events, three at least are since known to have been conspicuous. CAREY, whose actual life yet remains to be laid before his countrymen, CLARKSON the philanthropist, and COWPER the poet, entirely unknown to each other, and all of them to the world at large, were alike, and at the same moments, in a state of depression which they could neither dismiss nor divert away. This depression of spirit, by frequent utterance and explanation, becoming infectious, caught hold of a few other kindred minds, but it was some time before the discovery, that, in all these cases, there were only modifications of the *same* deep-seated feeling. They all, in different style, referred to their common and beloved country, and the peculiar position in which Britain then stood, with respect to the earth at large. The state of the world seems as if it had then come up in remembrance before God, and however arduous was to be the struggle, not only the chains of *Superstition* and *Idolatry*, but the chains of the *Slave* were ultimately to be broken. To whom much had been given, of them was to be much required. If we were to retain the *Scriptures* in our own possession, we must *give* them to other nations in their own vernacular tongues; to preserve whatever of *Christianity* existed at home, and revive it, it must be *sent* to the ends of the earth; and if we were any longer to enjoy our own *civil liberty*, we must make others *free*. It is only with the first of these objects that we have here to do.

It then became apparent, though very gradually, to the most intelligent Christians throughout this land, that the Sacred Volume, which they had enjoyed so long, was held by them only under an imperative law—"THE LAW OF DIFFUSION;" and as if to deepen the impression now more widely felt, it should never be forgotten that it was the reflex influence

of *foreign* operations—operations at first but very feeble, and at the distance of half the globe, that kindled up a flame at home, which has burned, more or less, ever since! In the then existing state of the Christian mind in Britain, quickened also by the fear of Continental infidelity, the most trivial incident was sufficient to engender the idea of expecting and attempting greater things. Accordingly, it was not the absolute want, but the mere scarcity of the Scriptures at home, *not in English*, but in one of the subordinate and despised dialects in this kingdom, the *Welsh*, which gave birth to the sublime idea and imperative obligation to give to the *World*, in its various languages, the Sacred Volume without note or comment. In other words, it was then felt that the united strength of British Christians ought to be spent in giving to other lands “the chief advantage” to which, as a nation, and above all others, we had been *most* indebted. This flame, which it is hoped will never cease to burn, rose to its height about the year 1830. So that, if we can possibly understand “the times in which we *now* live,” it becomes necessary to turn to another and widely different retrospect.

During the whole course of these last fifty years, it is known to all that the operations of the Supreme Being have been unwonted; though it is not generally understood in what respects they have been peculiarly so towards this Country, whether we regard its insular *dominion*—its *inhabitants* at large—or the *language* which they speak. If ultimately, as we presume, *all* these will be found to have a remarkable bearing on God’s own revealed *Word*, they demand the more regard.

As it respects our insular *dominion*, as if our native soil had been extended, it is in this period that Divine Providence has been gradually encompassing the Island with an area more than *thirty* times the size of itself—an area peopled by above one hundred and fifty millions of our species, and most of them have become, *bona fide*, our fellow-subjects; our “influence” of course stretching out to many millions more! But more recently, in particular, the Disposer of all events, outstripping all human foresight, and all the maxims of human policy, has been rapidly introducing us to the wide earth; and having made “a path in the sea,” is causing the world around, as it were, to draw near and come, or to look from afar to no other than this long-favoured country. Though but an Island

in these western seas, and with a population far inferior to many other nations, there can be no mistake as to our present place or position among them all. Little minds may only speculate and be dissatisfied, but the responsibility of our position is more than sufficient to engage the gravest thought in the most intelligent. There is one spot on the earth, and only one—but that is “our native nook of earth”—having stated and regular communication with the whole discovered world. A kingdom, with colonies covering one-fifth of the globe, and commerce spreading over the whole, her sails whitening every sea, and her sons landing, lingering, or remaining on every shore, civilized or savage, how is it possible to shift off the questions—Why all this? or, For what end?

But if, from the present singular dominion thus given to this island, we turn for a moment to its *inhabitants*, in their circumstances during the last fifty years, there is much to be found, as though it had been intended to baffle all adequate description. In the times that have passed over us, when compared with those of every other country in the world, what a contrast presents itself! But the events themselves, both here and elsewhere, have been, and now are, of a character so *germinant*, that the human mind has still to wait for the growth or result of most of them. There is one point of view, however, which above all others should arrest attention. As believers in Divine Revelation itself, as if to awaken us to our peculiar calling, our paramount duty, twice has the whole of Europe been turned upside down before our eyes; first, by the agency chiefly of one man, as an instrument in the hand of God, and now, far more wonderfully, because immediately, by the hand of Him with whom “a thousand years are as one day.” We have stood all the while as on a hill apart, only in sight, and witnessed these nations first sowing the wind, and now reaping the whirlwind. “The great and strong wind that overturned the mountains, and broke in pieces the rocks, the earthquake and the fire,” have all been *there*, again and again; while *here* there has been, ever and anon, only “the still small voice” of God’s blessed Word. At intervals, it is true, there have been within our shores seasons of agitation more than sufficient to rouse the most unthinking stupidity to reflection; yet throughout the whole period, how marvellously have we been preserved from civil war! In any

age, the world certainly has never witnessed a contrast so bold as that which, all the while, we have been quietly summing up in the short expressive terms of "home and abroad." This quietude, this exemption from turmoil, has involved mighty obligations.

And if, from our insular situation, and the people at large, we now finally turn to the *language* spoken, what can there be found in *it* worthy of any separate consideration? Why, simply this, that within the same period of fifty years, something significant and peculiar to it has taken place. A change has ensued, not on the tongue itself, but on the extent in which it is in daily use. There has occurred in reference to our English tongue, that to which there is to be found *no* parallel in any other language, ancient or modern; so that whether we look at it, in what may be styled its *ingress* or *egress*, they are alike remarkable. With regard to the former, many particulars have come to our ears from continental travellers, these having been translated; but all these are as nothing when compared with our own English. It is through *this* medium that the light of information has been hourly pouring into our native land respecting the very ends of the earth. In most other European nations, comparatively but little is known. More information as to *all* foreign parts has come home to us in a *few* years, from natives of our own island sojourning abroad, or settled there, than could otherwise have been obtained in the course of a whole century! This information, indeed, may have served daily to amuse or gratify the multitude, and nothing more; but this does not prevent or retard the *responsibility* of our country from rising with every morning dawn. For what saith the Scripture, or how readest thou? *If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; If thou sayest, Behold, we knew it not: doth not He that pondereth the heart consider it? and He that keepeth thy soul, doth not He know it? and will not He render to every man according to his works?*

Here then we are, and intelligence as to the world coming with every fresh arrival, from such a position there is no escaping, nor has Britain apparently any desire to escape. But then, in connexion with this *influx* of information, there has been, for more than twenty years, another and far more commanding process going on, and with far greater rapidity,

—the *dispersion* of our language by emigration, so that at this moment English has become the most diffused of any tongue among the family of man! It is in the course of this dispersion, that there has been given to the revealed will of God a place in the earth, which has never before occurred since the world began!—An event which, in all its import, is the highest among mankind.

In every one of these three points of view, there is involved so much of national responsibility, that every considerate mind will repeat the questions—Why all this? and for what end? Altogether, these discover the pinnacle of Britain's glory; but what vain infatuation would it be, either to *boast* of this altitude, or to imagine that there is to be found here any repose! or nothing but repose! And “*Esto perpetua*” will not save us.

Because that Britain has been raised to the height of “Mistress of the Sea,” is it to fill her sons with the vain confidence that she is competent to the covering of the earth with the knowledge of God? Far from every one be such a presumptuous thought. No; as Mistress of the Sea, Carthage, but especially Tyre, with her “masts of cedar and benches of ivory, a merchant of the people for many isles,” preceded us long ago; but no sooner was her heart lifted up, and she began to say, “I sit in the seat of God in the midst of the sea,” than her dominion passed away; and so will *ours*, if we apprehend not the *end* that the Almighty has in view. Nor let Britain scorn to take warning on one point by a modern instance, even the power that once so boldly contended with her for the actual “sovereignty of the seas.” A power whose object was to acquire, but seldom to *dispense*. Where, though they grew no *timber*, yet at last they used more *ships* than almost all the rest of Europe put together; when they could have sent or carried their entire population to the Eastern World in ships, built or bought, of their own property. A country where, though they had no *flax* of native growth, yet they then made the finest *linen* in the world. They were at that time the great masters of Indian spices and Persian silks, yet wore plain woollen, and fed on their own fish and vegetables. They sold the finest of their own *cloth* to France, and bought inferior quality out of England. In short, said Sir W. Temple, “they furnish luxury which they never practise, and traffic in pleasures which they never taste.” Britain certainly ap-

pears to be in little danger of falling into a course such as this; but then she may be *profuse* within herself, and yet forgetful of foreign dependencies; for even that people gave the Scriptures to some of hers. But what ensued after all this grasping avarice? Why should *the High and Mighty States of Holland*, as they then styled themselves, ever come down so low as to petition this country at last as "*the poor and oppressed?*" Let a nation only fall into the parsimonious and hoarding course of the solitary miser, or even not act generously, as Providence has done to it, then its downfall is certain. Of nations, as well as individuals, it is true—"there is that scattereth and yet increaseth; there is that withholdeth more than is meet, and it tendeth to poverty." If the eyes of Britain as a nation, therefore, be now open to her golden opportunities of being *generous* as well as just—compassionate and generous, as a people, to other nations, she must see that her safety and supremacy are here alike involved. Sympathy is a *talent*, nay, it is one of the highest order; and when used as a nation, is one of the strongest guarantees for its own prosperity and peace; when laws and human policy, or grasping avarice, not to say haggling reciprocity, prove all in vain.

Again, as it would be nothing short of insult to these high movements of invincible Providence, to say that they signify nothing to us, as a nation; so it would be no less, to interpret them as a voice to any particular or single Religious community within our shores to arise and spread its peculiar tenets through the world; and far less as a voice to them all, to awake and do the same. No, it must now be manifest that it is not to us as bodies, corporate or not corporate, endowed or unendowed, voluntary or compulsory, but to "whomsoever amongst us feareth God," that, by these movements, He has been all along addressing this nation. Yet as God has ever wrought by instruments, or through second causes, if He still intend favour to this country, may it not be in consequence of, and in connexion with, His so singularly at *first* bestowing, and since *continuing*, that which, for centuries, has formed our highest national blessing—or the Sacred Volume, separate and distinct from all human opinions? Granting that the people have divided and subdivided, till many minds have become weary of their own wantonness, is it not a blessing to

be observed, infinitely above all others, that God's own Word has come to us in a manner much resembling the *manna* of old, which fell upon *all* the twelve tribes alike?

But has all this taken place that we might live on, simply as we have done? quarrel about our different forms of ecclesiastical polity, so called, till every one of them, from the least to the greatest, is shaking to the root? and leave the nations to die around us, destitute of that Word with which our land has been filled to overflowing? For now that the Almighty, as it were, "holding in his hand the golden compasses," has drawn a line round the earth through the medium of our mother tongue, what is there in it of human composition, worthy of a moment's notice, when compared with His own revealed will in that language?

To that sympathy, therefore, which had been kindled up, on behalf of benighted foreign nations, to give them the Scriptures in their several vernacular tongues, we now return.

To those who can still look back to that interesting period when the great body of British Christians, as such, irrespective of all the different churches or denominations into which they were divided, began to act; it will be remembered that it was the simple proposal of "the Bible without note and comment," in all languages, that met with an approbation so cordial, as to gather to itself the largest and most influential circle then in the world. Within this circle, while there was no sacrifice of any one principle, there was a measure of candour in judgment, and harmony of feeling, never before felt or enjoyed. The swell of pity had been excited, and the eye of compassion dwelt upon foreign lands; that eye affected the heart, and so long as it remained in this, the right and proper or incumbent direction, the very best, because generous and intelligent, minds, continued in vigorous harmony. Now, at the present day, it may be as distinctly observed, that about the year already mentioned, unconscious, or forgetting, that we had then taken the *right*, but only the *first*, step to ultimate union among ourselves, and that, as a people, we hold "the Oracles of God" only under the imperative Law of Diffusion, a change ensued! *All that was spent for the Scriptures in FOREIGN languages after 1830, for the next TEN years, compared with the TEN years before it, but too sadly proves this.* As for the languages of Africa, North America, and *all* Asia, for

these ten years from 1830 inclusive, it did not amount to the HALF of what had been expended during the ten years before it! Nor has the cause as to foreign tongues, to this day, recovered the vigour of that period. Whether this was owing to a secret spirit of vanity, self-importance, or ostentatious parade on the part of too many who had been so engaged; or that the mere spirit of *party* could here find nothing to gratify it, we do not inquire; but a change had ensued—and what have we got instead? The eye that for years had gazed so intently in the proper direction, was disturbed, it swerved, and turning in upon ourselves and our own local arrangements, other themes and other objects then engaged, and have since engrossed notice. And what are these when compared with genuine Christian sympathy for the rest of the world? Are they not of a selfish and trifling character? And indeed all the *isms* that have since courted and distracted attention we here feel almost insuperable aversion even to name. But had any one, at the outset, inquired into the meaning of these—whether Rationalism, Pantheism, or Mysticism from abroad, or Puseyism or Formalism at home, no explanation could have been obtained; nor can it be obtained now, as *mystery* and *reserve* seem to be two cardinal points with them all. Nor to the traveller to another world is explanation of the slightest consequence. Even what Birom said of mere learning cannot be applied to any one of them—

“ ’Tis Athens’ owl—’tis not Mount Zion’s dove,
The bird of learning—not the bird of love.”

All these modern human speculations fall far below deserving even this left-handed compliment; but while the wide world around us is perishing, and in many quarters *hungering* for the Bread of Life, and every Christian community at home is tremulous, as the magnetic needle when turned from its proper direction, to see any of the inhabitants of such a Country as *this* so inveigled and so misled, may well excite a passing sigh. Yet it only becomes of so much greater moment for the friends of Divine truth to observe and keep in mind, that whatever agitations have been in Britain during the last half century, they have all been strikingly characteristic of its being the land of the Bible. These lucubrations, having so much of the darkness of the night about them, if not expressly so intended, have sadly interfered with the great duty of diffusing the Sacred Volume,

or, they have had a direct bearing on Divine Truth itself. At one time threatening the land with the lava of infidelity,—at another with the baneful poison of a philosophy, falsely so called*—while for more than thirty years the notorious Enemy of the Word of God, in every language spoken under heaven, has been uttering his blasphemy, and with special effrontery, in the ears of the people of this Country. That enemy, too, it should be observed, throughout all these years, far from thundering his wonted profane anathemas against any particular community within these shores, has been fawning and flattering individuals, or such as were observed to be more than half-way on the road to meet him; but though robbed of his “bonds of iniquity” in Britain, never in *any* past age have his “gall and bitterness” been so plentifully discharged upon one point. That one point is the Word of God in the vulgar tongue, but especially “the Bible, *without note and comment.*” Above all things he deprecates “the publication—the distribution—the reading—nay, *retaining* of the Holy Scriptures, translated into the vulgar tongue.” Thus, since the 1st of June 1816, four Pontiffs in succession, including Ferretti, the present fugitive at Gaeta, have distinctly and officially intimated to the world that by this measure alone “*the very FOUNDATIONS of their religion are undermined!*” Such are their own terms.

These, and other pestilential influences or exhalations, indigenous to France, Germany, and Italy, have been felt and feared by some; and unquestionably they have all had one common effect or aim, that is, to turn away the eye of Britain from the Word of God, our best hope, our shield and safeguard. But it would be a loss of precious time, and as precious opportunity, for British Christians to turn aside at present from their high calling, or come down to refute or expose these or any other false systems. There is one, and only one, more excellent way. The Sacred text alone—as for ourselves, *so also for the world*—steadily pursued, all may safely remain deaf in both ears to any diversion from their paramount object and duty. In such a course there is no cause of apprehension

* “We ought not to attempt to draw down or submit the mysteries of God to our reason, but, on the contrary, to raise and advance our reason to the Divine truth. In this part of knowledge, touching Divine philosophy, I am so far from noting any deficiency, that I rather note an excess; whereto I have digressed, because of the extreme prejudice which both religion and philosophy have received from being *commixed together*, as that which *undoubtedly* will make an *heretical* religion and a *fabulous* philosophy.” “This observation” of Lord Bacon’s, said the late Robert Hall, “appears to me to deserve the most profound meditation.”

in any warring wind. This may not confute a single heresy, but what is better still, it would cause them all to be forgotten. "They that forsake the law *praise* the wicked, but such as keep the law *contend* with them." Even in this land, with all its faults, but with all its facilities, there is a remedy for every evil, *except the loss of the Divine favour*.

Thus it is that every retrospect, every review of the last fifty years, whether brief and imperfect as the preceding, or more extended and luminous, must ever bring the mind to one conclusion—that no past period in the annals of time has been more crowded by casualty or events of an awakening character. Since the ages before the Christian era there has been no such "shaking of the heavens and the earth;" and the most commanding of all changes, still before our eyes, has been reserved to the close. The whole of Europe lies before us in a state of decomposition. There is a sceptre, one blow of which has shaken the stable tyranny of thrones, and tottering empires have rushed by their own weight; the iron and the clay are separating from each other, and the dreams of scepticism and vain philosophy have been given to the winds. The opening storm which thundered, with such rapidity, over an entire continent, overturning every thing in its way, has, for the present, drifted to leeward, and left Britain unscathed, though she is now standing like a pillar in the midst of ruins; but in the clouds of the moral atmosphere still, there is a sulkiness which betokens other changes and greater things to come. Is it then conceivable that "the riches of the Divine goodness and forbearance, and long suffering," towards this country, have had no *determinate* object? Or, to us, no intelligible voice whatever?

Is there yet to be found a man so blind, such a partizan, or so full of ecclesiastical self-righteousness, as to point to any *single* Christian community, of whatever name, in Britain, as first accounting for her present singular elevation, and now involving her future weal or wo? If so, he can be ranked no higher than the people of Lisbon, who, amid the shocks of their great earthquake, ran to their cathedral for safety, till it was crowded to suffocation. What, then, can possibly be the reason, or what the *purpose*, for which our country has been spared?

In looking over a period so chequered by perpetual change—

a surface in which the seeds of mutation have been so thickly sown—should there at last be detected any one process in which there has been nothing of the kind, but a uniform and steady advance up to the present hour ; what though it should have been regarded by many with perfect indifference, or by others with sovereign contempt ? Were it only as a *contrast* to the things all around, it deserves to be looked into. It is possible that this one thing may furnish a key to our present paramount duty ; and that duty pursued, may be the only one which can prolong our other blessings, or preserve our Country itself on the high moral ground to which, by a benignant Providence, it has been raised.

But in order to understand this chief incumbent duty, it is to the multiplication of the Sacred Volume, not in *foreign* tongues, but in *our own*, during this last half century, that we must first turn. The process has frequently filled with surprise even those who have been engaged in it. They could not account for the demand, and have expressed their inability ; but as to the Scriptures in *foreign* languages, whether the design of multiplying *them* was in correspondence, it has been left for others to enquire.

Abstaining, then, from all opinions respecting the Scriptures themselves, it has been our aim throughout to fix the eye upon *facts* relating to the English Sacred Volume itself, without note and comment. Only it will be recollected that though we are here speaking of a volume, it is like nothing else in the form of one. To us it is “ the Revelation of the living God,” and therefore every fact relating to it ought to carry corresponding importance.

It is necessary, then, that it should first be generally and distinctly understood, that at *no* time did the vast multiplication of the *Bible in English* depend upon any combination of *men*, large or small. Societies there have been, called by its name, but the *amount* of increase has never depended upon any of them, or all of them put together. The very term “ Bible Society ” is one which has misled, through inattention, many more besides Dr. Nicholas Wiseman. Their number, the style of oratory, not to say the frequent attendant applause, have contributed to blind the mind, or obscure the evidence of a far greater movement going on before our eyes. From first to last, the history of the English Bible has supported a

character *sui generis*; but within the last fifty years, the voice addressed to the existing generation has gone beyond all precedent; whether we regard the amount of money expended in the trade, or the number of copies issued from the press. During this half century, there have been many changes, and the people have changed with them; different seasons of excitement or agitation, which have died away; but as it regards the printing-press of the Sacred Volume in our *native* tongue, there has been no change whatever, except only in its accelerated progress. Among all the pursuits of many men, political, commercial, or even ecclesiastical, in this process at the press we can discover no disturbance or diversion, whether the nation has been at war, or at peace with all the world. There has not only been no pause, but no relaxation, and many may be surprised to learn, that of all places in the kingdom, with its Bible steam printing-press, stands *Oxford* itself, at the head! The spot where WICKLIFFE first, long before the invention of printing, and TYNDALE afterwards, flourished so long ago. If language, in direct reference to the Scriptures, rising even to the height of vicious boldness and blasphemy has been heard from the *same* quarter; the very smoke of their Bible press has been rising daily, as it were, in rebuke and defiance. But similar progress has been displayed at other presses, both in England and Scotland.

Is there not, then, a *fixedness of purpose* in all this, and worth looking at once more? Is it not a fact sufficient to command notice and reflection, though millions amongst us have never observed it, that since only the present century began, there has been spent on our vernacular Bible alone, considerably more than *four millions sterling*? Or, that in whole or in part, copies have been printed more than equal to *every man, woman, and child* of the resident British population? Besides, before ever this great movement began, no country in the world was so richly supplied as ours, so that there must be in existence far more than the number already stated. Very probably, on an average, more than two for every soul in the Island!

And what though, in Britain, individuals are still to be found without a copy of the Scriptures, or what though there be entire families in which they are not to be found? In the *aggregate* to which we now direct the eye, there are considera-

tions sufficient to rouse and rivet attention, of far more serious import, to every reflecting mind, and to us “as a people.” There may be some, indeed happily there are, who are toiling after “God’s best gift” being to be found at least in every *family* of the land; but this tardy process—this feeble effort, however benevolent, is as nothing whenever we turn and contemplate this mysterious, and startling, and *ever-growing* aggregate! Many a British Christian, long before this crisis, should have been arrested by it, and stopt to inquire—What can possibly be its import? or, What the ultimate purpose of the Unseen Mover? Upon an average, one copy of our New Testament separately, or of the Bible entire, is leaving the British press *every twelve seconds*! That is, in the hours of every working or lawful day of the week, at the rate of *five every minute*! Now, as to the disposal of these volumes—Whither are they gone? and Where have they been or are they now going? These are questions with which many ought to have been quite familiar, and able to answer, long ago; but, observed or unobserved, Providence has been ruling, for years, that thousands or myriads of these volumes shall neither be *read*, nor even *remain* within our shores. They have gone in the possession of their owners or purchasers, or they have been sent, far as the winds and waves could carry them, to the ends of the earth. The entire dispersion of Bibles and Testaments in *English*, at home and abroad, during the last fifty years is now rising above *twenty-seven millions*!

In order, therefore, to comprehend the paramount duty of every Christian patriot throughout our land, rich or poor; close alongside of this mighty movement as to our own language, we now place the *foreign* department. *Foreign* lands being destitute or benighted, and British Christians having started at the beginning with great spirit, more than forty years ago, with special reference to them, what is the comparison to be drawn now between *home* and *abroad*? in other words, between Britain alone and all the world besides? At this subject we have already glanced, nor is there any occasion here for entering into many minute comparisons, though they are all of a glaring or awakening character. But take for example a series of twenty-five years, from 1820 to 1844 inclusive, and inquire—“By the Christians of this country in union, about how much may have been devoted to all Asia,

Africa, and our North American Colonies, during this period?" No more than £222,007, 12s. 2d. ! Or, how much has been spent on all the European languages? £501,608, 13s. 11d. But what is the amount which has been devoted to the languages of this, the United Kingdom, alone in the same period? And the answer is *one million two hundred and seventy-five thousand six hundred and fifteen pounds ! !* But then, observe, that this is merely the Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and a *far larger* amount has been spent, during these twenty-five years, upon the *English* Scriptures than even this! In short, suffice it to say that during the last fifty years there has been expended within our own comparatively little country, upon our own vernacular Bible, far more than *double* of all that has been devoted to destitute *foreign* nations, whether in the Eastern or Western Worlds! Yes, notwithstanding all the cry that has been often heard respecting the European, the heathen and Mahomedan nations, British Christians have not yet spent on the whole world even the *half* of that which they have done upon the Sacred Volume in their *own* language only! When the mode in which this plentiful supply of the Word of God has been conferred on Britain is understood, and it is remembered that an entire copy of that blessed Volume in her native tongue may be purchased for *one shilling*, these comparisons become most humiliating. All that applause, therefore, so often heard at Bible Society meetings, from the largest down to the humblest, has, to say the least, been *misplaced*; and this applause, echoed as it has been everywhere, through the medium of the press, and creating merely a moment of elation in the superficial or uninformed mind, must, in the end, have produced only a benumbing, a delusive and injurious effect. Fine opportunities have thus been lost for multitudes retiring full of sympathy, instead of self-esteem. "My Father," said Louis XIV. to Massillon, "how is it? when I hear other orators, I go away much pleased with them; but whenever I hear you, I go away much displeased with myself." It seems as if a few British Massillons would be of great service at present.

This prodigious and affecting disparity, between ourselves as a people and the rest of mankind, is not a thing of yesterday. On the contrary, it has been increasing daily for more than twenty or thirty years. Nor is this all. There has

been a series of awakening events, during the same period, which have been allowed to pass over without their due effect. These have been so prolific of intelligence with regard to other nations, that they might be presumed to have excited every Christian philanthropist to greater exertions in their favour. We refer to the spirit for emigration. Yes, from the time that Christian sympathy for the destitute and weary-hearted in foreign lands began to *decline*, our own countrymen have been on the move. Ever since the nation has been disturbed from within, or seized with a spirit of ecclesiastical self-righteousness; while many have become engrossed by mere "Formalism" of human device, and others have been as vainly dreaming that the Scriptures themselves contain no definite "form of Godliness;" multitudes of our countrymen have been annually or rather daily moving off, and in all directions, crowding, and unreturning as the passengers to eternity. Some of these indeed have returned, and laid their researches before the public, which have drawn forth only such reflections as this—that "England has had great reason to be proud of her travellers." But the great mass will return no more, nor ever again see their native country! This great movement, wearing such a sombre character, might have been supposed to have induced graver consideration in all who remain; as neither the increase of our population, nor the narrowness of our territory, nor dissatisfaction with the politics of their country, nor all these put together, can fully account for it. Various motives, no doubt, there must have been, though at the same time we see, or think we see, a propelling cause above them all. But be this as it may, the result is, as already stated, that within these twenty years the sun never sets upon our language, nor upon the sacred page itself, in our mother tongue.

The solemn and responsible position of our Country, therefore, is now more apparent, and the peculiar obligations of our fellow-Christians may be better understood. Britain, unquestionably, or rather British Christians in it, ought, in all reason, to be the centre of action in this, the highest of human undertakings, and from them the far greatest amount of exertion is due. Nor let them any longer turn an indolent eye only to what are called Societies. Let these go on, by all means and with more success, in their own way; but there is another, a higher mode of action. In the infancy of human

exertion, Societies appeared to some too ardent minds absolutely necessary, like so many "flags of distress," to intimate that something at least *must* immediately be done, to save those who were ready to perish for lack of knowledge. But Societies can never impress the mind with a sense of *individual* obligation. This is the one great truth which the position and the privileges of this country alike imperatively suggest; but Societies have too long and too often proved a refuge for the covetous professor, and the men of mere pretence, by a petty trifle to have their names recorded, and so escape from their incumbent duty of doing to others as God had done for them. Tenfold more energy is now desirable, and this cause alone calls for more; but energy here, if we are to be guided by the past, is not to be found in the parade of mere official arrangements. Under the deepest sense of obligation, let us beware of any longer looking round and round for "public men" or "patronage." We deprecate new social trammels. They are far too numerous already. In the present artificial state of society, our reliance must be upon *principles*, not plans—upon individual men of *fixed* principle acting, and *continuing* to act, not from external impulse, not from mere sympathy with a crowd. The most perfect and beneficial agency is exerted without precipitation or tumult. The strongest minds are often those of whom the world hears least.

"Stillest streams

Oft water fairest meadows, and the bird

That flutters least is longest on the wing."

"In all probability," said no common observer of the times, lately deceased, "in all probability the improvement of mankind is destined, under Divine Providence, to advance just in proportion as good men feel the responsibility for it resting on themselves *as individuals*, and are actuated by a bold sentiment of independence (humble at the same time in reference to the necessity of celestial agency) in the prosecution of it." But when only *two* such minds meet in harmony, if a *third* should join them, what may not be expected? Let them not inquire for a *fourth*. Already they are a *sacred* number, within the express intimation of the Divine presence and co-operation,—Matt. xviii. 19, 20. Instead of running to the principle of "centralization," which in our day has been carried

much too far, one such small circle of energetic men in *each* of our Cities which has frequent or daily intercourse with foreign lands, would evidently meet the mind of our blessed Mediator, and ensure the Divine favour; for the mainspring of all our mechanism is in the hands of the invisible Spirit.* The expedient or grand manœuvre of Napoleon consisted in the concentration of great numbers on a single point, and these might serve *his* purpose, and secure many a victory; but the kingdom of righteousness, and peace, and joy, is not of this world, and must be conducted on other principles. Even in the steady promotion of literature and science this has occasionally been perceived. In the origin of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—"In order to insure success and permanence," said Sir William Jones, "we must keep a middle course between a languid remissness and an *over* zealous activity, and the tree will produce fairer blossoms and more exquisite fruit if it be not *at first* exposed to too great a glare of *sunshine*." Many institutions now wither because they perpetually expose themselves to *sunshine*. What they, and we, or society at large, need, is rain, the rain from above. Now, in such circles as are here advised, it would be a great advantage that they at once exclude almost all *rules*, and certainly what are vulgarly styled *motions*, that is, signals for debate, for here there will be no debating. With such men prayer and thanksgiving would be all in all. Their very number would continually suggest the necessity for the Messiah's presence, and these are the circles where they will comprehend the meaning of God himself by the prophet of old—"Ask ye of the Lord *rain*, in the *time* of the *latter rain*."

In such a mode of action, also, perhaps it is none of the least recommendations, that the last thing of which one should hear any notice is *money*, if, indeed, it were ever mentioned. These men would undertake no more than they were able to accomplish. They might perhaps accept, but never, on any account, would they *solicit* pecuniary aid from any one, and

* Besides London, there is Manchester and Birmingham, Liverpool and Bristol, Edinburgh and Glasgow, at least. Nay, some inferior place might provoke the whole to action. Of course the greatest accuracy requires to be studied. But let them commence with caution, or begin with single Gospels, as TYNDALE did, and implore similar success, for they are not likely to meet with *similar* opposition. Single Gospels and single Epistles are admirably adapted to the present state of both Europe and Asia. They create a thirst for Divine Revelation.—See pp. 41-43.

the consequence would be, that others, becoming conscious of their own inactivity, would go and do likewise. Men of such minds would first institute inquiry for *themselves*, first interest *themselves* in the particular *foreign* parts to which they have access, and with which they, or their friends, already transact other business. Direct personal inquiry, not what is styled *official*, but individual heart-felt interest in the people of distant destitute lands is what is wanted at home, and once felt, many an echo would be heard in return. In the present state of British society we imperatively require to work *back* into the simplicity of nature, or into its nearest resemblance, *primitive Christianity*, when every man did his duty. Out of a hundred such unostentatious energetic circles not one of them would the Redeemer overlook; in not one would he be found unmindful of his most condescending promise—"There am I, in the midst of them."

We can scarcely refrain, therefore, from indulging the hope that even these pages may fall into the hands of certain steady and generous, intelligent and determined individuals, who will take this great subject and duty into deeper consideration; and willing to proceed, will set one, or more than one, energetic example, on however small a scale. And a few precedents will not be wanting before we have done.

"Not to the many doth the earth
Owe what she hath of good—
The many would not stir life's depths,
And could not, if they would.

It is some individual mind—that moves the common cause,
To single efforts Britain owes—her knowledge, faith, and laws."

But in the course of action to which we now advise there is that which rises far above "the knowledge, faith, or laws of Britain." Whether with or without our aid, it is that which is destined to be the law of the world. By preparing the Sacred volume at home for foreign and distant eyes, in their vernacular tongues, we should be at once benefiting our own country and saving others afar off. This would place our native land on a far higher pinnacle, though this, indeed, is of inferior moment, but in a different point of view than she has ever yet exhibited. Think of its effects at home. Being a foreign enterprise, and having no connexion with our native soil, so much the better. In our present condition, as a nation, we

stand in great need of things bearing this character. In such a course of action, the exclusiveness of feeling and narrowness of sympathy, still far too prevalent, tending to isolate and indurate the feelings, and contract the heart within the narrow circle of a party, if not put to shame, would be left to wither and die in the corner of its first growth. Besides every thing of such a *purely disinterested* character cannot fail to affect powerfully and stimulate other minds. At all events, of no *other nation*, at the present eventful period, can it so be said—“The world is all before it where to choose;” and in this path of action there is not now, nor ever will be, any monopoly. From a hundred points in Britain, the Scriptures might thus go out through all the earth, and their *words* to the end of the world. Let her strive to be the *Pharos* of the Earth.

And is this, then, a time to slumber or sleep? Or can any man now inquire what is left for British Christians to do? To do? when the broad surface of Europe has been almost miraculously opened up before our eyes, and opened too so suddenly, to the reception of the Word of God—no man being able to see when, or how soon, it may be shut again? If the idol of human dominion has been smitten at its base shall we not strive to introduce the language of Divine authority? Left for us to do? when even the remnant of Christians on the Continent itself are up, and doing what they can, to meet the expressed *desire* after the Scriptures, not only in France and Germany, but in Austria and Italy, if not in Hungary itself? Left to do? when one edition of the Italian Bible has been laid down at Florence, which, though interrupted for a time, will only help forward the cause? When an edition of Diodati's Italian Bible is at the press even in Rome, and the Epistle to the *Romans* in Italian is at present printing close by the Vatican itself? When Societies in *that* country have begun by remittances to *this*, and where by one Depositary alone, it has been stated, that five hundred copies of the Scriptures, every *three* months, is not more than the *desire* at present in the Roman States demand? When even from *Sicily*, that distracted island, the other day, two orders came for more than a thousand Bibles for sale or circulation?

What is left for British Christians to do, after spending four millions sterling on their own Bible, when America, the

eldest daughter of Britain, is already come up to the rescue? When thirty thousand New Testaments are now printing on the Continent for *Germany*, at the instance of American Christians? When recently, to the *French* and Foreign Bible Institution they have voted not less than two thousand pounds? Nay, and the Bible in Italian, carefully translated from the original, is reported to be printing in America for all *Italy*?

How much, O, how much of blood and treasure, has Britain spent, from age to age, on that neighbouring Continent, and spent in vain! long before America could spend one farthing. It is now more than three hundred years since her wisest and best adviser, her moral conqueror, the translator of her own Bible, warned this country as to the fruitlessness of her policy—a warning singularly appropriate even at the present hour. “*We having nothing to do at all, have meddled yet in all matters, and have spent for our prelates causes more than all Christendom, even to the utter beggaring of ourselves; and have gotten nothing but rebuke, and shame, and hate, among all nations, and a mock and a scorn thereto, of them whom we have most holpen.* For the Frenchmen (as the saying is) of late days (*anno 1530*) made a play, or disguising, at Paris, in which the Emperor danced with the Pope and the French King, and wearied them, the King of England sitting on a high bench and looking on. And when it was asked why *he* danced not, it was answered, that he sat there but to pay the minstrels their wages only! As if one should say—we paid for all men’s dancing!” Now, however, since Providence has intimated that Old England must bid farewell to her long cherished, or wild and expensive, dream, not to say bloody idol of the imagination—“the balance of power” in this western hemisphere—now that all these nations are laid prostrate, and the great usurper of their liberties himself is in exile, shall we be the last to speak of bringing the King of Kings back again to his long lost throne in Europe? What He, the Blessed and the only Potentate, is overturning, we cannot establish, but we can keep aloof from his righteous judgments; and, what is more, amidst all the perplexity, confusion, and misery of war, we may pour into the heart of these bleeding nations “the sovereign balm for every wound, the cordial for every care.”

Yet how extremely narrow is such a field as this, when brought into comparison with our onerous position and im-

mense obligations? What is even all Europe when contrasted with our dominion? For dominion has its *duties* as well as property, and on the European Continent of property we have none, or next to none. While spending these four millions sterling on the Scriptures in our *own* language, we have professed indeed to *feel* our obligation to enlighten the nations more immediately under our sway. And yet the whole that has been meted out to all Asia, to Africa, and North America, does not reach *one-tenth* of that which has been spent upon our native tongue! Except we be given up to infatuation, like the surrounding nations, the state of Europe can never interrupt *us* for years to come in a far larger field of more hopeful prospect. Though the whole of Europe were involved in one general conflagration, in the Eastern world one hundred and fifty or two hundred *millions* of the human species now look to us, most of them our fellow-subjects, who have never had it in their option to trample down and treat the Sacred volume as the people of Europe have done for a thousand years and more. While these nations near us, and near us to our cost, have been for ages drunk with the superstitious worship of canonized Saints and the Virgin, there are millions in the East who have never bowed the knee to any image, and abhor idolatry in every form. Even those nations who have been lately subdued in Western India abjure all reverence for any visible idol. Throughout all the region of “the Five Rivers,” whether the devoted followers of Nanuk—the *Seiks*; those who claim affinity with the tribes of Israel—the *Afghans*; or the Mahomedans, throughout the Punjab as well as in other parts, professionally at least, all maintain the truth of one God. And whether we look to Lower or Upper India the cry is still the same. Witness only a mere tithe of the intelligence lately sent home.

“The Punjabees very generally read our books, and they have been seen in a great many places in the country. The age has passed away in Upper India for a scanty portion of God’s Word. A desire to know God, and to be saved by him, has been excited, and the distributor needs more than a single Gospel, or similar portion, with which he at first commenced. He longs to have the *Devotional* volume to impress, the *Prophets* to excite attention and promote inquiry, the *Historical* parts of Scripture to inform. The people now call upon

him for specific parts, nay, for the whole Word of God. To leave him *unfurnished* is to disappoint great numbers ! *Whole* days have four of us, for eighteen days together, at one mela or fair, and seven days at another, sat and read, discoursed and pressed Divine truths on the *untiring* attention of the crowds that surrounded us ; and yet the last day was as the first. They would continue to hear, and were anxious to be supplied with still further portions of God's Word."

And if it be so in the Upper Provinces, how is it in Lower India, the land of idols, more than a thousand miles distant from the late seat of war ? Hear another witness : " There was a time, within my remembrance, when Brahmans were very unwilling to receive books, and more shy than the other Hindoos. Now, they are foremost to receive. I have seen six or eight at my window at the same moment, and some days twenty or thirty. One will say, ' I have read such a Gospel, now give me the New Testament ; ' or, ' I have read Genesis, now give me the Pentateuch, or give me the Psalms. ' Tell our good friends at home, that if they wish to *reap* bountifully, they must *sow* bountifully. Many there are longing for the Scriptures. The books are sought with great avidity—the gospel is heard with much attention. I remember a time when it was difficult to beg away even a New Testament ; now, a hundred might be thankfully received in a few minutes. The time is come for the Lord's house to be built. Eye-witnesses of the state of things say, ' Does not the British flag wave over India ? ' As the Apostles could traverse the wide Roman Empire, so can we traverse the wider British Empire in India. Its numerous languages and its teeming population are all accessible to us. We can preach in villages and cities, in streets and markets, with as little annoyance as you can in England. A wide door is opened to us. Wherever we go, we find hearers. The Scriptures have been translated into the languages of India, and the people want them—they *beg* for them ; and is the bread of life to be withheld from perishing multitudes who *beg* for it ? Much light has been diffused ; the morning of a glorious day has dawned on India ; and we are looking for the rising of the sun. The minds of men are undergoing a great change ; opinion and feeling on religious subjects are in a transition state. Who is so blind as not to see these things ? and shall India now be neglected ? Shall

the Church now faint in her labours? Shall the Scriptures now be withheld, or only partially bestowed? O ye *British and American Christians*, are ye not the *soldiers* of the Cross? And will you, after the outworks of this strongest post of Satan have been gained, allow what has been broken down to be rebuilt, or fortified more strongly than before? No! you will not faint; you feel that you cannot give up India. We hear you say—‘*COST WHAT IT MAY, IN MEN AND MONEY, IN PRAYERS AND LABOURS, INDIA MUST BE WON TO CHRIST*’—THE RIGHTEOUS KING OF NATIONS, AND THE KING OF PEACE. And we reply—‘*EVEN SO, AMEN.*’”

Such is the testimony of two veracious witnesses, labouring a thousand miles apart, and two out of many. The first, an East Indian born, an Agent for many years, and esteemed highly by many Europeans, both civil and military; the second, well known to the writer of these lines, who more than *forty-five* years ago left England for India, and yet thus writes and thus labours still!

In few words,—many nations, both in the Eastern and Western world are now “white to the harvest,” so far as awakened desire can whiten them. He who now speaketh to us from heaven is shaking all nations, and in His good time, “the Desire of all Nations shall come.” The unprecedented sudden judgments of the Almighty are mingled with mercy. But both hemispheres, as it were, stretch out their hands to us, and, like the man of Macedonia, they alike cry to *this* country—“Come over,” or at least, “send over and help us.”

Why, then, as a commencement, might not myriads of the Sacred Volume, say the New Testament, in *all* the European and in *many* of the Oriental languages already translated, be put to press and printed in *this* country? Here they might easily be printed more expeditiously, cheaply, and correctly than anywhere else. The very confusion and perplexity of other nations suggest this, nay, and seem to call aloud—“Improve the present wonderful season of your exemption and your quiet, by doing this at least.” We have boasted of our prodigious improvement, if not superiority, in the Arts, and especially in printing. Let us then prove it to the world at large, by the correctness and beauty of the Sacred Volume in many tongues. Without congregating multitudes to ap-

plaud us in so doing, it is quite within the power of a hundred intelligent and wealthy British Christians to do this ; and to do it as a *commencement* ; for after all, this would still form but a poor contrast by the side of nearly thirty millions in *our own language*. Deaf to all the endless and often shallow theological controversy around us, or to the blasphemy still, alas ! vomiting forth against the Word of God, let us not be turned aside, or once diverted, from our high and proper calling. No sight could be more grateful and animating, none more truly sublime, than to witness our British workmen in many a spot, if not in every city, so engaged.

Nor are we without *precedents* in this country, as well as Holland, when the Dutch were far from possessing such facilities as we do now ; all alike serving to awaken and urge the course here earnestly recommended. At the head of all, there is our own Scriptures *sent* to us from the Continent, through the zeal only of three or four men ; Tyndale himself, and his friend Rogers, with the first printers, Grafton and Whitchurch. But witness the printing of the *Malayan* Scriptures in *Holland*, so early in the seventeenth century, from 1629 to 1688, when the New Testament entire, by Brower, was printed at *Amsterdam*, and by the Dutch East India Company ; the Gospels in *Persian*, by Wheeloc, printed in *London* in 1657, at the cost of only *one* individual, Sir Thomas Adam, founder of the *Arabic* Lecture ; the Gospels in *Malayan*, printed at *Oxford*, at the expense of the Honourable Robert Boyle, as a single Director of our own East India Company ; the New Testament in *Turkish*, by Seaman, printed at Oxford in 1666, Mr. Boyle offering to pay the expense, and only relinquishing it to gratify the Levant Company ; the New Testament in *Armenian*, printed at *Amsterdam* in 1698, and at the cost of only *one* native Armenian, Goltham, the Archbishop ; the Bible entire in *Malayan*, printed at *Amsterdam*, 1731-3, when two *natives* as well as two ministers were brought home from Batavia to watch it through the press, and all at the charge of the Dutch East India Company. And passing over other instances, there has recently been executed in Edinburgh the *Dutch Bible*, for Southern Africa, by the Queen's late printers ; and the *Persian* version, by Mr. Constable, printer to her Majesty, now distributing in and round Shiraz, where the modest and persevering, the able and most estimable Dr.

GLEN has been lately called to his great reward.* Besides all this, but few individuals now living are aware that their forefathers in *this* country, both in England and Scotland, were at one time *dependent* upon Holland for their English Bible. Archbishop Laud himself may be relied on as giving a true report, when he testified, on his trial for life, that these *English* Bibles printed in *Holland* were *better* printed, *better* paper, *better* bound, and cheaper than the English Bibles printed in England at the time. The present writer has examined not fewer than *six* distinct editions of our Scriptures, printed at *Amsterdam* in *one* year ! But there were many other editions.

To the course now advised, therefore, all things are ready except the hearts of Christians. Nothing is wanted but the *will*, for the course itself, and to a vastly greater extent, is perfectly practicable ; though to describe the happy consequences is not so easy. It is one thing to send money for printing abroad, which in *many* instances *still*, must be advisable, nay, *imperative* ; and another thing to send the veritable Volume itself. This process at *home* would have its own valuable effect on our English and Scottish printers, as well as greatly tend to stimulate any who either visited them, or beheld their productions. The very peasant in England also might then be pointed to *them*, as rather better accounting for our superior *tranquillity* to other Nations than the church *spires*, to which we have been recently informed in London, one had so stupidly ascribed it ! And as for *foreign* nations, this course would not fail to be appreciated among many of them. It would carry with it the evidence both of more earnest desire and of disinterested love, on the part of British Christians, and might so far induce the nations to beat their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, or study war no more. At all events, for conveying what have been called “ peace principles,” there is nothing to be compared with the Sacred Volume, without note and comment. Besides, such a course could scarcely fail to convey several valuable ideas to other nations—that we have done with

* His son, however, survives, to carry on the distribution in other parts. Thus, through the Old Testament by Dr. Glen, and the New of Henry Martyn and Sabat, carefully corrected by him, is Scotland now bearing on the cities of Persia. And why may not Britain, in different cities, do the same on many, many other lands ?

the presumption of imagining that within this little Island we have discovered the precise "form of godliness" which is one day to prevail in all its *power* throughout the wide earth—that we have done with the low and feeble ground of merely *protesting* against error, in whatever shape—and that, in distinction from many who have long "talked so exceeding proudly," we *impose* nothing. But that having unlimited confidence in Scripture, we simply present "*the Divine and perfect rule of faith and practice*," so that whatever remaining darkness or inconsistency may be found in *us*, they will find none in *it*. The Volume will speak for itself. And it will be our delightful privilege to invoke the Divine author and interpreter, who is ever near, and wherever his Word is sent.

Finally, and now in view of all the circumstances by which our beloved country has been so distinguished, there is not one feature by which Britain should so strive to be known as this—*that though not able to SPEAK, her Christians are yet willing, nay eager, to PRINT for foreign nations, and as far as they are able, "TO EVERY ONE IN THEIR OWN TONGUE, WHEREIN THEY WERE BORN, THE WONDERFUL WORKS OF GOD."* In reference to the European tongues, a circumstance has recently occurred which strongly urges the importance of foreign Scriptures being printed in *this country*. It is this—"That while all the Scriptures that were printing at Florence have been seized, at the instance, *not* of the civil authority, but of the uniform and ancient enemy, the Italian Bibles printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, though lying side by side with the others, have not been touched!"

Our remittances in money to foreign lands, for the printing of the Scriptures there, which will still in numerous instances be imperative, and leave more to do than Bible Societies have ever yet accomplished, would then arrive abroad with *double* effect. The rivalry between volumes of home and foreign produce would promote far more scrupulous care as to the rigid simplicity and idiomatic purity of the Sacred Text; and this laudable emulation would greatly serve to quicken the zeal and sensibility of all who regard the Word of God as the rule of life.

But we have done. One thing, however, is as certain as that God rules the world, and that is, that He will rule the

nations by his WORD—that it, and it *alone*, shall be “the light to their feet,” explaining the ground on which they stand in relation to Himself and to each other; and “the lamp to their paths,”—the path in which all must walk, and ultimately will. Every idol is to be destroyed. The prevalence of *man* worship is to come to an end, and the knowledge of the Lord is to cover the earth as the waters do the sea. But for this glorious consummation, the Almighty has pledged Himself to no other volume save *one*, even his own inspired Word. No other is fundamental to the weal or wo of mankind. No other is essential to all the purposes of genuine love and friendship, peace and unity. *One* Book, and so *one* people. The nations some time longer may rage and strive, speculate and dogmatize; the kings of the earth may set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together against Jehovah; but to this Sacred and Inspired Volume the wandering family of mankind must at last return as to “the Sabbath and port of all men’s labours and peregrinations.” In a higher sense than has ever been felt or acknowledged, the day must and will come when “there shall be one Lord over all the earth, and his name one.”

Should our rulers and statesmen still shut their ears to the supreme authority of Divine Revelation, and close their eyes to the marked footsteps of Divine Providence, they and their country must abide the consequences; though there is no sight more agonizing than that of a favoured Nation not knowing the *time* of her visitation. That time has its *limits*, and it was upon the approach of these that, from Mount Olivet, the very sight of the capital of Judea drew tears from the eyes even of our Incarnate Mediator. And on the spot where those tears were shed the Romans first encamped, when they came to its final overthrow. But our situation is even more peculiar. We have enjoyed and abused greater mercies than Israel of old. There is nothing throughout all time with which to compare our country, in its present position—its present obligations—or its present opportunities.

With a *dominion* extended “far as the sea-fowl in a year can fly,” far beyond all the empires of antiquity—a *preservation* that has frequently called for wonder; preservation from civil war and bloodshed within our borders; first through all the horrors of a French Revolution, and now through

those of a European one, not yet fully exploded;—above all, with a possession of *Divine Revelation*, immeasurably beyond that which any nation ever enjoyed;—intelligence from afar daily pouring into our country as to the deplorable state of the world, and no other kingdom possessing such frequent, easy and swift access to all parts of the earth! The mind becomes almost giddy in the contemplation of our present position as a people, and language fails to depict the greatness of our responsibility. But though language fails, the present crowning mercy for British Christians is this, that the path of action and duty is abundantly plain, and it were in vain to wish to escape from the condition of our place in the universe of God. Meanwhile, everything as to our beloved country appears absolutely to hang upon *the use or the abuse of Divine Revelation*; and the momentous consideration presented is this, that all these indescribable benefits, with which God has loaded this nation, it is as easy for Him that gave them to take away, as it is for us to “remove a candlestick out of its place.” Under this figure, He has himself warned His people long ago.

“Those who are intent on the schemes for enlightening mankind, are entertaining a confident hope of the approach of a period when the success will be far greater in proportion to the measure of exertion, in every department of the system of instrumentality for that grand object. We cherish this confidence, not on the strength of any pretension to be able to resolve prophetic emblems and numbers into precise dates and events of the present and approaching times. We rest it on a much more general mode of combining the *very extraordinary* indications of the period we live in, with the substantial purport of the Divine predictions. There unquestionably gleams forth, through the plainer lines and through the mystical imagery of prophecy, the vision of a better age, in which the application of Divine truth to men’s minds will be irresistible. And what should more naturally be interpreted as one of the dawning signs of its approach, than a greater and wider movement, in humble dependence upon God, at once to clear their intellects, and bring the heavenly light to shine close upon them?” Only let the voice of Jehovah himself be heard—for by this voice will He as certainly enlighten the world as that He now governs it.

APPENDIX.

JOHN ROGERS, THE PROTO-MARTYR OF 1555.

WE have promised an Appendix relating to John Rogers, and more particularly because some hesitation has been expressed as to his native county and birthplace, as given in the "Annals of the English Bible." Fuller the historian, a fascinating writer, though frequently more distinguished for his wit than his accuracy, having loosely ranked the Martyr among the "Worthies of Lancashire," has as loosely been followed by some other writers; and thus so far the merits of a man have been buried in oblivion, who, now that he is better known, will be more highly venerated, and especially by the inhabitants of his native place and county.*

In this instance, the Father is to be distinctly traced through one of his sons, who, wearing a civil character and no inferior place in the reign of Elizabeth, serves to fix the lineage and birthplace of his martyred parent. Old John Foxe, in his veritable and affecting account of that martyrdom, is the first who connects this son with his father. "After his death," says he, "his wife, and one of her sons called *Daniel*, coming into the place where he had lain, to seek for his books and writings, and now ready to go away, it chanced her son aforementioned, casting his eye aside, to spy a black thing lying in a blind corner under a pair of stairs, who found it to be the book, written with his own hand, containing these his examinations and answers." To this youth, and future Ambassador, we stand indebted for the outrageous proceedings under the illegal imprisonment and mock trial of his illustrious father.

The industrious Strype is our next witness as to this family. When he published his Life of Whitgift in 1718, he only conjectured as follows—"Mr. Daniel Rogers, a learned and well-deserving man, son, if I mistake not, to John Rogers, the first martyr under Queen Mary," &c. But ten years later, or in 1728, having had abundance of manuscript materials in his possession, he speaks with positive certainty. The fact was, that Daniel Rogers, well known in the Court of Elizabeth, quite a master of several languages, both ancient and modern, having been employed first as an under Secretary, and then as an Envoy to the Continent from 1575 to 1588, was in frequent and confidential correspondence with Cecil Lord Burleigh. All the Burleighian and other

* Fuller died in August 1651; his "Worthies of England" being a posthumous work, published not till 1662, stood in great need of thorough revision, as it does still. So ill informed was he respecting this Bible of 1537, as to imagine, a century after its publication, that it had never been printed, but remained a *manuscript* in the King's Library! Nay more, he supposes that some years after Tyndale, Rogers by himself had translated from Genesis to Revelation, comparing it with the original! And finally, with no other reliance than the very questionable authority of John Bale in his "*Scriptoribus Britannicis*," he took for granted that Rogers was born in Lancashire. Bale, who states neither place nor parentage, is therefore no guide. As for Fuller's posthumous work, it remained for Strype to point out many other errors, as well as in his Church History; and even now, it is not to be wondered at, that Strype himself would be still more valuable by revision.

manuscripts then and still in the British Museum, had been ransacked by Strype. In his *Annals*, therefore, having occasion to mention the name of D. Rogers again, he adds—"This Daniel Rogers was the more remarkable, being the son of John Rogers, prebendary and reader of Divinity in St. Paul's, London, and the protomartyr in Queen Mary's cruel reign. He studied at Wittenberg, and was a scholar under Melancthon, as he mentions in one of his letters; and understanding the German, Dutch, and other languages, was secretary to an Ambassador divers years." Thus far then we are led to infer that this son must have been born abroad, and educated there in part, as he was afterwards more fully at home. His father, indeed, when under examination, testified that he had been married in Germany, and brought his wife and children with him to London.

Now above forty years before Strype's volume appeared, a Continental writer, Paul Frcher, the member of a learned family, and a physician at Nuremberg, who died in 1682, had left behind him a useful and laborious work—"Theatrum Virorum eruditione clarorum." It was prepared for the press by his nephew, and published at Nuremberg in 1688, with many hundred portraits, among which there is one of our John Rogers. The martyr is there recorded as having come from England to Antwerp, where Tyndale then resided. By familiar conversation with him, the views of Rogers as to Christianity had been entirely changed. There, too, according to the same authority, Rogers was married in 1536, and, as it will appear presently, to a native of Weyden, a village near Aix-la-Chapelle. She proved to be the mother of his numerous family, eight born on the Continent, and three after the return of the parents to England. But above all, here it was that the ardent friendship was formed with Tyndale, which led to *the printing, and finishing, and notable introduction of our folio English Bible in 1537.*

Rogers, however, still remained abroad, ministering in their native tongue to a congregation in Germany, until Henry VIII. was gone. But no sooner had Edward VI. ascended the throne—a monarch to whom the town of *Birmingham* in particular was soon after placed under lasting obligations, by the erection of her Free School, than Rogers returned to London with his German wife and family. Thus as early as 1548, we find him publishing the translation of a tract by Melancthon, the early tutor of his son. He was first admitted as Rector of St. Margaret Moyses; and in April 1550, Nicholas Ridley having been transferred from the see of Rochester to that of London, Rogers, on the 10th of next month, became Vicar of St. Sepulchre. On the 24th of August, having resigned his first appointment, Rogers had the Pancras Prebend of St. Paul conferred on him, and by the Dean and Chapter he was chosen to read the Divinity Lecture. The fact was, that Ridley and Rogers had both been educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and both were consigned to the flames the same year! Rogers on the 4th of February in London, and Ridley, with Latimer, at Oxford, on the 16th of October. Hence, among the touching "Farewells" of Ridley before death, we find the following—"Oh London, London! to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the *Prebendaries* of Paul's? Alas! *all* that loved *God's Word*, and were true *setters forth* thereof, are now, I hear say, some *burnt and slain*, some

exiled and banished, and some holden in hard prisons, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death, for Christ's Gospel sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever delight in them."

The mind thus carried back to these hallowed associations of the past, the place where Rogers first drew breath, the spot where he must have spent his earliest years, becomes of special interest.

In his Biographical Dictionary, Chalmers, without being aware of the whole truth, has given a statement as to the Son of our Martyr in these words—"Daniel Rogers, a man of considerable ability in the Court of Queen Elizabeth, and who in some of his writings calls himself *Albimontanus*, was the son of John Rogers of Deritend, in the parish of Aston in Warwickshire." And so had said long before his day a better and far higher authority, Bishop Tanner, in his *Bibliotheca*; but when Chalmers adds, "where he (Daniel) was born about 1540," there is a mistake both as to the year and the place of his birth.

The Martyr, when under examination before Stephen Gardiner, as Lord Chancellor, in 1555, had his wife and children waiting the result; the mother having many times implored in vain one sight of her husband, and he as earnestly to the last pleaded for one interview with his wife. "She hath ten children," said he, "that are hers and mine; and somewhat I would counsel her, what were best for her to do." But both parties were most barbarously denied even this final gratification! Now Rogers himself informs us that it was then *twenty* years since his eyes had been opened to Divine truth at Antwerp, and *then*, he says, he had left the Church of Rome. This then must have been early in 1535. Freher has dated his marriage in 1536, (which Rogers corroborates before Gardiner,) and then his place of abode at Wittenberg. We have his son's authority that "he studied at Wittenberg, and was a scholar under Philip Melancthon," and the father not having set his foot in England till the reign of Edward VI., explains the reason for Daniel adding *Albimontanus* to his name. For whatever place was meant by this term, it points, no doubt, to his birthplace on the Continent.

And as for this son, after witnessing the awful but heroic death of his father in Smithfield, and rescuing from oblivion the papers left in his cell, he still remained in this country, or had gone but for a season to Germany again; since he afterwards proceeded to Oxford, where he took the degrees of A.B. and A.M. in the same year, or 1561. His learning and skill in languages recommended him to public notice; but though employed many years as a civilian, he has left sufficient evidence of his being a son *worthy* of such a father, and of a congenial spirit. Cultivating the Muses, he maintained no inferior place as a Latin poet, and discovered his warm interest in the men of greatest minds and deepest theology in the sixteenth century.*

* Thus, in one of his Latin odes, being a man of rich acquirements, equally conversant with the Continent and his Father's land, we find him celebrating in one group—"Calvin of France—Melancthon (his first tutor,) Luther and Bucer of Germany—Zuinglius and Bullinger of Switzerland—a Lasco of Poland—Huss of Bohemia—Hemlingius of Denmark—Knox of Scotland—Valdesso of Spain—Hyperius of Flanders—and last in particular, Jewell of England." His attached friends abroad and at home were among the most eminent men of their day. *Abroad*, besides ORTELIVS, the Ptolemy of Antwerp, there was a fellow-student, and afterwards his most intimate

Although, therefore, there have remained some minor mistakes in the account given of Daniel Rogers, there is left no question now that the birthplace and lineage of our illustrious martyr JOHN ROGERS, his father and family, are given with precision and accuracy by one of our best antiquarian writers, when he, in one place, states as follows:—"Daniel Rogers, a most accomplished gentleman of his time, who puts in some of his writings the addition of Albimontanus to his name, was the SON of John Rogers, by his wife Adriana Pratt alias de Weyden, SON of John Rogers of Deritend, in the parish of Aston, Warwickshire." It is very possible that some deeper research into the Museum Manuscripts might afford more particulars, though Anthony Wood is never so pointed, without positive proof. But there is to be added to this, the evidence of Strype, which is no less distinct, and this is confirmed by the reference of Dr. Bliss, in the best edition of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i., pp. 571, 572.

The proceedings against Rogers formed altogether a *scene*, which, though at the distance of nearly three hundred years, must not be passed over. At the moment, and within a few days after, a far deeper impression was produced than has ever been pointed out in our general histories. His examinations, which but for young Daniel would never have seen the light, mingled as they were with such vulgar and tumultuous brow-beating by his cruel judges, placed the Lord Chancellor of the day, the noted STEPHEN GARDINER of Winchester, in one of the most awkward and humbling positions he ever occupied in the course of his varied life; they agitated, even to serious apprehension, both PHILIP and MARY, the King and Queen; nay, on the evening of the day of martyrdom, they extorted from an enemy, NOAILLE, the celebrated French Ambassador at the Court of London, one of the most singular confessions, contained in his letter to France of that very evening. "This day," said he, "was performed the *confirmation* of the alliance between the Pope and this kingdom, by a public and solemn *sacrifice* of a preaching doctor, named ROGERUS, who has been burnt alive for being a Lutheran," (the cant phrase of the day,) "but he died *persisting in his opinion*. At this conduct the *greatest* part of the people took such pleasure, that they were not afraid to make him many acclamations to strengthen his courage. Even his *children* assisted, comforting him in such a manner that it seemed as if he had been led to a wedding."* "No words," says Sharon Turner, "can be more emphatic of the nature and effect of these vile deeds. It was in his opinion 'un sacrifice' done for 'la confirmation d'alliance' with the Pope, and the spectators huzza'd the sufferer."

friend, JAMES DOUSA, the first curator of Leyden University in 1575. This prodigy of learning frequently addresses Daniel Rogers in his Latin Poems, and dedicates one to him. At home, Rogers, the special and very intimate friend of CAMDEN the historian, was equally so of the celebrated GEORGE BUCHANAN in Scotland. In short, the Latin poems of Daniel Rogers are numerous. Three of them may be found in Ortelius' "*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*," 1579. Nine in Latin and one in Greek were published in Humphrey's "*Vita Joannis Juelli*." Dr. Bliss says that six of these are by Rogers. During his embassies, various letters from and instructions to Rogers are in the Cotton, Harleian, and other manuscripts in the British Museum. For his letter to Ortelius, of 15th February 1570, see the Harleian MSS. No. 6990.

* See this Letter, dated 4th February 1555, in the "*Ambassades de Messieurs de Noaille en Angleterre*," vol. iv. p. 173.

On the way to Smithfield, Rogers was repeating the 51st Psalm, when he was met by his entire family, including his wife, who had so often implored to see him, with the youngest infant in her arms, now the eleventh child, and whom the father had never beheld! On this excruciating day, Daniel Rogers, the eldest son, must have been approaching to seventeen, and, next to his mother, most capable of agony at the entire catastrophe. Throughout the whole history of these monstrous times this is the only instance of Parents and Children, Father and Son, standing before posterity in a posture so exalted as in favour of Divine truth.

All being now over, still the examinations of Rogers, so far as they were *heard* by the crowded court on the 28th of January, remained then to work their own powerful effects. The year 1555 was destined for persecution, and on the 1st of January the Government had commenced in good earnest. On the 22d, Rogers was examined before Stephen Gardiner and others, as the *Queen's* Commissioners. Towards Rogers, Gardiner had already behaved with peculiar harshness and cruelty, getting him conveyed from the confinement at his own house, to Newgate, and there suffering him to remain among thieves and murderers, to whom, however, he was of use. He seems to have owed Rogers a grudge for eighteen years, for the Bible introduced into England in 1537, when Gardiner was happily in France, and he had now *illegally* imprisoned him for eighteen months. With this illegality Rogers boldly charged him in Court. But on the day after the first examination, CARDINAL POLE, lately come into England, gave *his* blessing and *ADVICE* to the Bishops; and as Rogers was to enjoy the honour of being the "first sacrifice in confirmation of the alliance," on the 28th he was called before Gardiner, Tunstal, and others, as a commission from HIM! Gardiner, who cherished no mean opinion of his own sagacity and cunning, thought himself perfectly competent to manage the opening of persecution and to overwhelm the strongest mind. Full of this idea, he had commenced with Rogers. As soon as he entered on the 28th, nothing daunted, he observed the *change* on the Court of Examination. "There was a great sort of *new* men, Gardiner's fellow-bishops, whom I knew not," Rogers having been immured in Newgate the whole of 1554! Gardiner, in his wrath, soon forgot himself so far as to style King EDWARD an *usurper*, a term which he then tried clumsily to recall; but another expression as to his reigning Queen, MARY, turned out to be vastly more awkward for him, and all his order on the bench. Rogers had intimated his persuasion that *her Majesty would have done well enough but for HIS, Gardiner's counsel*, when, in reference to the persecution now commenced, Gardiner replied—"The QUEEN went before ME, and it was her own motion!" Rogers immediately answered him—"Without fail, I neither can, nor will ever, believe it!" Bishop Aldrich of Carlisle, in name of himself and his brethren, instantly said—"they would bear Gardiner witness." Yea, replied Rogers, *that I believe well*, on which the laugh went round among the crowded court! Upon this, Southwell, the Comptroller of the Royal Household, and Bourne, principal Secretary of State, stood up to confirm the Chancellor's assertion! Never had men so committed themselves, and at such a crisis! Rogers, however, coolly said—"It was no great matter; but I think that they,

the Bishops, were good helpers thereinto themselves." Such a dialogue, easily carried away, and before such a crowd, "for the thousandth man could not get in," was felt by all these gentlemen, in the cool of the day, to be no light matter. If the Chancellor's distinct assertion were true, they had betrayed a State secret! Accordingly, next day, when Rogers was condemned, it was with *closed doors*. But the serious colloquy on the 28th, now repeated throughout London, in which the Queen was so exposed to view by her own Ministers; followed as it was by the martyrdom of Rogers on Monday the 4th of February, already described, that of Saunders at Coventry on Friday, of Hooper at Gloucester, and Tailour at Hadley on Saturday, was followed the very next day, Sabbath the 10th, by a most singular scene. Her Majesty *would* be married to a Spanish Prince, on whom she doated, but Philip, the King himself, was now in serious alarm. The people had been foretold that he would introduce the Inquisition, and after this report as to the Queen, what was the miserable artifice he adopted? Next day, the 10th, there was to be a sermon, a great rarity in those days; but what was to be the subject, especially as it was to be preached at Court, and before Philip? Was it to sanction or approve of the flaming zeal of Gardiner, Tunstal, and their brethren? Quite the *reverse*. Philip had brought with him ALPHONSO DI CASTRO, a Spanish divine, and himself an author against *heretics*, and he was the preacher, but in what strain? He enlarged on the *sin* of taking away the *lives* of any for their religion! reprobated the practice of *burning* men on account of their opinions! and affirmed that the Bishops would search the *Scriptures* in vain for authority to spill the blood of their flocks! The Scriptures, he insisted, taught Bishops, in the spirit of meekness, to instruct those who opposed them, not to *burn* them for their conscientious opinions!

As an exhibition, the very next Lord's-day after the martyrdom of Rogers, nothing could exceed this. A *Spanish* priest, upon *English* ground, preaching before the Court, and against *all* the bishops of England then in power. Arraigning, nay, denouncing them in public, for having embrued their hands in blood! While there sat Philip, to sanction the sermon, not without some fear for his own personal safety, and, like Pilate of old, he would seem "to take water and wash his hands before the multitude," saying, "I am innocent of the blood of these just men." But then where was Gardiner, and where all his brethren? Were none of them present? We presume not one; nor was there any apology for absence. But certainly the exulting Lord Chancellor had little imagined that *the Editor of Tyndale's Bible* would live to come to England, and lead *him*, in the last year of his life, so to expose the Bench and the Court at one stroke! Still less could he have supposed that the same man would so hit the mark as to cause him eventually to shrink behind the curtain, or retire from playing at the game of persecution ever after! In fact, he never afterwards took his seat on the bench. "*Whether it was*," says Lingard, "that Gardiner disapproved of the measure, or that he was called away by more important *duties*!" The latter alternative is strangely put, as if the former had *been* a duty. But this will not serve the purpose of history. "Gardiner," says Soamé, "having kindled the fires of persecution, *left* to others the hateful office of supplying them with victims." But why, at *this* period, leave an

office in which he had so abounded? The circumstances now detailed alone account for his retirement and the change of tactics. After the sermon there was a dead pause for a season—the execution of other already condemned prisoners was suspended, and it was at this precise crisis that MYLES COVERDALE was *released* and sent out of the country. Rogers, in effect, had proved more powerful than even the King of Denmark, who had long requested Coverdale's release.

It remains only to be stated, as a curious circumstance, that *nothing* was brought forward relating to the Bible of 1537 or its introduction. Gardiner, however, took care, in his sentence of condemnation, to brand Rogers not less than three times with an *alias*, as John Rogers *alias* Matthew. And yet, during the whole course of this reign, under Philip and Mary, though certain books, as well as many victims, were committed to the flames, there was not a single proclamation issued against the Sacred volume by *name*, though by the time of Mary's accession there had passed through the press above seventy editions of the New Testament and twenty-nine of the Bible entire! * Many of these had been secreted in the most wonderfully different ways, and they came forth into the light again under the next reign. Indeed, these five years were not lost. The New Testament was now revising by another exile *abroad*, and the Bible entire was printing at Geneva, for better days, soon to come.

Even at the opening of these barbarous proceedings, many in the nation had stood amazed at the shocking destruction of such men. The Lord Chancellor, a man of base intrigue all his days, who had seven abominations in his heart, and therefore the mainspring of all this cruelty, had found John Rogers a proto-martyr in more senses than one. Gardiner died the same year. They might bury him with great pomp, employ the inhuman Bonner to sing his requiem, and afterwards carry him to Winchester, where they still show his tomb. Ten months before his unhappy death, he had taken advantage of his position as Lord Chancellor to descend to the vilest scurrility against Rogers and his most virtuous Wife. But O what a contrast have *three* centuries since exhibited to view! Not only in the Martyr himself, but in that fine family who had been so treated, on a day never afterwards to be forgotten in England, far less in America. It would require a volume to explain. The Mother, however, and about to become a Widow, stood there, with the infant in her arms, but at the head of such a group of children, that there are few, very few, to compare with them. The rich blessing of "the King of martyrs" himself then began to descend upon them, and it has continued to do so upon their posterity down to the present hour! Of Daniel we have already given some account, but could we here speak more fully of the rest of these children, what a proof would they exhibit of that moral power which is peculiar to the "Domestic Constitution," and what a contrast to "the ivy tree" of which Tyndale spake, as destroying alike the *family* and the *church*. However, at least two younger

* A fact rendered still more remarkable by the "Question to be moved in the High Court of Parliament" by John Standish, D.D., urging that *all the Scriptures in English* should be at once destroyed! of which the *second* edition was finished at press on Friday of the awful week above described. "Imprinted at London by Robert Caley, viiij. Feb. 1555," *pence* me.

brothers of Daniel stood there, both of whom became afterwards eminent ministers of that Word in England for which their father died. One of these is understood to have been Richard Rogers of Wethersfield in Essex, as his daughter, generally stated as the "granddaughter of the martyr," was married to William Jenkyn, A.M., the Expositor of Jude, &c. But, besides, Richard had two sons, also in the ministry, one of whom, Ezekiel, went to America in 1638, and he had been preceded in 1636 by Nathaniel Rogers, (the second son of John Rogers of Dedham, and the nephew of Wethersfield,) of whom Cotton Mather has said that he was "one of the greatest men and one of the best ministers that had then set his foot on the American shore." And with regard to Ezekiel just mentioned, the grandson of the martyr, America has had abundant cause to cherish his memory. His library he left to one, which is now about the largest in the United States, that of Harvard College—his house and lands to the town of Rowley, for the support of the ministry; and in the close of his varied and afflicted life there were some expressions quite characteristic of the prospect of meeting his grandfather. "I thank God," said he, in writing to a friend, "I am near home; and you too are not far off. Oh! the weight of glory that is ready waiting for us, God's poor *exiles*. We shall sit next to the *martyrs and confessors*. Cheer up your spirits with these thoughts; and let us be zealous for God and for Christ, and make a good conclusion." And this conclusion he made at the age of seventy, on the 23d January 1660, arriving among all the martyrs, one hundred and five years after the exit of his grandfather.

Among the descendants still remaining in England we cannot omit one of them in the ministry, now alive, who has lately told us that his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, had all kept the 4th of February in devout memorial of their Ancestor's glorious martyrdom! But for farther information we must refer to a recent publication—"A Memoir of Mrs. Elizabeth Long of Clapham Park, daughter of the Rev. John Rogers. Hamliton, Adams, & Co. 1848." And as to AMERICA in particular, we select the following evidence, since it forms such an appropriate conclusion of this brief sketch. It is from the Exposition of Isaiah, lately published by the laborious and well known ALBERT BARNES of Philadelphia. In expounding the conclusion of the 59th Chapter he gives this singular illustrative testimony—"I am acquainted with the descendants of JOHN ROGERS, the first martyr in Queen Mary's reign, of the tenth and eleventh generations! With a single exception the eldest son in the family has been a minister of the Gospel, some of them eminently distinguished for learning and piety; and there are few families now in this land a greater proportion of whom are pious than of that family." How striking is this testimony! Yet, coming to us from beyond the Atlantic, how humiliating! In his Native land, the man and his memory have been consigned by the multitude to the "land of forgetfulness,"—the Redeemer whom he served, and in whose service he nobly died, even down to the eleventh generation, has been raising up for him *living memorials*, not only at home, but more eminently beyond seas!

If we have been successful, therefore, in fixing the locality of his earliest years, the Christian community in Birmingham may now, perhaps, take a warmer interest in the memory of JOHN ROGERS. To that

community at large any Memorial may be safely left ; but independently of every thing else there is ONE which would *tell* more powerfully at a distance from the place of his birth than even any other of their far-famed productions. By the genius and enterprise of a single individual, a man who trusted nothing to others, a native of Wolverton, in the same county, Birmingham once stood very high in the art of printing, nay, and of printing the Bible ; for though this was seventy years ago, the memory of Baskerville is not forgotten. His typography united the elegance of Plantin with the clearness of the Elzevirs. His English folio Bible of 1763, the most beautiful of his day, cost him first a considerable *premium* to the University of Cambridge, even for *permission* to print it ; though after his death, part of his types, at least ultimately, went to print the works of Voltaire in France, and in nearly seventy volumes ! But now there is a far wider field open to English enterprise, where, happily, no *permission* needs to be either asked or granted ; and if zeal for the Sacred Volume has begun to show itself in the vicinity of *Voltaire's* grave, why should it not in that of poor *Baskerville's* ? The weapons of war from this enterprising, populous, and spirited town, are famous, not only over America, but over the far East. But if OXFORD has been busy with the antidote to all *error* in our own tongue, why may not BIRMINGHAM be as much so in furnishing the sovereign antidote to all the confusion and gloom, the bondage and misery of *Superstition*, among the Nations near at hand, as well as to the horrors of *War* afar off ?

At all events, let us not linger behind the state of the moral world and its demands. It is not in Oxford, Birmingham, or London alone, but in all our cities there are Christian men who know well that, as an efficacious remedy, there is nothing to be compared with the Word of God, in the dialect of the belligerents, whether physical or moral. At such a crisis as this, the poet who strung his lyre to the highest pitch in praise of Divine Truth would not have objected to the application of his own words.—

“ Spread it then,
And let it circulate through every vein
Of our vast empire ! that where Britain's power
Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too.
Sure there is need of social intercourse,
Benevolence and peace and mutual aid
Between the nations, in a world that seems
To toll the death bell of its own decease,
And by the voice of all its elements
To preach the general doom—— ”

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FROM CANADA.

"True it is that Johnson, Lewis, Dibdin, Newcome, Todd, Townley, and others, have written on this subject, but with little success, and with still less independent research. The production of the only work on the 'Bible of our

Fathers,' of thorough scholarship and standard authority, was reserved for Mr. Anderson. Unexpected success has followed efforts untiringly prosecuted. Mistakes of preceding writers have been rectified, curious and instructive incidents brought to light, the providential origin and dissemination of the English Bible triumphantly proved, and the characters of TYNDALE and FRYTH, (of England,) ALKSS, (of Scotland,) and others, rescued from comparative oblivion, to be henceforth known, revered, and imitated."—*Canada Protestant Herald*.

FROM INDIA.

"As a collector of materials there can be but one opinion. The author has succeeded in bringing facts to light, which, strange as it may appear, seem to have escaped the eye of the most inquisitive of all book collectors—the lovers of black letter lore. It has excited our surprise that the subject has not attracted attention before." The biographical, historical, and Bibliographical memoranda at the foot of the pages throughout this work contain many incidents of curious additional interest. "To extract and group these," says the Reviewer, "would be as gratifying as instructive, but our limits will not admit of this; while so minute and unbroken, though apparently fragmentary, so isolated, and yet dependent are the features of this singular history, so striking in its details and comprehensive in its bearings, that it is utterly beyond our reach to attempt it." N.B.—The additions made to the *second* issue supply the place of any such attempt.—*Friend of India, Bengal*.

FROM SPAIN.

Translation of a passage in the Appendix to a recent reprint, in Spanish, and in Spain itself, of CARRASCON, a very scarce work of one of the Spanish Reformers of the SIXTEENTH Century.—"It is impossible, as TYNDALE said, to imbue the minds of the common people, effectually, with a single truth of the Bible, *unless the Bible itself is put into their hands in the vulgar and native language*, so that they may see the connexion and inference on which the text proceeds, and the relative meaning that connects all its parts. And this view is very opportunely corroborated by CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON, in his *Annals of the English Bible*, where he shows it to be an *historical axiom* of the highest importance, proved by the experience of more than three hundred years, that the publication of the *Sacred Text, without Note or any Comment*, is not only the most effectual mode of procedure against its opponents, but what is most expressly sanctioned by time and experience, since thus it has been circulated with a measure of success beyond all expectation. And the same author presents with great force the contrast—a contrast *very mournful and bitter to us*—of

The Bible in Spain and the Bible in England!

It is certainly true that both these nations possess two languages on which the sun never sets; but how differently employed! In English, the sounds of the words of the Bible cease not to be heard in every region of the earth! but in Spanish!! And what is the effect produced by such a contrast in both countries, and in those that have been, or now are, their colonies? ENGLAND OWES ALL THE DIFFERENCE TO HER APPRECIATION OF THE SCRIPTURES. *And our beloved Spain owes all her misery and misfortunes to an opposite course.*

"The earliest splendid and durable monuments of art, raised in honour of the Bible, are, *doubtless*, Spanish. Spaniards they were who conceived and executed them. In the place where our *Cervantes* was born, in unremembered ALCALA, where now, perhaps, not a person opens a Bible, in 1517 was printed the earliest Polyglot; and in the same century, the learned and pious *Arias Montano* superintended and printed the second. To Christian eyes these monuments, it is true, form the highest literary prize of our country. But in return, neither in Spanish bosoms, nor in Spanish customs, nor in the lugubrious history of the moral and religious transactions of Spain, are to be seen the traces of the excelling and most worthy monument that the human understanding has to raise to the Bible—THE INFLUENCE OF ITS CONTENTS. And therefore we wish every Spaniard in his heart and conduct to come to the Bible."

Devotional language, more recently received from *Christian friends in Spain*—"Grant that liberty of worship may be established in our Spain, together with complete civil liberty; and that the gift of liberty may be assured for ever, with the free, extensive, and continued printing, circulation, and reading of the HOLY SCRIPTURES! Amen, and Amen."



THE
EVANGELICAL MAGAZINE,

AND

MISSIONARY CHRONICLE.

FOR FEBRUARY, 1851.

MEMOIR OF THE LATE REV. JOHN PARRY.

SUCCESSIVELY PASTOR OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES AT EAST COWES
IN THE ISLE OF WIGHT, AND AT THE CLIFFE CHAPEL, LEWES, SUSSEX.

"O thou man of God, thou hast been faithful unto death, and thine endless reward is begun. 'Well done, good and faithful servant;' thy stewardship is taken from thee, and thou hast entered into the joy of thy Lord. Amid acclamations of men and of angels, to whom thou wert a spectacle, thy race is ended. According to thine oft-repeated prayer, and solemnly felt desire, thou hast finished thy course with joy, and the ministry which thou hast received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God. As we saw thee on the confines of the heavenly world, we thought of those brethren whom thou wert about to join, and now with celestial greetings thou hast been received into their society. Happy Guyer, happy Adams, happy Wills, but lately in our circle here, may we end our course as ye have done, and all will be well!"—*Mr. Parry's Funeral Sermon for the Rev. Richard Adams.*

THE graves of the young, always affecting, are especially so when youth has been distinguished by high moral, spiritual, and intellectual worth—when it has given large promise of mental power—when it has actually accomplished services appreciated by the wise and the good—and when, to the last hours of capability of labour, it has planned, cherished, and executed purposes of benevolence, piety, and utility. Such, in the judgment of many, are the associations with the character of the young minister, of whose short, but not useless, course these columns are designed to attempt the embalming of a brief memorial.

John, who was born Nov. 26, in the year 1816, was the second son of Mr. Thomas Parry, of Abergele, Denbighshire, in North Wales; and brother of the late Rev. Thomas Parry once pastor of the Independent church at

Blackburn, where he succeeded the late Rev. Dr. Joseph Fletcher on his removal to Stepney. Mr. Thomas Parry afterwards laboured at Newport, in Monmouthshire; and at Dover, where he died in 1844.*

With many resemblances of mind, these brothers had some similitudes of constitution, and their personal history was not entirely unlike. Both were early followers of the Lord Jesus—both became ministers—both were diligent students, and careful in ministerial self-cultivation—both obtained some acknowledged eminence—both were remarkable for firmness, and for modesty—both met with honour, but also with trials, in the pastoral life—both had nearly reached the *extreme* of Christian simplicity—both were cut off in the

* He was author of "The Christian Earnest," in English; and contributor to some important Welsh papers.

prime of their days—both died in consumption, although that disease had not prevailed in other members of their family—and both left behind them many who intensely mourned their early removal from this condition of being.

The two brothers ever cherished fond and grateful remembrance of their *pious mother*, whose sudden death was, indeed, a heavy affliction to the subject of this memoir. He referred to it repeatedly, through his subsequent life; though he recognised the conversations and example of his elder brother, as the immediate means employed by Providence for his decided conversion to God.

At this time there was no Congregational church in the town of Abergele; and the brothers therefore walked every Sunday, several miles over the mountains, to a village chapel—there to worship in a form and on principles which they had learned to love.

Of this church “amongst the mountains,” John became a member at the age of thirteen years; and soon after followed his brother, “as a lamb follows the shepherd,” to the surrounding towns, to which they were invited, the elder to preach, the younger to conduct devotional services.

Encouraged by the church and by neighbouring ministers, the youth was admitted a student of the Blackburn Academy, at the age of seventeen years. On his admission, he was addressed by the Rev. Dr. M’All, who is understood to have afterwards commended him to the especial attention of one of the tutors, as a lad whom it would be “worth while” to cherish.

Mr. Parry appears to have passed his college life with credit to his diligence, and to the satisfaction of his tutors. By some fellow-students he was earnestly loved.

In afterwards sketching this portion of the experience of an embryo minister, Mr. Parry gave the following passages, not undescriptive of his own:—

“Who can faithfully portray the advance, from his youth upwards, of that servant of God whom he has led to the work, and taken his own wondrous way in training and directing? There is the period of impressions got over, after perhaps hard struggles and wavering purposes. Then ‘he essayed to join himself to the disciples;’ then the church of which he was a member was charged with the responsibility of inviting or sanctioning the exercise of his gifts in public work; then ‘the school of the prophets’ was determined on. And then came the *College life!* with its strange experience and unutterable importance; its wondrous interest and prolific influence; with its weak and juvenile points it may be, but those that are redeeming too; its hardy discipline and glorious excitements; its sombre moods, reveries, and buoyances; its Platonic and Christian hours. Oh, if but a thousandth part of the importance, the trials, and emotions connected with this period, were more generally considered, we certainly should have more prayers for students and professors.”

In the year 1842, Mr. Parry became pastor of the Congregational church, at East Cowes, where he laboured for nearly seven years, greatly esteemed by the mass of his congregation, and also in the neighbouring churches. He entered on his work with becoming seriousness, very earnestly devoting himself to the welfare of his people, especially of the poor and the young; and richly was he repaid by the profiting and the love of many. Here, however, again, without intending it, he seems to have become his own biographer. He writes:—

“The curriculum of study comes to a close, and what then? *A new world* is now entered on; as it is approached, the ministerial work brings over the spirit an awe more awful, a solemnity more solemn than before. In the position of waiting for what might appear to be the manifestation of the will of Christ, the candidate feels the comfort of faith, and the relief of prayer. The young man is chosen the ‘overseer’ of a church. His work is in earnest, upon him; and he feels the demand for all his piety and zeal, his learning and sense, his courage and caution, his strength and suavity, his dignity and humility, his light and love. Say not it is easy for *him* to be religious, for that he has nothing else to do but to be so. No man needs more religion; and no man, on the other hand, is in greater danger of having his understanding in that

way familiarized with Truth—so much professional—as that its influence on the heart becomes seriously impaired. And there are all the temptations, all the solitudes of the *public* man; the critical states of the mental, moral, and ministerial developments and experience—“Brethren, pray for us.”

East Cowes was then a less apparently important station, than the neighbouring residence of royalty and other occurrences have since rendered it; and whether it was quite *the* position for a minister of *his* mental character, was a question which *did* sometimes occur to the minds of his well-wishers. He held, however, the warm affections of many in the congregation, and gratefully appreciated them—so gratefully, indeed, as sometimes to provoke the friends who desired his removal to a larger sphere of labour. His affectionate heart so regarded this, his “first love,” in the ministry, that, humble as was his position, he was unwilling to exchange it, or even to become a party to the endeavours of others to facilitate his removal.

While labouring in the Isle of Wight, Mr. Parry, as a minister of “The Hants Association,” was, in course, appointed to preach on “the given subject,” at the meeting of that body, in the spring of 1845. The topic assigned to him was of no less difficulty or importance than that included in its emphatic title, “Anti-Christ in Prophecy, and Anti-Christ in Fact;” and the appointment of such a subject to so young a minister provoked a little surprise, with some fears both for the preacher and for his subject.

It was not without a solemn conviction of its deep and vast importance, that the youth prepared for, and engaged in, this grave employment; and never, perhaps, was his genuine modesty so thoroughly developed as on the day of his delivering the sermon referred to. The impression produced by it was, however, such as neither he, nor his friends, had conceived of. Since the memorable day when the Rev. Thomas Binney had

preached, before the same body, his now well-known discourse on “The Ultimate Design of the Christian Ministry,” such enthusiasm of approval had never been elicited by any sermon before “The Hants Association.” Not satisfied with acclamation, when ministers proposed “thanks, and that the sermon be printed,” the non-ministerial brethren rose; and, headed by their oldest and greatly respected leader, Isaac Fletcher, Esq., desired that, on this occasion, the thanks and request of *the laymen* should also be specially expressed; and this, to the great astonishment of the preacher, was also carried by acclamation. Mr. Parry returned from that meeting encouraged, indeed, by his success; but wondering at the impressions produced by what had become so familiar to his own mind; and anxiously desiring, in this and in all other connexions, to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ.

It were not easy, in the space allotted to this notice, to present a fair digest of the theory, reasonings, illustrations, and appeals, presented in the discourse, which was afterwards published, and obtained some celebrity; but the following is extracted from its preface:—

“While prosecuting his inquiries, the writer was led to results for which he was not, at first, altogether prepared. Stereotyped impressions received from Protestant writers, of mostly one school, stiffly rebelled against conclusions on which he found himself thrown; but after some misgivings, and having received a degree of encouragement from consulting writers of different schools, the interpretation of prophecy and of history here propounded, made a deep and solemn impression on his mind. It were absurd to affect that, in this his first appearance as an author, he is entirely without anxiety; yet with regard to the principles announced, he can calmly say—May they flourish or fall according to their truthfulness or error, as they agree or disagree with an enlightened and candid understanding of the subject to which they have reference!”

The sermon being now nearly “out of print;” and, from the decease of its author, not likely to be republished, a

small selection from the notices it received, may supply a not improper memorial of the youthful student and preacher on prophecy. That from the *EVANGELICAL MAGAZINE* is placed first, because it gives a representation of its great principle:—

“As a discussion of the main topics connected with Anti-Christ, it will be deeply interesting to all thoughtful Christians at the present momentous crisis. The author has entered into a careful and laboured induction, worthy of the most unprejudiced investigation, to show that the State connexion in religion is both a palpable and *predicted* feature of the great apostasy. . . . We have examined it with care, and we confess surprise at the strength of the author's position. The total absence of all vituperation and unfair dealing in the essay, gives it a claim on the serious attention of Churchmen, which we trust no ancient prejudices will tempt them to withhold. We could wish to see it in the hands of every inquiring man. It will reward the most careful perusal.”—*Evangelical Magazine*, Dec., 1845.

Dr. J. Pye Smith wrote to the author:—

“I beg you to accept my special thanks for your Discourse on Anti-Christ. The arguments appear to me to be sound, the application just, and the whole subject treated in a manner which reflects great honour on your research, your judgment, and your Christian spirit. I must, however, guard against being committed either to an acquiescence in every interpretation of some passages in the Revelations, or to a decided difference upon them. In some cases, the difficulties are great; but, on the great argument, I am fully convinced that you have *GOD and truth* on your side.”

Dr. James Bennett wrote:—

“Wishing to promote investigation on a subject so important at the present time, and admiring the spirit of research in Mr. Parry's discourse, I am happy to add my recommendation.”

The *Christian Examiner* wrote—
Nov. 1845:—

“Mr. Parry is known to us only by character. We cannot be suspected, therefore, of yielding to the influence of personal friendship, if we express, in strong terms, our admiration of the ability and vigour displayed in this masterly discourse. A more able, lucid, conclusive treatise we have not read for many months. . . . It is the result of much mature and patient investigation. . . .

We give our recommendation with all possible cordiality and earnestness.”

Other approving notices were published at the time: some of them from leading ministers of his own county; but several, also, from quarters in which he was not personally known. That from the official organ of the Methodist Conference, inferring the character of the man from that of his book, was more just than even its writer may have imagined. The italics in the following extract are ours; but the words describe John Parry to the life. Yes! the hatred of Anti-Christ, *in every conceivable form*, was the characteristic of the modest, but manly pastor, whose image we are trying to preserve. These are the words:—

“The whole discourse manifests the *author's* Evangelical principles; *his* thorough acquaintance with the topic on which he expatiates; *his* indomitable hatred of Anti-Christ, *in* whatever form it may be presented; and *his* intense desire to ‘bring into the way of truth all such as have erred, and are deceived.’”—*Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, Feb. 1846.

While Mr. Parry was yet successfully labouring at East Cowes, the Rev. Richard Adams, the first settled minister of his own congregation, who had also been a former pastor of the parent church at West Cowes, died, after a lingering but hallowed affliction, in the house of his friend and successor at the latter place. These occurrences occasioned the preaching and printing of “Paul the Aged,” a sermon in memory of the holy man who had sustained so remarkable a connexion with the neighbourhood, and who appeared to have been brought, by a special Providence to die in blessed triumph, amidst the scenes of his former labour.

In “Paul the Aged,” there are passages of great power, on the Pauline character, the Christian doctrine, progressive experience, the treatment of the aged ministry, the requirements of the times for the younger Brethren, the

true apostolic succession, and the living and dying testimony of the departed minister

On most of the subjects above alluded to, it may be observed from the publication, that the writer's spirit had been "stirred within him," on public grounds.

It is obvious, however, that Mr. Parry, like many other ministers of Jesus, had derived *personal* benefits from the Christian endeavours of the aged saint. He thus speaks of Mr. Adams;—

"The first visit from him with which I was honoured after my settlement here, was of about ten minutes' duration, five of which (a short time for him) were occupied in prayer on your behalf and on mine. That prayer did more execution on my heart (God forgive that the impressions have not been better cultivated) than all my reading of Baxter's Pastor, or Doddridge's Lectures, or Bridge's Christian Ministry; and assuredly this *ought* to mean much. The last words I heard from the man who offered that prayer—words spoken a few days before his death—were, 'Well, my dear brother, the Lord teach thy hands to war, and thy fingers to fight.' To that prayer I ask your Amen."

It was an opinion of Mr. Parry, that everything we do, *tells* on the future; and it is clear, that what Mr. Adams had done, *told* on him, and on those whom, living or dying, *he* could influence.

There are passages in this sermon evincing what from other circumstances also, is known to have been true—that *the dying hours of the venerable Adams* had left such impressions on the mind of the young minister as never could be effaced. It may, in reviewing the history of *his mind*, be doubted if he could otherwise have become so well qualified for services in which he was afterwards employed.

In 1847, Mr. Parry saw reasons for resigning his charge at East Cowes; of which, however, as his "first love" in the ministry, he ever cherished an affectionate remembrance. At that time he preached, a few Sabbaths, in

London and Bath; but his attention was chiefly absorbed by an undertaking to which, in the order of events, he seemed to have been fairly directed.

On the decease of the Rev. T. S. Guyer, of Ryde, and under the extraordinary circumstances of his interment, exciting unusual attention to the life and character of the departed minister, Mr. Parry was selected by the family and friends to become his biographer. How he executed that task may, in part, be estimated from the memoir; but the obstacles he overcame in its eventual publication, were such as few could as effectively have conquered.

Mr. Guyer's memoir, dated 1848, bears on its titlepage, the inscription:—"By JOHN PARRY, LEWES:—*where* the biographer was then the beloved pastor of the congregation worshipping in the old Cliffe Chapel.

This pastoral relationship, though mournfully short, was eminently happy. That the young minister had progressively become influenced by a more intense evangelism, and that he now, on principle, aimed at greater "plainness of speech," is not to be denied. That any right-minded teacher should "grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," is what ought rather to be expected, than the contrary; and that a Cambrian youth, who had chiefly endeavoured to form his English style on the model of some ancient classics, should have increased in simplicity of diction with increasing experience, was not to his disgrace. Certain it is, that the affection of the young, the esteem of the aged, increasing usefulness, and the cordial regards of an interesting circle, were, at Lewes, awarded to the pastor of the Cliffe Chapel. There were strong indications that God had given him favour in the eyes of the people; and while by a holy and diligent course he endeavoured to retain their love, he sought, on the highest of all principles, to commend himself to

every man's conscience "as in the sight of God."

His happiness at Lewes was greatly promoted by the esteem and the kind conduct of neighbouring brethren in the ministry; but that esteem and that conduct he could, and did, return. The younger found in him a brother, who could sympathise in every onward movement; the elder, one who knew how to honour the men who had "borne the burden and heat of the day."

Like many other *good* ministers, Mr. Parry was, however, far too regardless of his own health; and he, or rather his family and friends, perhaps, have paid the forfeit of his indiscretion; an indiscretion, however, which "leaned to virtue's side." For if, in matters affecting his personal preservation, he foolishly neglected himself, it was only because his mind was absorbed in some benevolent, or literary, or spiritual pursuit, which he deemed of higher importance.

A tribute of grateful respect is due to the deacons, the church, and the congregation of the Cliffe Chapel, for their delicate and considerate conduct during the affliction of their pastor. Two years had scarcely elapsed since the period of his *first visit*, when an alarming illness, followed by effects which rendered him obviously (to use his own words) "a maimed minister," obstructed the fulfilment of his regular duties. Through the succeeding ten months he could only preach occasionally; and then (though his sermons were most deeply spiritual, and therefore eminently profitable to devout hearers) under circumstances which too plainly indicated that *his* was the voice of a *dying* man. During all that time, however, the congregations were steadily kept up; and not only were other indications of personal kindness supplied to the gradually sinking minister, but no one would hear of his resigning the pastorate, until he should also resign his breath. Certainly, the congregation was not left

in a worse condition, as a result of this its generous conduct; but *all* men would not have acted thus kindly, and these deserved and received most hearty thanks.

Having partially recovered from a pulmonary attack, under which some kind friends (at Ryde, Lewes, and London) had provided him with valuable medical counsels, Mr. Parry was by other helpers enabled to test the benefits of his "native air." He returned in April, 1850, from Abergele, greatly refreshed in spirit, and apparently improved in health; but the cough was not gone. Though he afterwards preached and wrote as often as he could, a relapse was continually feared by his friends; and it too certainly occurred.

On Sunday, the 16th of June, he preached twice. In the morning, from Heb. x. 36, "Ye have need of patience, that, after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promise." In the evening, from 1 Thess. iv. 13:—"But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope." It was on that day observed, with earnest recognition of the profoundly spiritual and intellectual character of the last discourse, that "Mr. Parry had preached *his own* funeral sermon."

On Monday evening he concluded, as was his wont, the public prayer-meeting, and afterwards attended a private meeting; but he was next morning seized with that last illness which deprived his church of an affectionate and devoted pastor; his friends of a noble, unselfish, always to be trusted, companion; and his bereaved infants of the example of their father's lovely character. It also left to an early widowhood the "wife" of his "youth," to whom he had been so fondly and so faithfully attached.

Mrs. Parry being the eldest daughter of the compiler of this memoir, he must say no more of *her* than, under these

solemn circumstances, to express his grateful conviction that she proved "an help meet" to her worthy husband; and that the following records of his dying-bed are chiefly from her pen:—

"The first fortnight after his seizure, he seemed to suffer much from depression of spirits; partly to be attributed to great bodily suffering, but chiefly, as he afterwards mentioned, from the hard struggle he had to say, 'Thy will be done!' in prospect of leaving his family. Nature *did* triumph for a short time; he *did* find it hard to surrender his earthly treasures; but *Grace prevailed*. He was enabled to say, 'Not my will, but Thine;' and though, almost to the last, there was a lingering towards 'life'—*if such might be the will of God*, submission to *that will* was the constant feeling he evinced.

"His great difficulty and pain in speaking, prevented him from seeing the many friends to whom it would have pleased him to speak of 'God's goodness.' When best able, he saw, however, one or two ministers, his much-loved deacons, and a few members of the church. It was hoped that successively he might be able to converse with each member of his flock, but his sufferings rendered this impossible."

Often, however, at intervals, and in disjointed sentences, he spake words of tender solicitude, affection, and gratitude of his kind people. "Ah!" he would say, "with what deep interest I had looked forward to spending a few years with them, but—God—has cut me short! Well, *His* will is best! *His* will! *His* time! *His* purpose! But I pray that He may *bless them*."

To the young, while he was able, Mr. Parry had devoted much attention. From his Bible-classes, both in the Isle of Wight and at Lewes, he had received valuable proofs of grateful regard; and now, in his protracted retirement, *the young people* were solemnly on his mind. He often prayed especially for them, and "longed to see them, that he might

impart some spiritual gift." Sometimes he expressed his thought that a word "*from a dying man*" might be blessed to them; but he was at length driven to the consolation arising from a remembrance that the God who could bless the words of a dying man, could also sanction other means for their benefit.

The death-bed experience of Mr. Parry was not so much *rapture as reliance and submission*. His bodily sufferings were very complicated; and in sustaining, as he did, the great fight of his afflictions, he was enabled to present a not less effective illustration of the power of Divine grace, than if, under other circumstances, the flow of his enjoyments had assumed a more exciting character. He did, in fact, "enjoy without intermission, *Submission to the will of God, a peaceful reliance on his Saviour, and blessed hopes through him*."

• "One murmur on account of his sufferings never escaped him. He always seemed to be enabled to bear whatever the Lord thought fit to lay on him. 'It is all right,' he said; 'what are *my* pains to those He bore for *me*?' 'And all this watchful care and love I am receiving! How different from those *runaway* disciples!' Then, musing a little—'How *like* Christ it was when He afterwards appeared to them, *not to taunt them* with their desertion of Him!'

"On one of the assize days, as the judge was passing to the county tribunal, the sound of the trumpets reached his chamber. 'Ah!' he said, 'and *my* Judge is coming! but He is also my Advocate!' There is no CONDEMNATION 'to those who are in Christ Jesus!'

"One said, 'You have preached the gospel to others, do you feel it comforting your own soul now?'

"He answered, '*I do*! Sometimes, before my illness, I feared lest its glorious truths might lose their effect on my own soul, from its being my *profession* to proclaim them; and the dread of this being the case, often sent me

prostrate before God. I now believe that *God has preserved my sincerity*. From the sweet peace He gives to me now, and the assurance I feel, that, unworthy as I am, and unprofitable servant though I have been, I am safe. I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded He will "keep that I have committed unto Him against that day."

"At another time, he remarked, 'He is leading me down the valley, but I feel *He* is close to me; and though it is long, it is not dark.'

"At another, 'I should pray; for it is written, "Call upon Him while he is near"—and God is certainly *near* to me now.'

He was seldom able, to speak but he uttered some word to the praise of Jesus, or to comfort those who (sisters of mercy, *indeed!*) were anxiously and constantly attending his deeply trying, but well sustained, passage to the grave.

On Lord's-day, August 4, 1850, about one o'clock, it was evident that the last struggle was at hand, and that he knew it.

He calmly said, "Raise me! I am dying!" and shortly afterwards, "Jesus calls me! I am going home!"

After this his breathing became very difficult; and it was thought that a few moments must "end the strife."

He rallied, however, and said, "Why, how is this? I thought it had been said to me, 'This day shalt thou be with

me in Paradise!' Well, never mind! It is a long struggle—but—I shall go at last!"

To the question—"Does Jesus support you now?" he answered, "Yes, I have a satisfactory assurance. God is taking my soul to Himself."

This was his *dying* testimony. At half-past seven o'clock on that evening, the spirit departed to be "present with the Lord."

His remains, borne by his people to the graveyard of All Saints' Church, were interred in the sepulchre of his friend Mr. Harman. They were accompanied to their resting-place by the Rev. Messrs. Goulty, Moore, Judson, and Lawrence, and by members of the family and of the church.

Funeral sermons were preached on the following Lord's-day, at the Cliffe Chapel, by the Rev. W. Davis, of Hastings; and at the Baptist Chapel, by the Rev. Henry Lawrence. "Devout men carried JOHN PARRY to the grave, and made great lamentation over him."

THOMAS MANN.

*West Cowes, Isle of Wight,
December 30, 1850.*

P. S.—It is not known whether further papers from the pen of Mr. Parry will, or will not, be published. He left some on which he had long been employed, for the young, especially a "Diatessaron," nearly ready for the press.

THE YOUNG CHRISTIAN.

"As newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby."—1 Pet. ii. 2.

THE young Christian, who has but just entered on the spiritual life, is, in all respects, an object of intense and peculiar anxiety. The great change through which he has passed,—the new scenes which have opened on his view,—the new joys which have sprung up in his bosom,—the new duties to which he is called,—the new conflict on which

he has entered,—together with his inexperience, his weak faith, and the manifold temptations to which he is exposed,—all combine to invest his position with a character of extraordinary and touching interest.

I look around me on many such this evening, and feel deeply anxious to say something to them, on this annual occa-

sion, which may tend to brace them for the duties of their Christian calling, and to prepare them for a useful, honourable, and happy course, in the present life; and for the glories and felicities, which lie beyond death, and the grave, in the life to come.

The text reminds us of their *standing* they are "newborn babes;"—of *the prevailing spiritual appetite which they should cultivate*, they are to "desire the sincere milk of the word;"—and of *the grand aim* which should ever be present to their minds, "that ye may grow thereby."

I. WE ARE REMINDED OF THE YOUNG CHRISTIAN'S STANDING.—He is a "newborn babe." As such he is

1. *To be congratulated.* What an unspeakable mercy, dear young friends, if you have reached the standing of "newborn babes," in God's spiritual family. If you are "born again," what a change has passed upon you? "Old things have passed away; behold, all things have become new." You are "created anew in Christ Jesus." You have "passed from death unto life;" out of "darkness into marvellous light." You are in friendship with God.—Your "sins which are many are all forgiven you." You are the disciples of Christ. You are candidates for heaven. You are heirs of immortality;—"heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ."—You have been delivered from the bondage of sin, and Satan, and the world, and evil passions, and corrupt fellowships;—and translated into "the glorious liberty of the children of God." The young Christian, as a "newborn babe," is

2. *To be sympathized with.* Who can look upon a "newborn babe" without feelings of intense sympathy? Its helplessness, its absolute dependence upon the care of others, its exposure to danger, its entrance upon an imperfect and sorrowing stage of existence, its immortal destiny,—all tends to awaken sympathy on its behalf.—And ought there not to be a higher and nobler sympathy

for the "newborn babe," who has just entered the world of grace? Is he not feeble and helpless,—every spiritual faculty as yet in its infancy? Is he not in a sense absolutely dependent upon foreign help and succour,—all the graces of the Christian life being as yet immature and comparatively undeveloped?—Is he not exposed to innumerable dangers, from inexperience, remaining darkness, lurking sin and unbelief, temptation, old companionships, the world, the impressions made upon him by the failures and inconsistencies of religious professors?—Has he not entered on the most arduous of all undertakings, to struggle his onward and upward course to the celestial City, with foes all around him in the wilderness?—Does not a conflict and warfare await him at every step?—Has he not, amidst a thousand diverting influences, to keep "the mark of the prize of his high calling of God in Christ Jesus" constantly in view?

Is not the young Christian, then, to be sympathized with?—Ought he not to be taken by the hand, by more experienced believers, and helped forward in his interesting but arduous course? He is a "newborn babe," and needs the care of those who know how to deal with the early stages of the Christian life. He should have their prayers,—their wise and prudent counsels,—their kind encouragements;—above *all*, the advantage of seeing their deep piety,—their cheerful deportment—their meek spirit—their loving temperament—their freedom from censoriousness—their unmistakable *humility* and devotion. But as the young Christian is "a newborn babe," he ought

3. *To be conscious of his real position.* He must not think more highly of himself than he ought to think. He must not mistake lively feelings, for matured piety. He must not be puffed up with the thought that he has yet attained, or that he is already perfect. It is a mercy to be a "newborn babe" in Christ's family; but it would be destructive of

character and happiness for "babes in Christ" to imagine that they are "young men" or "fathers in Christ." Nothing is more lovely in the young Christian, than the humility and diffidence which belong to the early stages of the Christian profession. Such a state of mind saves from a thousand snares—blunts the arrows of temptation—prepares the heart for receiving fresh supplies of grace—leads on to new attainments in knowledge, faith, and holiness—increase the benefit of Christian means and ordinances, and opens up the soul to the descending showers of Divine influence.

You, dear friends, whose Christian career is but of yesterday, let me affectionately entreat you to pray to God that pride may be hidden from your eyes,—that you would not think of yourselves as advanced Christians,—that you would remember you are yet in the dawn, and not in the meridian of the Christian life,—in short, that you are "newborn babes," and not full-grown men. This will be your protection,—your strength—your consolation—and your security for future progress. What, then,

II. SHOULD BE THE PREVAILING APPETITE, WHICH NEWBORN BABES IN CHRIST JESUS SHOULD HABITUALLY CULTIVATE? My dear friends,—your prevailing appetite should be to "desire the sincere milk of the word." As in nature, so in grace, there is an aliment which is specially and peculiarly adapted to the "*newborn babe*."—Now, let me impress you most deeply with the thought, that God's blessed word is that aliment. It is the food by which you must be nourished up into eternal life. It was the *seed*, the "incorruptible seed," by which you were newborn—born from above;—and it is the Divine provision on which alone you can live—and grow, and thrive.

1. *You must desire it.*

That is, have a strong relish for it, feel an unquenchable love to it,—resort to it, from day to day, as the parched soul would to the cool refresh-

ing fountain. Let your Bible, dear young followers of the Lamb, be the Book of your marked preference,—your guide, as a young pilgrim, to the heavenly country,—your constant and familiar companion,—your instructor—your comforter—your sanctifier—your reprover—your guardian from evil—and your constant stimulant in every path of zeal and holy duty. Seek to become Bible Christians, in the fullest sense of that term;—by the close and daily study of God's word;—by cultivating the inward and heart-felt relish of its truths;—by imbibing its spirit;—by fully embracing all its merciful revelations;—by relying on its gracious promises;—and by striving to conform your hearts and lives to its perfect and matchless precepts. Value sermons, and all the public teaching of the sanctuary, as they lead you to your Bibles, unfold the meaning of your Bibles, and cause you to love and value your Bibles.

2. *View the word as the sincere milk, whereby you must be spiritually nourished.*

The idea attached to the "*sincere milk of the word*," is that of *simple*, wholesome, nutritive food,—nothing to corrupt, weaken, pervert, vitiate the "*newborn babe*." The Bible is pure truth,—truth unmixed with any human error,—truth from God himself,—truth intended as the medicine and the immortal food of the soul. Desire it, then, young Christian; with an intense spiritual *thirst*;—desire it as the infant longs for its mother's breast; let not a day pass that does not find you pondering and praying over the word of God. Let it "dwell richly in you in all wisdom and spiritual understanding." It will enlighten your darkness, it will scatter your doubts, it will banish your fears, it will vanquish your corruptions, it will diminish the power of temptation, it will strengthen all the power of faith, and weaken the antagonist powers of sense and sin. But

III. WHAT SHOULD BE THE GRAND AIM EVER PRESENT TO THE MINDS OF NEW-

BORN BABES IN CHRIST JESUS? Why are you counted among the newborn babes in the kingdom of grace? Why are you to desire the sincere milk of the word?—Dear young friends, is it not that you may “grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ?” “That ye may grow thereby.” Growth—progress—is the condition of the Christian life. The children of grace must seek to become “young men,” and the young men “fathers.”—They are to “go from strength to strength, till every one of them appears in Zion before God.” *All true grace is progressive.*—It is as the Eastern grain of mustard-seed which becomes a tree. It is like the corn, which “springs up first the blade, then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear.” It is as the light of the sun, which “shineth more and more unto the perfect day.”

1. *The young Christian must earnestly desire growth.*

God has given you spiritual life, that you may evidence it by progress, that you may constantly strive after its more full development. If there be life and health, there must be progress.—But this progress must be a distinct object of desire and pursuit.

2. *The young Christian must study the things which make for growth*

Such as :—A close walk with God.—A diligent perusal of God’s Holy Word.—A conscientious attendance upon all the means of grace.—A wise selection of books.—Improving society.—A great thirst after knowledge.—A steady attachment to the known path of duty.—Fervent dependence on the Holy Spirit.

3. *The young Christian must guard against all that tends to retard spiritual growth.*

Such as :—Living in any secret sin.—Being satisfied with mere conversion.—Forming a low standard of the Christian life.—Being contented to be like others.—Doubtful communications.—All influences that would step between him and his Christian pastor.—All that would quench the ardour of first love.—All that would grieve the Holy Spirit.

I conclude with a few words to the young who do not rank among the newborn babes in the kingdom of grace.—

1. Assure yourselves that you have been born in sin. 2. Be persuaded of the necessity of being born again. 3. Delay not the great business of salvation.

• Brompton.

J. M.

TWELVE REASONS WHY TRACTARIAN MINISTERS SHOULD BE REMOVED FROM SERVICE IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

“Teachers of error!

You must go hence, and seek *another* fold:
The sheep of Christ will never gladly come,
To be sustained by you!”—*Stray Leaves.*

I. THE Tractarian clergy should no longer be suffered to hold office, and perform duty, in connexion with the Established Church of this country; because the doctrines they proclaim, the customs they observe, the rites and ceremonies they regard and so scrupulously practise, and the idle and absurd mummeries they maintain, are decidedly opposed to the great principles of the Reformation—those which they are

bound to inculcate, and which, on undertaking their office, they pledged themselves to teach, to advocate, to defend.

II. Tractarians should be removed; because their sentiments, their spirit, and their proceedings, are of that character, so opposed to Holy Scripture, so completely at variance with the well defined and noble views and feelings of Protestantism, and, indeed, so repugnant to common sense, that their efforts are calculated, not only to weaken materially, but, eventually, to *destroy* the Protestant Episcopal Church of Great Britain.

III. Tractarians must not serve at the altars of the Established Church; because, by their want of correct thought, good taste, sound sense, manly and truly dignified bearing, and, especially, by their genuflections, their histrionic, their mountebank proceedings, they *degrade* the ministerial character, and induce the laughter of the fool, and the derision of the profane.

IV. The Tractarian clergy must leave the Establishment; because they have grievously departed from the *simplicity of Christ*. Their ceremonies, their parade, their artifices, their mysticism, are as much opposed to the simple, in-artificial, virgin beauty of Christianity, as light is opposed to darkness—as truth differs from error—as brass or tin is inferior to gold.

V. Tractarian ministers ought to retire from the Protestant Church of England; because they continually grieve and injure those among the clergy whose views are sound and scriptural, whose spirit is enlightened, catholic, and holy—whose efforts to do good are assiduous and unceasing, and who abominate and loathe the mummeries and ridiculous ceremonies in which Tractarians indulge. Ministers in the Establishment, of the *right* kind, feel constantly *degraded* by the Tractarian clergy, and they see that their exertions to glorify Christ, are perpetually checked and neutralised.

VI. Tractarians should not continue in office in the Church; because they *unsettle* the minds of the young, *perplex* them grievously with regard to many doctrines and ceremonies, and render it difficult for them often to *discriminate* between truth and error. We fear that the injury sustained by young persons in the Church of England, in consequence of the teachings and pranks of the Tractarian clergy, has been incalculable and irretrievable. The day of judgment *alone* can declare it.

VII. Tractarian ministers must quit the Establishment; because they con-

tinually *pain* and *annoy* the intelligent and godly members of the Church of England, who eschew anything resembling the *slightest approach* to the erroneous doctrines, the will-worship, the superstitious and heathen ceremonies of the Romish hierarchy. The preaching, the spirit, the conduct of the Tractarian clergy, and the results which have ensued, have been a *sore trial* to the best men in the English Episcopal Church, and the wisest, holiest, most devoted members of that church.

VIII. Tractarian teachers should leave the Established Church; because they *create infidels*; and, in such days as these, when error is so rife, and infidelity so much abounds, we do not, by any means, want the number of infidels to be augmented. The Tractarian clergy, we fear, have given a *mighty impulse* to the cause and efforts of infidelity.

IX. Tractarian divines should remove from the Protestant Church of England; because it is mainly, almost *wholly*, in consequence of their innovations and absurdities, and the influence of their example and instrumentality, that Romanism has been revived and resuscitated in Britain, in the nineteenth century, and the pretensions and demands recently put forth, so bold, insolent, and audacious, have awakened astonishment so great, and indignation so loud and universal.

X. Tractarian ministers should be removed; because, while they continue in the Church of England, *that* church will have *no peace*, and the whole country will be kept in a state of *excitement*, the most undesirable and positively injurious. How are the godly in the Establishment—the lovers of Venn, Simeon, Scott, and Bickersteth—sighing for the return of tranquillity! There will not, there cannot, however, be *any peace* until the Tractarians are excluded.

XI. Tractarian ministers should quit the Establishment; because, while they remain, with their *present* sentiments, spirit, and superstitions, their *incon-*

sistency is palpable and shameless. They are semi-Romanist teachers in a professedly, a legally *Protestant* church. They receive the stipends, the fees, the offerings for inculcating error, for proclaiming doctrines and observing ceremonies diametrically opposed to the constitution, the Articles, and the Liturgy of the English Episcopal Church. To be consistent, they should *abandon their livings*, and retire *without delay*.

XII. The Tractarian clergy should leave the Establishment; because, if they continue to minister within her pale, there will be a moral, a religious, a deadly *blight*. She will not be a light to illumine, a guide to conduct aright, a refuge to shield in danger, an ark in which many will remain in safety and peace. Should Tractarians occupy her pulpits and serve at her altars, her beauty, her usefulness, her glory, will have departed. She will be shorn of her strength. Her *Christian power* will be annihilated. There will be *no revival* of pure religion within her walls. The work of conversion will not go forward. The spirit of God, being grieved, will depart. The truth of God, being mutilated, wrested, corrupted, will have no efficacy, be connected with no blessing. Error will more and more prevail. Everything that is truly valuable and life-giving, or life-strengthening, will be eaten out, until, at length, the word "ICHABOD" will be seen engraven on her doors, her walls, her

pulpits.—The glory is gone—the power has departed.

These are appalling statements. We believe, however, that they will be verified, unless a *thorough change* be effected. Let the enlightened and godly among the clergy, and the intelligent, devout, and influential among the laity, combine and work *at once*, and, in trumpet-tones, let their determination be heard throughout the land.

The Protestant Episcopal Church of this country must never sanction error or false teachers, else it will be weakened, divided, undermined. No blessing, under such circumstances, can come down from above.

We have now storms from *all quarters*: storms from the Puseyites, from Rome abroad, and her emissaries at home.

—"Ingeminant Austri, et densissimus imber:
Nunc nemora ingenti vento, nunc littora plan-
gunt."

Still, let us not fear unduly. As storms purify the atmosphere, let us hope that the present storm, raised by Puseyism and Rome, will do good to *all*, and especially be of service to the Church of England, in cleansing her from error, and in defecating her from many injurious incrustations and impurities.

"Soon may the calm return, the sun burst forth,
And thunder die away!"

T. W.

THE POPE'S NEW DOGMA, OR THE FALLIBLE INFALLIBILITY OF ROME.

(To the Editor of the EVANGELICAL MAGAZINE.)

SIR,—You are aware that the present foolish Bishop of Rome has recently declared it a doctrine of his infallible church, that the Virgin Mary was born free from that original sin, which God's holy word affirms to be the "sad inheritance" of all mankind. The immac-

ulate conception, this Pope affirms, is henceforth the orthodox doctrine; and he who affirms the contrary, is a heretic and damned. Nay, more, he affirms this doctrine on the pretended "consentient opinions" of "all catholic antiquity," as having been taught "by

all, always, and in all places." Pray observe that.

To us, whose faith rests solely on the word of God, it matters nothing, even had it been so; but in these days, when too many resort to the "broken cisterns" of human tradition, I account it seasonable to expose the hollow, brawling, and blushless pretensions to infallible teaching, so daringly claimed by the fallen pale of the Roman anti-Christ; and I am going to show your readers,—many of them faithful but imperilled members of that purer Church of England, from which numerous misguided ministers have apostatised to Rome,—that if such as deny this silly dogma in question, and tremble at the sin of mariolatry, are "heretics," then a long list of Popes, canonists, and other high authorities in the Church of Rome, lie low in the very abyss of heretical pravity!

I will only farther premise, that when your readers see the names I am about to array against this new dogma of Popery, they will arrive at two conclusions:—1. That infallibility is nothing better than a gross and shameless figment; and, 2. That numerous early doctors held the same sentiments that we maintain in these "latter times" when so many have "departed from the faith."

I will now translate, from the Italian, part of an able article by Dr. Desanctis, late a high functionary in Rome, but now a convert from the errors of the Pope to the truth of God. I take it from *L' Eco di Savonarola*, a most orthodox and spiritual journal, conducted by Salvatore Ferette, late a Prebendary of Florence.

"Against the doctrine of the immaculate conception, I adduce St. Irenæus, as cited by St. Augustin, in his first book against Julian: Cyprian, in his Letter on the Baptism of Infants: Olympius, Bishop of Sevil: Gregory Nissene, writing against Novatian: Basilius of Cæsarea against the Mani-

chæans: Chrysostom, in his Homily to Olympia, as also in many other places: Hilary, in his books on the Trinity: Ambrose, in his Commentaries on Isaiah, on Noah, in his Paraphrase on Psal. 119, and in his Sermon on the Purification.

"All these oppugn the notion, that Mary was born without original sin. St. Augustin, in his first and second books against Julian, cites all the authorities of the Fathers who had preceded him, to show that *all the church* had been, up to his age, opposed to this dogma. For example, in his work on Marriage, ch. xii. ver. 57; in his book on Genesis, x. 8; and in that known by the name of *Opera Imperfecta*, ch. 122.

"Nor those ancient authors alone. Fulgentius, faithful disciple of Augustin, follows his master; and in his book on the Incarnation, ch. vi., denies the immaculate conception. Of the same opinion is Casinus in his Collections. Remigius, in his Commentary on Psalm xxii.; Maximus, Bishop, on the Assumption; Isidore of Sevil, in his *Sententie*, Bk. I., ch. xii., ver. 44;—all oppose this idle figment."

Thus Dr. Desanctis. I may add, however, that he ends not with those names; but cites, as diametrically opposed to the present feeble but unhumiliated bishop of Rome, the following great names:—"The venerable Bede, on Luke I.: Ildefonso, on the Perpetual Virginity of Mary: Anselmus of Canterbury, Bk. II.: St. Bernard and others." I now cite the conclusion of Desanctis:—

"The very Popes, styled infallible, have infallibly pronounced against this notion of the immaculate conception. Pope Leo, in his Sermons, II. IV. V. on the Nativity: Innocent I.: Zosimus: Boniface, in his Dogmatic Letters against the Pelagians: *all* maintain that Mary was *not* born free from original sin!"

Now, Sir, here are men, whose saint-days Pius IX. celebrates; men boldly, or rather impudently, declared infallible

by Jesuit ultramontanes; and yet, according to this silly Pope, they are all heretics: nay, at one and the same time heretics and *saints*; in hell and in *heaven*! Well may the world say, this pretended infallibility is a millstone

that must sink, in the end, the fragile boat of St. Peter; for the Papacy dare not shake it off!

S. W.

Notting Hill.

MOTTO FOR THE YEAR 1851.

(To the Editor of the EVANGELICAL MAGAZINE.)

DEAR SIR,—It has been my practice, for upwards of forty years, to give my people a Motto, at the table of the Lord, on the first Sabbath of the year. The remarks made to them, at such times, were always gratefully received; and many of the members having acknowledged much spiritual benefit from advertg to their Motto, at different seasons, I felt desirous of continuing the practice. Such, however, has been the state of my health, for some months past, that my medical friends entreated me, on this last occasion, to forego the *personal* discharge of that service. I was therefore induced to dictate the following remarks upon the Motto for 1851, which the junior pastor, the Rev. H. Allon, read at the ordinance. A wish to possess them in a more durable form, was strongly expressed by not a few who heard them. Willing to gratify and profit my people, and hoping its publication may stimulate other pastors who have not yet done it, to adopt a similar practice, I have so far complied with their wish as to hand them to you, Mr. Editor, for insertion in your valuable journal, if you think them worthy of a place in its pages; and praying that the good work proceeding from your hands may circulate more and more widely, prospering greatly in the pious and benevolent ends you have at heart,

I remain, truly yours,

T. LEWIS.

Islington.

MOTTO FOR THE YEAR 1851.

"Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong."—1 Cor xvi. 13.

MY BELOVED FRIENDS,—I had indulged the hope of being able to address you in person, this morning; but, under my present indisposition, I am forbidden to do so. This interdiction grieves me; for it would have been no small gratification and solace to me, could I have spoken with you face to face. But I bow to the will of my heavenly Father; and for the duty in hand have now recourse to the only medium left me. Thanks be to God for that use of pen, ink, and paper, by which we can communicate our thoughts to our friends, though forced to be absent from them.

It has long been my practice, on the first Sabbath of a new year, and at the ordinance of the Lord's supper, to give you a scriptural motto for your devout remembrance and meditation through the subsequent months. I am happy to say, from the acknowledgment of many among you, that this practice has been blessed to great spiritual benefit. Thankful that it has so prospered to the end desired, and praying that the same gracious sanction from the Holy Spirit may follow its observance on the present occasion, I have, at my colleague's suggestion, caused to be inscribed on your communion tickets the Motto for the year now commenced. You will find the words in the Apostle Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, 16th chapter, and at the 13th verse, "Watch ye,

stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong." You will perceive that there is a special urgency in these words. You see the short, pithy, expressions in which the exhortation is delivered. The apostle seems carried along by the earnestness of his spirit, to stir up the souls and persons of the Corinthian Church to vigilance and firmness of mind, and energy of action. He rests not with *one* word of exhortation only, nor with *two*, but with a quadruple reiteration of the needful call; he binds them, as it were, to a strenuous maintenance of their Christian principles and profession. The words, indeed, seem to have something of a *military* sound in them, as if delivered by the captain of a host to urge his men to battle: they were actually used by the leaders of the Philistine armies, when they fought against the Israelites, and defeated them. And, let me say, that the words seem not unsuitable to the times that are passing over us, and to events that may be anticipated during the present year. There has not been a period, in the memory at least of this generation, when the people of God were more solemnly called than *now* to watch against the insidious encroachments, and manfully withstand the more audacious assaults of their spiritual foes.

"*Watch ye.*" There is no Christian counsel more needful than this. Our Lord himself repeatedly pressed it upon his disciples. As the vigilance of the sentinel is of the highest importance to the safety of a camp, or citadel, so is it of prime moment to the Christian, that he be ever on his guard against the enemies of his soul. These are not so feeble and insignificant as to be met with contemptuous neglect. They are possessed not only of cunning craftiness, and inveterate malice, but of great power. The emissaries of Satan are wakefully plying all their means to undermine our principles, and working their engines to shake our confidence in the Saviour and his truth. They are

numerous; they are ever on the alert, watching for the Christian's halting, that they may overthrow him. The world hangs out its glittering temptations; the invisible foe lays his snares, and the nearest and most dangerous enemy, the corruption of his own heart, urges him on to forget his God, to sin, and to wound his peace. Having such enemies as these around him, and in him, he cannot slumber with impunity. No: if you, my beloved brethren, would pursue your Christian course with safety, you must watch against the devices of the grand adversary of souls, who not only goes about like a roaring lion, but can also transform himself into an angel of light to deceive the unwary. Watch against the world; walk circumspectly in it; be not conformed to its spirit, its maxims, its practice. Let not the care given to its business engross your attention, to the sacrifice of your advancement in the Divine life; neither contract a taste for its amusements and its pleasures, for there is danger in them to your highest interests. And, oh! watch with jealousy the motions of your own minds. "Keep thy heart," says the wise man, "with all diligence; for out of it are the issues of life." Watch the tendency of your affections, the bent of your wills, the purity of your motives, the consistency of your tempers, dispositions, and desires. Keep them all under the restraints and in the direction of the spirit of your holy religion.

"*Stand fast in the faith.* Faith is a grace wrought in the soul by the Holy Spirit, by which the heart believes in and receives Jesus Christ, as represented, and offered, in the gospel. Through this grace the soul trusts in him as an efficient Mediator, loves him as a benignant Saviour, and serves him as a just, true, and gracious king. The vital importance of this faith, as essential to salvation, is announced to us in the plainest and most unequivocal language:—"He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; and he that

believeth not the Son, shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him." Now, the admonition in our Motto supposes the reception of that grace; for we cannot stand fast in that which we do not possess. Cultivate, then, this holy, this heavenly grace of the Spirit within you; nourish it and strengthen it by prayer and a watchful fixedness of eye upon Jesus, its author and finisher. Watch and pray that it be not suffered to fail you; that you may be able to stand in the evil day, though Satan should seek to "sift you as wheat."

But the faith intended in our Motto may be properly regarded as the *doctrine* of faith, or the system of sacred truth which faith receives. It comprehends the whole of Divine Revelation, in distinction from human creeds, and especially the faith of Jesus Christ,—the firm persuasion and belief of his divinity, that he is over all, God blessed for evermore,—the efficacy of his atonement, and the prevalence of his intercession, together with all the other truths connected and interwoven with, or resulting from them. The apostle then enjoins you stedfastly to hold, maintain, and defend the great cardinal doctrines of justification by faith, regeneration by the power of the Holy Spirit, and the practical influence of these great truths on the life and conversation. Accordingly, to stand fast in the faith is to keep, and boldly maintain, the whole truth as it is in Christ Jesus, especially all that the gospel teaches us of his person, his work, and his offices, as the Redeemer; and all the ordinances of his appointment for promoting his gracious purposes in the world.

But let me exhort you, brethren, that, while you "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints," ye would show that ye have "received Christ Jesus the Lord; and are walking in him, rooted and built up in him; and stablished in the faith, as you have been taught."

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Again, in connexion with the tenacity of Christian principle—a firm holding of the truth; our Motto enjoins *energy of action*." "Quit you like men." In times of difficulty and trial, betray not the timidity of children. Show yourselves *men*. Enter the conflict, when called to it, with the *courage* of men—of men that well know the goodness of their cause; that feel they are wielding an omnipotent arm, because God is with them. In times of wide-spread infidelity and error, and when "false teachers are bringing in destructive heresies, and many following their pernicious ways," be not like mere babes in Christ; or like "children tossed about with every wave of doctrine;" but acquit yourselves as men of intelligent principle; men of God,—men of fortitude and perseverance—men who are made partakers of the Divine nature. In times of persecution for the cause of Christ, should they arise, fear not the storm; but set your faces like a flint; and abide by the truths you have embraced, let the consequences be what they may! Are your civil and religious liberties assailed? and will you give place to the assailants? No, not for a moment! Assert your rights, as the apostle did, and quit you like men—like men of faith and prayer—like men, who, fearing God, have nothing else to fear!

Your Motto adds, "*Be strong*." That is, brace yourselves with the courage and boldness of those who are conscious of the right; who find themselves set for the defence of the truth, and are assured of ultimate victory and triumph. Man, indeed, is by nature "without strength;" but the exhortation is given to the *regenerate*—to them who derive strength from above; who are strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus; "strong in the Lord, and in the power of *his* might." The Christian may be physically weak, but mentally, morally, spiritually, strong; and if he would be prepared for all the trials,

tribulations, and conflicts of his calling in Christ, he must seek his strength, not from himself, but from "the Spirit's might, in the inner man;" for it is He that giveth strength to the faint, and to them that have no might, "he increaseth strength."

Would you then, beloved friends, stand fast in the faith; and "in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free;" seek through the appointed means the supplies that God has promised in the Son of his love. Look out of and above yourselves; trust in,

and draw from, the inexhaustible treasures of wisdom and knowledge that are hid in Christ, and you will never be confounded. Take the present Motto in connexion with one we formerly gave you, and you will prevail; "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." Finally, brethren, "I commend you to God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them who are sanctified." Amen.

Jan. 4th, 1851.

THE REV. ROWLAND HILL ON THE EFFECTS OF DRUNKENNESS.

"If you wish to be always thirsty, be a drunkard; for the oftener and more you drink, the oftener and more thirsty you will be.

"If you seek to prevent your friends raising you in the world, be a drunkard; for that will defeat all their efforts.

"If you would effectually counteract your own attempts to do well, be a drunkard, and you will not be disappointed.

"If you wish to repel the endeavours of the whole human race to raise you to character, credit, and prosperity, be a drunkard, and you will most assuredly triumph.

"If you are determined to be poor, be a drunkard, and you will soon be ragged and penniless.

"If you would wish to starve your family, be a drunkard; for that will consume the means of their support.

"If you would be imposed on by knaves, be a drunkard; for that will make their task easy.

"If you would wish to be robbed, be a drunkard, which will enable the thief to do it with more safety.

"If you would wish to blunt your senses, be a drunkard, and you will soon be more stupid than an ass.

"If you would become a fool, be a

drunkard, and you will soon lose your understanding.

"If you wish to unfit yourself for rational intercourse, be a drunkard; for that will render you wholly unfit for it.

"If you are resolved to kill yourself, be a drunkard, that being a sure mode of destruction.

"If you would expose both your folly and your secrets, be a drunkard, and they will soon run out as the liquor runs in.

"If you think you are too strong, be a drunkard, and you will soon be subdued by so powerful an enemy.

"If you would get rid of your money without knowing how, be a drunkard, and it will vanish insensibly.

"If you would have no resource, when past labour, but a workhouse, be a drunkard, and you will be unable to provide any.

"If you are determined to expel all comfort from your house, be a drunkard, and you will soon do it effectually.

"If you would be always under strong suspicion, be a drunkard; for, little as you think it, all agree that those who steal from themselves and families will rob others.

"If you would be reduced to the necessity of shunning your creditors, be

a drunkard, and you will soon have reason to prefer the by-paths to the public streets.

"If you would be a dead weight on the community, and 'cumber the ground,' be a drunkard; for that will render you useless, helpless, burdensome, and expensive.

"If you would be a nuisance, be a drunkard; for the approach of a drunkard is like that of a dunghill.

"If you would be hated by your family and friends, be a drunkard, and you will soon be more than disagreeable.

"If you would be a pest to society, be a drunkard, and you will be avoided as infectious. ✚

"If you do not wish to have your faults reformed, continue to be a drunkard, and you will not care for good advice.

"If you would smash windows, break the peace, get your bones broken, tumble under carts and horses, and be locked up in watch-houses, be a drunkard, and it will be strange if you do not succeed.

"If you wish all your prospects in life to be clouded, be a drunkard, and they will soon be dark enough.

"If you would destroy your body, be a drunkard, as drunkenness is the mother of disease.

"If you mean to ruin your soul, be a drunkard, that you may be excluded from heaven.

"Finally, if you are determined to be utterly destroyed, in estate, body, and soul, be a drunkard, and you will soon know that it is impossible to adopt a more effectual means to accomplish your ~~end~~."—Rowland Hill.

ON PERSECUTION.

"PERSECUTION is as *impious* as it is cruel; for it not only opposes every precept of the New Testament, but it invades the prerogative of God himself. It assumes a right to punish those whom he has reserved for his own penal visitation; and persecution, therefore, is a usurpation of the attributes which belong exclusively to the Most High. It is a vain endeavour to ascend into his throne, to wield his sceptre, and to hurl his thunderbolts.

And then its own history proves how *useless* it is. Truth is immortal: the sword cannot pierce it; fire cannot consume it; prisons cannot incarcerate it; famine cannot starve it; all the violence of men, stirred up by the power and subtilty of hell, cannot put it to death; in the person of its martyrs it bids defiance to the will of the tyrant who persecutes it; and, with the martyr's last

breath, predicts its own full and final triumphs. The pagan persecuted the Christian; but yet Christianity lives. The Papist persecuted the Protestant; but yet Protestantism lives. The Church of England persecuted the Nonconformist; and yet Nonconformity lives. Nonconformists persecuted Episcopalians; yet Episcopacy lives. When persecution is carried to its extreme length of extirpating heretics, Truth may be extinguished in one place, as the Reformation was in Spain and Portugal, but it will break out in another, as it did in Germany and England. If opinions cannot be put down by argument, they cannot by power. Truth gains the victory in the end, not only by its own evidences, but by the sufferings of its confessors."—*James's Protestant Nonconformity*.

ANECDOTE.

REV. H. VENN, VICAR OF YELLING.

MR. SIMEON thus characterises his venerable friend:—"How great a blessing his conversation and example have been to me, will never be known till the judgment day. Scarcely ever did I visit him but he prayed with me, at noon day, as well as at family worship. Scarcely ever did I dine with him, but his ardour in returning thanks, sometimes in an appropriate hymn, and

sometimes in a thanksgiving prayer, has influenced the souls of all present, so as to give us a foretaste of heaven itself. And in all the twenty-four years that I knew him, I never remember him to have spoken *unkindly* of any one, but *once*; and I was particularly struck with the humiliation which he expressed for it, in his prayer next day."—*Preston's Memorials of Simeon.*

Poetry.

"AND I WILL GIVE HIM THE
MORNING STAR."

JESUS, we walk by faith in thee,
Thou 'st near, although afar;
But we would all thy beauty see,
Thou bright and "Morning Star."

Thou art our soul's secure abode,
Our refuge, though afar;
Thou art our hope, Incarnate God,
And thou our "Morning Star."

But, Lord, we wish to bow the knee,
And worship—not afar;
We would for ever reign with thee,
Thou glorious "Morning Star."

Come quickly, Lord, give sight for faith,
Come from thy realms afar,
Perform what the sweet promise saith,
Give us the "Morning Star."

Our longing eyes with great desire
Look anxiously afar,
To catch thy gleams of heavenly fire,
Refulgent "Morning Star."

Thy living rays shall wake the dead,
Though scatter'd wide and far;
Who wake or sleep in Christ their Head,
Shall hail thee "Morning Star."

Changed in the twinkling of an eye,
Taken from earth afar,
They shall be safe eternally,
And theirs the "Morning Star."

Tunbridge.

WRITTEN AFTER HEARING A DISCOURSE,
LORD'S-DAY MORNING, JAN. 5TH, 1851,
BY REV. C. DUKES, DALSTON.

"From this day will I bless you."—Haggai ii. 19.

AND thus it was in ancient days,
At sundry times, in various ways,

Jehovah, seated on his throne,
By holy seers his will made known.

Whene'er his people went astray,
Forgot their God, forsook his way,
Then "Holy men of God appear'd,
Reproved, rebuked, exhorted, cheer'd."

"Thus saith the Lord,"—no longer stray,
In sin's degrading, dangerous way,
"Take with you words"—your follies mourn,
Add to the Lord at once return.

Of old He thus proclaimed His name—
"Long suffering, gracious"—still the same;
O go—and for "his name's sake" say—
Forgive my guilt, O Lord, to-day.

Go prostrate to your Father's throne;
"None can forgive but God alone;"
The God of Love alone can say,
"Arise!"—I'll bless thee from this day.

O King of Zion! bow thine ear,
And Zion's supplications hear;
Now let thy glory fill the place,
And sinners feel thy quickening grace.

We meet for worship in thy fear,
O "bless us" when assembled here,
Dwell in our tents, rule every heart,
"Bless every family apart."

O may thy goodness crown our days!
Our daily conduct speak thy praise,
Our efforts for thy glory crown,
By sending "thy good Spirit" down.

Thus may we all thy presence know,
And "on our way rejoicing go,"
Till on our vision breaks the sight,
"The saints' inheritance in light."

H. D. J.

Dalston, Jan. 6th, 1851.

Review of Religious Publications.

THE BARDS OF THE BIBLE. By GEORGE GILFILLAN. 8vo. pp. 366.

J. Hogg, Edinburgh; R. Groombridge and Sons, London.

It would be impossible, without the genius of the writer, to convey to our readers an adequate impression of his "Bards of the Bible." Even he, perhaps, would shrink from the description, not to say elaborate criticism, of his own book. There is nothing that we are aware of, in the English language, answering to it, on the same subject. From the first page to the last, the imaginative faculty of the author is continually on the stretch; and yet so much does he appear in his element, and so little is he under any unnatural excitement, that we are compelled to feel that he is in sober every-day mood, while he is heaping image upon image, ransacking the universe for his materials of thought, and aggregating bold and original conceptions, almost beyond the power of the intelligent reader to catch or to comprehend. Yet, so far as we can judge, Mr. Gilfillan is intelligible throughout;—he has a distinct meaning in his most gorgeous passages;—and if he claims, at times, a poet's licence, no candid critic will say that he is not entitled to it. We confess, with all our admiration of the genius of the author, to something like actual fatigue and taxation of our powers, in having to accommodate ourselves to the perpetual coruscations which dart from his thunder-clouds—ever charged—never exhausted—and which play continually around our almost bewildered heads. He does not leave us repose enough, even to watch the grandeur of the storm, or to mark the rich and varied hues of the blazing elements by which we are encompassed on every side. To us, and we are not unfriendly critics, this is the great sin of Mr. Gilfillan's compositions. They oppress by their brilliancy. They fail in permanent effect, by the excess of imagery. We lose sight almost of the author's thought, in gazing on the rich drapery by which it is adorned. His literary productions would be greatly more telling, were their embellishment curtailed at least fifty per cent.

We have never felt these convictions more deeply than in reading, with a most friendly feeling, Mr. Gilfillan's "Bards of the Bible." On other subjects less sacred, the impression has not seized on us with such resistless force. We have luxuriated as we could, with our brilliant author. But in trying to follow his delineations of inspired men and their communications, we have felt the absence, at times, of something like that hallowed sobriety of thought and language which the

theme demanded; and could have wished that a genius so fertile, and an imagination so luxuriant, could have been checked and held in by something like reverence and awe for the express oracles of the living God.

But let us not be mistaken in these criticisms. Mr. Gilfillan's uniform aim is to heighten our admiration of the sacred oracles,—to distinguish them from all human productions,—and to throw the halo of his own genius around the poetry of the Bible, for the purpose of enhancing its matchless peculiarities. He is no German neologist in disguise. He bows with profound awe at the shrine of revelation; and places the inspired writers, not on the pedestal of their own genius, but on the mount of vision, where, in a sense most solemn and true, they saw and conversed with God, and gave forth his mind to mankind.

It may be, indeed, that the gorgeousness of Mr. Gilfillan's diction may enhance the volume of inspired truth to a class of mind not easily reached; and, if such shall be the case, we shall greatly rejoice in the result, and be very willing to believe that our fastidiousness as to style has been unduly indulged.

The contents of the volume before us will evince the wide range of the author's plan. After his general *Introduction*, which is full of valuable thought, we have eleven chapters on the Old Testament. I. Circumstances creating and modifying Old Testament Poetry. II. General characteristics of Hebrew Poetry. III. Varieties of Hebrew Poetry. IV. Poetry of the Pentateuch. V. Poetry of the Book of Job. VI. Poetry of the Historical Books. VII. Poetry of the Book of Psalms. VIII. Solomon and his Poetry. IX. Introduction to the Prophetic Books. X. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel. XI. The Minor Prophets: Jonah, Amos, Hosea, Joel, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. XII. Circumstances modifying New Testament Poetry. XIII. Poetry of the Gospels. XIV. Paul. XV. Peter and James. XVI. John. XVII. Comparative Estimate, Influences, and Effects of Scripture Poetry. CONCLUSION: Future Destiny of the Bible. SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER: The Poetical Characters in Scripture.

This is unquestionably Mr. Gilfillan's great work. Its merits will be variously canvassed by different writers; but all will be compelled to admit that it is a volume of extraordinary brilliancy and power. We should have been glad to find less of the imaginative, and more of the strictly critical. But we are not ungrateful to the respected author for what he has accomplished in his own way.

We give a brief extract from the close of Mr. Gilfillan's critique on the Poetry of the Book of Psalms, as a fair sample of the general style of his work:—

"But, perhaps, finer than all, are those little bursts of irrepressible praise, which we find at the close. During the course of the book, you had been conducted along very diversified scenes; now beside green pastures, now through dark glens, now by still waters, now by floods, and now by dismal swamps, now through the silent wilderness, where the sun himself was sleeping on his watch-tower—in sympathy with the sterile idleness below; and now through the bustle and blood of battle-fields, where the elements seemed to become parties in the all-absorbing fury of the fray; but, at last, you stand beside the Psalmists, upon a clear, commanding eminence, whence, looking back on the way they had been led, forward to the future, and up to their God, now no longer hiding himself from his anointed ones, they break into peans of praise; and not satisfied with their own orisons, call on all objects, above, around, and below, to join the hymn, become, and are worthy of becoming, the organs of a universal devotion. The last six or seven Psalms are the Beulah of the Book; there the sun shineth night and day, and the voice of the turtle is heard in the land. From a reflection of their fire have sprung the hymn which Milton ascribes to our first parents, the hymn which closes the 'Seasons,' and the great psalm which swelled from the harp of Coleridge, as he struck it to the music of the Arveiron, and in the light of the morning star."

LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE MONTHLY UNITED SERVICE OF THE NONCONFORMIST CHURCHES IN NOTTINGHAM. *With other Discourses, preached on Public Occasions.* By SAMUEL MC ALL, Minister of Castle Gate Meeting-House. 12mo., pp. 388.

Jackson and Walford.

AN author whose first production from the press betrays no symptom of immaturity, may well be congratulated on the prudence which has restrained him from rushing into print. From the accurate and well-trained habits of Mr. Mc All's mind, he might, long ere this, have ventured upon the field of authorship, with credit to himself, and benefit to the Christian public. But modesty, with him, is an essential element of character;—as prominent even as discreet judgment, perspicuous thought, and devout affections. His will be the consolation of having commenced authorship in the maturity of his faculties, after long discipline, extensive reading, and well-earned experience. We chide him not for his prudence; but, as we look at this goodly volume, and trace its elaborate and beautiful trains of thought, its

fine scriptural theology, and its close and skillful appeals to the heart and conscience, we have felt that the public has lost much by the reserve which he has exercised.

Of the *fifteen* Discourses contained in this volume, *nine* of them were preached before the "Monthly United Service," in Nottingham,—a body of Nonconformist ministers, of different denominations, but uniting for the common good.

These nine Lectures are all devoted to the discussion of subjects of paramount interest; and are all handled with a large amount of skill and power. The topics are:—"The Harmony subsisting between the Christian Economy and antecedent Dispensations—The solemn Responsibility which rests upon the Christian Church to promote its own Extension—The Anti-Christian Character of the Measures commonly suggested by worldly men to secure Religious Uniformity—Human Responsibility—The Special Adaptation of Christianity to promote the Happiness of the Working Classes—The Influence of the Piety of the Church on its Union and Increase—The Regulation of Temper a Christian Duty—The Province of Reason with reference to Revelation—and, The Practical Results of Christianity considered as an Evidence of the Truth."

We speak in perfect moderation when we say, that there is not one of these Discourses that is not distinguished by high attributes of mind, and great adaptation to the present state of public sentiment in Great Britain. *

The other six Discourses are well selected from the author's manuscripts, as having awakened peculiar interest at the time of their delivery. They are on the following subjects:—"Hearing the Gospel a Means of Grace, and a Token of Revival—To Sunday-school Teachers—The Worship of God—On Open Decision for God—The Transfiguration—God's Presence Everything to the Christian Minister."

We have read these six Discourses with extraordinary satisfaction. They are full of hallowed unction, and telling intelligence. The one to Sunday-school Teachers ought to be printed by itself, and sent through the kingdom; and the last, addressed as a charge to his own Nephew, the son of the late Dr. Mc All, contains some of the best advice ever delivered to a youthful pastor.

Most fervently do we unite with the respected Author in the concluding sentence of his modest preface to this volume.—"May its perusal be accompanied with the Divine blessing! and may it be honoured as an humble means of advancing that kingdom which 'is righteousness, and peace, and joy, in the Holy Ghost!'"

THE NIGHT LAMP. *A Narrative of the means by which Spiritual Darkness was dispelled from the Death-bed of Agnes Maxwell Macfarlane.* By the Rev. JOHN MACFARLANE, LL.D., Glasgow, Author of "The Mountaintops of the Bible," &c. 12mo., pp. 340. James Nisbet & Co.

EIGHTEEN years have passed away since the diary was written, from which these memorials have been compiled; and nearly the same period has elapsed since Agnes Maxwell Macfarlane entered on her bright and blessed reward. But the history embodied will ever remain green and fragrant, while the world lasts, and while youthful piety continues to be an object of interest to the Christian church. It would have been a great loss to the reading and thoughtful public, had Dr. Macfarlane been induced, by any motives of delicacy, to withhold his sister's biography from the world. We trust it was a thought from God himself, when, on reperusing the Diary of his sister, which he had not seen for many years, he "was strongly impressed that it was his duty to recompose it for publication."

We have too many perfect characters drawn in the biographies of the day. It is the crying sin of the age. We believe it is materially weakening and diluting the piety of the era in which we live. Here we have something natural,—something truly honest,—something that will find a response in many devout, but perplexed and anxious bosoms.

The work before us will fill up a niche in the memoirs of the day. Miss Macfarlane was a professor of blameless reputation, loved and admired by her friends for her graces and accomplishments; but when days of darkness supervened, and the hand of affliction was laid upon her, she felt that she had too much indulged the spirit of the world, and too little lived in close communion with God. She was roused to an agony of distress; and was led to doubt the reality of her conversion in the sight of God. We hope in this she judged herself too severely; but, amidst thousands in the professing world who take licence to themselves, we are delighted to find one tender, one thoroughly awakened conscience. She found peace at last, such as she could never have realised, had she not been led to *judge herself*. The writer of the "Night Lamp" was a main instrument, in bringing on that state of mind which issued so gloriously. And the portions of the work which relate to his intercourses with his deceased sister, will endear him to all who read the volume.

Seldom does it fall to our lot to commend with such unhesitating confidence a volume of Christian biography. These are times when God's people must stand out from the world in bold relief.

1. **PROTESTANT NONCONFORMITY:** *A Sketch of its General History, with an Account of the Rise and Present State of its Various Denominations in the Town of Birmingham.* By JOHN ANGELL JAMES. Small 8vo., pp. 292.
2. **THE OLIVE BRANCH AND THE CROSS;** *or, the Quarrels of Christians settled, and Trespasses forgiven, according to the Law of Christ. A Word of Affectionate Advice to Professing Christians.* By J. A. JAMES. Fourth thousand. Royal 32mo., pp. 112.
3. **THE PAPAL AGGRESSION AND POKERY CONTEMPLATED RELIGIOUSLY.** *A Pastoral Address to his Flock.* By J. A. JAMES. Small 8vo., pp. 44.
4. **PRACTICAL SERMONS TO YOUNG MEN.** *First, "Preparation for Life;" Second, "Entering on Life;" Third, "The Young Man undecided in his Religious Character."* By J. A. JAMES. Small 8vo.

Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

WE are much concerned that these invaluable publications of Mr. James have been so long neglected. The omission has been purely accidental. It is very gratifying to find the mind and pen of our reverend friend so active after years of incessant, laborious, and successful toil. Long may his bow abide in strength! Never did the Church more need the continued services of such champions of truth and holiness. Mr. James's writings have been widely circulated and greatly blessed; and the volumes indicated at the commencement of this article promise to be as acceptable and useful as their predecessors.

The "Sketch" of "Protestant Nonconformity, with an account of the Rise and Present State of its Various Denominations in the Town of Birmingham," is a very instructive volume, both as it respects facts and sentiments. The first part of the volume is a very able outline of the history of nonconformity, which we should be glad to see in the hands of all our church members. In the absence of more elaborate works, it will supply most important light and guidance to thousands connected with our churches.

"The Olive Branch and the Cross" is a volume greatly needed in these times, when many who talk loudly about Congregationalism know nothing either of its *principles*, or the *spirit* in which it must be administered. This little volume is worth its weight in gold. When we thus sincerely commend it, we wish we could persuade all our readers to peruse the volume, and imbibe its spirit.

"The Papal Aggression" is worthy of its venerable author, as a man of extensive reading and sound reflection. It is a noble protest against Popery, as a system; shows clearly and convincingly what God is requiring of all sound-hearted Protestants in these eventful times and breathes the spirit of generous

love to men who have shown themselves far better than the systems to which they adhered.

The "Practical Sermons to Young Men" are worthy of universal circulation; and are as well fitted to be generally useful as the "Anxious Inquirer," which has been blessed to thousands.

THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH, CONSIDERED IN ITS VARIOUS ASPECTS. *By* MINISTERS OF DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONS. *With a Preface by the Hon. and Rev. BAPTIST W. NOEL.* Small 8vo, pp. 480.

Johnstone and Hunter.

THE deep inquiry which has sprung up in reference to the claims of the Christian Sabbath, is one of the most hopeful signs of the times. We trust that a more profound conviction of its sanctity and value has been produced in the minds of God's own people; and that some, not pledged to the Christian cause, have become thoughtful in reference to its social and moral tendency,—its real benefits to the human race. We must confess that our main hope of improvement depends, in a great measure, upon the tone and temper of the Christian Church in reference to Sabbath sanctification. If godly men are found honouring God's day as they ought, it will tell more on the masses around them, than a thousand legislative enactments. Let Christian men, in their several spheres, stand up boldly for the honour of God's day, and stand aloof from all the various desecrations of it, and their example will be a leaven in the community, which will, every day, exert a growing influence for good on the minds of their fellow-men.

We commend this volume earnestly to our readers, as it treats the whole subject in a masterly manner, and in all its different aspects. It should be in every Christian house, and should be read by every Christian man.

The authors are Dr. Wardlaw, Mr. Jordan, Mr. Andrew Thomson, Dr. King, Dr. James Hamilton, Mr. Peter M'Owen, Dr. Hannah, Dr. Innes, Dr. Glover, Dr. Hethrington, Dr. Reid, Dr. Symington, Dr. R. W. Hamilton, Mr. Bickersteth, Dr. Bates, and Mr. J. A. James.

THE LADIES OF THE COVENANT. *Memoirs of distinguished Scottish Female Characters, embracing the Period of the Covenant and the Persecution.* *By the REV. JAMES ANDERSON.* Pp. 664.

Backie and Son, Warwick-square.

THE vast amount of striking incident, in reference to one of the most eventful periods in Scottish history, embodied in this volume, cannot fail to secure for it an extensive circulation. We have here the romance of

history; and yet the whole is a sober narrative of facts which actually transpired, of persecutions and martyrdoms fearlessly endured, and of liberties asserted and ultimately wrought out by men and women mighty in faith, and strong in the fear of the Lord.

These memoirs of "the Ladies of the Covenant" are a seasonable offering to our countrymen, at a time when a party in the English Establishment, the genuine representatives of those who, in the last days of the Stuart dynasty, were the oppressors and persecutors of the dauntless Scotch, are again obtruding their claims. It is a fact that, from May 27th, 1661, when the noble Marquis of Argyll, was beheaded, to the 17th of February, 1688, when Mr. James Renwick suffered, about 18,000 fell victims to the unrighteous attempt to impose episcopacy upon a reclaiming people. The same principles which are now held and vaunted by the Tractarian party, produced all the horrors in Scotland which preceded the Revolution; and it is only for them to acquire the same status, which they then held—the court and the sovereign favourable to their pretensions—to realise an equally disastrous result. Liberty, civil and religious, would perish if Tractarianism were to prevail. Our hope, however, is that it can never be again in the ascendant; and that the present struggle will issue in its final overthrow.

Mr. Anderson's book will be read with avidity, as it unfolds the female heroism of the Scottish covenant. Of many of those "holy women," whose dauntless faith and courage are here chronicled, it may be truly said, "the world was not worthy." Their testimony to the truth, and their stern adherence to what they held to be principle, proved, beyond dispute, that they were animated by a pure and lofty faith. We have no heart, even at this time of day, to criticise some of their notions and opinions from which we widely differ, as we believe them most sincerely to have been God's witnesses in evil times, raised up by Him to perform a great work for all time coming.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD AND MR. ALDERMAN SADLER. 8vo. pp. 28.
Oxford.

THIS is one of the most instructive correspondences to which the controversies of the day have given birth. Mr. Sadler is too much for the Bishop, as every child will feel who reads this pamphlet. On the one side, we have an open, honest, hearty, truth-loving Protestant, who cannot and will not compromise it with the enemies of the Reformation;—and on the other, we have a smooth, polished, cautious, do-nothing Bishop, who

would relieve himself from the responsibility of expelling Tractarians from his own diocese, by calling on Mr. Sadler to tell him where they are. Mr. Sadler has done his duty nobly, and will have the gratitude of thousands who may never see him in the flesh. Let all laymen do their duty, in an equally enlightened and Christian spirit, and the Bishops will be compelled soon to do theirs.

PAPAL AGGRESSIONS AIDED AND ENCOURAGED BY TRACTARIAN MOVEMENTS: A Sermon preached in Princess-street Chapel, Devonport, on Lord's-day Evening, November 24th, 1850. By the Rev. W. SPENCER. Second thousand. 12mo. pp. 36. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THIS is a very ingenious and argumentative Discourse, which is well worthy of extensive circulation, and careful perusal. The text is very happy: Obadiah, 11th verse—"And foreigners entered into his gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, EVEN THOU WAST AS ONE OF THEM." The author, I. Traces the history of Puseyism, and, along with it, the advance of Popery.—II. He points out some of the prominent principles of Puseyism, and exhibits their agreement with Popery.—And, III. He notices some of the influences of Puseyism, and shows their correspondence with those of Popery.

This is one of the best-argued Tracts of the day.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION. A Rational Account of True Religion, by JOHN EVELYN, Author of "Sylva," &c. Now first published by permission of W. J. EVELYN, Esq., M.P., from the Original MS. in the Library at Wotton. Edited, with Notes, by the Rev. R. M. EVANSON, B.A., Rector of Lansoy, Monmouthshire. In two volumes. London: Henry Colburn.

EVERY one has heard of John Evelyn; and most readers have some acquaintance with his remarkable "Diary," which gives us such insight into the habits and customs, parties and opinions of the age in which he lived, that, in its perusal, we seem to mingle and converse with the men and women who trode this "green earth" of ours two centuries ago, and formed the notorieties of their day. He was a man of fortune, a scholar, a devoted Royalist, and withal an honest and virtuous member of the party to which he belonged. His prejudices were, doubtless, strong, and he certainly did not deal out even-handed justice to the Puritans, and the men of the Commonwealth. His attachment to an hierarchy was so intense, and his sense of the divine right of kings was so deep, that everything like dissent, or an assertion of the responsibility of rulers, provoked his unqualified indignation, and seemed so completely to

bewilder his understanding, that ~~the~~ lost portion of its enormity when perpetrated by Royalists, and virtue was branded as hypocrisy when exhibited by Puritans or Commonwealthmen. As an instance of his prejudice and intense hatred of all that belonged to the Commonwealth, and also as an illustration of his tendency to regard acts of the deepest and most revolting atrocity, as sanctioned by the government and providence of God, when committed by Royalists, we give the following from his "Diary":—

"30th January, 1651. This day (O the stupendous and inscrutable judgments of God) were the carcasses of those archrebels, Cromwell, Bradshaw (the judge who condemned his Majesty), and Ireton (son-in-law to the Usurper), dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster among the kings, to Tyburn, and hanged on the gallows there from nine in the morning till six at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit—thousands of the people, who had seen them in all their pride, being spectators."

In the work now before us the same prejudice and one-sidedness of views appear when reference is made to the Puritans. The Presbyterians, the Independents, the Baptists and the Quakers, are so represented that our author must stand convicted of wilful ignorance or positive dishonesty. They are charged with holding opinions, and indulging in practices, which their whole history emphatically condemns. These volumes are, indeed, a confirmation of the opinion—as far as they touch upon the religious sentiments and sects of the age in which the author lived—that no man is competent to be an impartial historian of his own times, and of events in which he himself mingled, especially when his mind is imbued with the deep prejudices inseparable from high notions of the apostolicity of an hierarchy, and the divine right of kings.

The editor of the book, amid the superior advantages and redeeming circumstances of the present age, seems to inherit the prejudices, without the amenities, of his author. He speaks of "the fallacies of dissent," and of "the gross hypocrisy of the interregnum" in a tone which induces us to think that the foul and infamous abominations of the Restoration, which he gently designates "chilling indifference," are less offensive in his estimation than the sermons and "unauthorised" teachings of the Commonwealth. We are rather inclined to imagine, indeed, that Mr. Evanson would be disposed to array the hierarchy of England in all the gorgeousness of mediæval Romanism; for he hesitates not to affirm that, when restored after the destruction of the Commonwealth, it was bereft of a portion of its grandeur—of "the fulness of her rays."

The book, nevertheless, is a valuable one.

It comprehends a great amount of learning and weighty argument on a variety of important questions. It is the result of a lengthened and laborious investigation on the part of the author, to satisfy his own mind as to the truth of Christianity. The questions discussed by him are the Being and Attributes of God—the Immortality of the Soul, and the Rewards and Retributions of a Future State—Natural Religion—False, Pagan, and Gentile Religion—the Inspiration and Authority of the Scriptures—the Patriarchal and Mosaic Systems of Religion—Christianity—the Corruption of Christianity—the Reformation of Religion and the Church of England. In the examination of these important topics, Evelyn has evinced himself to have been a learned, laborious, sincere, and devout-minded man. Having witnessed what he deemed utter fanaticism and hypocrisy during the Commonwealth, and the most revolting forms of immorality, irreligion, and profaneness during the reign of that opprobrium of the human race, the second Charles, he felt himself urged to examine, in a spirit of earnest and solemn inquiry, the great fundamental questions of religion. And this he has done in a manner which, notwithstanding the defects to which we have adverted, reflects the highest credit on his memory, and gives us some instructive insight into the spirit, questions, and modes of thinking of the age in which he lived.

These volumes slumbered peacefully for nearly two centuries, in the original manuscript, in the Wotton Library, and are now brought to light by the patient and zealous labours of Mr. Evanson, assisted by an experienced amanuensis.

A New and Popular History of England.
By ROBERT FERGUSON, LL.D. In four volumes.

London: John Cassell, 1850.

THIS work, as its title indicates, is written for the people; and is well adapted to instruct multitudes of our reading fellow-countrymen in the humbler walks of life, who, notwithstanding their growing intelligence, are anything but well read in our national history. A book of this kind, cheap and popular, concise and comprehensive, was much needed, and we hope it will obtain the widest possible circulation. The author is well known to many of our readers as a minister of the gospel, as a man of scholarly habits and attainments, and as a writer of considerable power and attractiveness. This publication cannot fail to increase his celebrity and usefulness, and is destined, we think, speedily to take an honourable place in our standard literature. Of large, philosophical, and costly histories of England there was no previous lack; but such a history as the one before us, was to be greatly desired. In about six hundred pages of close

type, we have a consecutive narrative of all our national events, from the landing of Julius Cæsar on our shores, to the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne of these realms. Judiciously compressing the earlier periods of our history, and starting from the Norman Conquest as the more important epoch, our author has furnished us with one of the most delightful narratives we have recently perused. His style is clear and easy, graceful, and often eloquent; and much of the pleasure we have felt in the study of the work is derived from its racy, Anglo-Saxon phraseology, which will make it popular with the working classes of Great Britain. Dr. Ferguson is the first Nonconformist who has written our entire history; for the task has been hitherto quietly resigned to churchmen, papists, and infidels. It is important to the interests of truth and liberty that the great events which have passed over this land, should be viewed from all sides, and in all lights, and the quiet, but firm, nonconforming stand-point he has assumed, must shed some additional light on many of the most interesting incidents in British history. It is, moreover, written on truly Christian principles, in harmony with a sentiment adopted from that great and good, but much calumniated man, Oliver Cromwell, who says, "What are all our histories and other traditions of actions, in former times, but God manifesting himself that he hath shaken, and tumbled down, and trampled upon everything that He hath not planted?" We have no hesitation in giving the warmest commendation to this "New History," and doubt not but it will earn for itself the right to wear its other assumed title of "Popular." The limited size of the work would justify all omissions of references to authorities in foot-notes; but it would have been well if the Author had given a general statement of the sources of his information, and the history would have been more valuable, if it had been paged as two volumes, instead of four, and if an Index had been added to the last. This may be done in future editions; many of which, we trust, will be called for, to remunerate the enterprising publisher, and to gratify the gifted writer by the conviction that his labours are duly appreciated.

THE BATH FABLES; or, *Morals, Manners, and Faith, with Illustrative Prose, from many writers of celebrity.* By SHERIDAN WILSON, F. S. A., Vice-President of the African Institute, Author of "Sixteen Years in Malta and Greece," and of "Agnes Moreville." Second edition, pp. 478.

Longman and Co.

THERE is a vein of wit and humour, and grave moral in these fables, and illustrative prose which entitles them to rank with the

better specimens of the class to which they belong. Of the *Fifty-three* fables contained in the volume, there are many of them of admirable tendency, displaying a large amount of delicate and well-aimed satire, calculated to aid the cause of religion and morals. The articles against Popery and Puseyism are written with great spirit, and are calculated to do good service to the cause of truth at the present moment. The paper, "What is Puseyism?" we shall give in a future number of the Magazine. The literary character of the work is creditable to the author.

THE HEAVENLY SUPREMACY; or, *The Position and Duty, at the Present Crisis, of those who hold that Christ is the only Head of the Church.* A Discourse by the Rev. THOMAS STRATTEN.

Snow.

THIS able discourse is founded on Eph. i. 22, 23—"And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all things to the church," &c.

Mr. Stratten distributes the subject on which he enters, into three parts:—I. The central place or seat of government to the church. He shows that "Christ is not merely Head of the Church *now on earth*, but also of that infinitely larger and more glorious body already gathered into heaven.—II. The mode in which the heavenly government gives laws, and so rules on earth. Mr. Stratten clearly shows that, "with the closing of the canon of inspiration, authoritative legislation for the church has been completed and for ever terminated. There are no rightful thrones in the church, but those which the apostles still occupy with ever-living and unchanging authority. The work of subordinate rulers in the Christian ministry is, not to give law to the conscience, but to expound and secure obedience to the law of Christ already given in his Word.—III. The *exclusive* nature of the heavenly supremacy—Christ, the *only Head* of the church.

The proof of this is reasoned out by the author with great power of scriptural argumentation, under several distinct heads. In

a note on a passage forcibly expressed, Mr. Stratten says: "If any reader should think this language too strong, let him peruse and ponder the following assertion of the Romish canon law—'Both the spiritual and the temporal swords are in the power of the church: the one is in the hands of the priesthood, the other in the hands of kings and soldiers; but the latter is to be exercised only at the beck and command of the former. One sword must be under the other—the temporal under the spiritual power. And, moreover, we pronounce, decree, and declare, that it is of the necessity of faith, that every living creature is subordinated to the power and jurisdiction of the holy See of Rome.'"

An Appendix to the sermon concludes with a powerful and animated appeal to Protestant Dissenters, to unite with their fellow-Christians in protesting against the Papal Bull, so that "their voice may swell the one demand of the whole Protestant army."

We strongly recommend this powerful and eloquent discourse, which is sold at a very low price, as worthy of general perusal and distribution.

WE WON'T GIVE UP THE BIBLE; arranged for One or Four Voices. By H. J. GAUNTLETT, Mus. Doc. Dedicated to the Protestants of Great Britain.

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We recommend all parents and instructors of youth to procure this very pretty little production. Everything having a tendency to endear the Book of books to our children should be hailed with delight.

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET JEREMIAH, AND THAT OF THE LAMENTATIONS, translated from the Original Hebrew; with a Commentary, Critical, Philological, and Eccegetical. By E. HENDERSON, D.D. 8vo., 1p 320.

Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

WE rejoice to announce the publication of this additional translation from the pen of Dr. Henderson. A review next month.

Obituary.

THE REV. ALGERNON WELLS.

ON Lord's-day evening, the 29th of December, after a protracted season of suffering and debility, borne with Christian cheerfulness and magnanimity, the Rev. Algernon Wells, of Clapton, entered into rest. The complaint by which his strength was wasted,

and his vital powers were at last exhausted, defied all medical skill, and left but little to hope, even in its earlier stages, though the beloved sufferer himself, full of mental power, and unquenched almost to the last, anticipated, at times, a return to his much-cherished labours. Through the whole of his

affliction; Mr. W. maintained the calm exercise of a vigorous faith, and conversed freely with his family and friends upon all the topics most essentially interwoven with Christian joy and hope. His sick chamber was a scene well befitting the "good minister of Jesus Christ," who had so long and so successfully proclaimed the gospel to others, and who had so signally illustrated and adorned its spirit and precepts in all the walks of private life, and in his more public intercourses with his brethren and the Christian church. All who were favoured to converse with him, during the period of his lengthened sickness, found, to their great joy and refreshment, that there was an unction and a savour in his communications, which made them feel sensibly that they had been with "a man of God," on the very verge of heaven. *Cheerfulness*, serenity, and *spirituality*, combined with "*brotherly love*," were the delightful elements which shone forth, in the evening hours of this devoted servant of Christ. He retained his consciousness almost to the close of his protracted sufferings.

On Saturday, January 4th, the mortal remains of our beloved friend were conducted to Abney Park Cemetery, by a large circle of devout men, who made great lamentation for their deceased brother. The Rev. Dr. Burder delivered the funeral address, in a most appropriate and pathetic manner, well depicting the mental and moral habits of the deceased; and the Rev. Thos. Binney offered up devout prayer at the grave. The attendance was large, and the feeling produced solemn and sanctifying. But we hope to give a fuller account next month, when we have seen Mr. Binney's funeral sermon, which was preached at Dr. Burder's chapel, Hackney, on Lord's-day morning, the 12th of January, to a crowded and deeply penetrated auditory.

We regard the death of Mr. Wells as a great public loss. His denomination, and the Christian church at large, could but ill spare such a champion; "Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth."

MEMOIR OF WILLIAM STANCLIFFE, ESQ., OF HOPTON.

THE memory of the just is blessed. Such characters cannot be forgotten. The wise and the good will cherish the memory of such men in perpetuity. The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance. This is a wise provision in the providence of God, for the edification of the church in every age. The holy sayings and doings of those who are gathered to their people in heaven, must not sink into oblivion.

The following detail was delivered at the close of a funeral sermon, preached in Hopton Chapel, July 7th, 1850, by the Rev. James

Scott, of Clerkheaton. The text on which was founded the funeral discourse, was Phil. i. 21, selected by Mr. Stancliffe, some time before his death.

After the preacher had concluded his sermon, he proceeded thus:—"In this short discourse I have said little about the character of my departed Christian brother; but I shall now, as briefly as I can, exhibit him to your view. My design is the eternal advantage of you the living, not the eulogy of the dead. I know nothing more out of place, nothing more offensive, than, in a funeral sermon, to aim only at praising the departed. Dear Mr. Stancliffe well knew, and was always ready to confess, that for all he was as a Christian he was indebted to infinite grace. He had his imperfections, of which he was fully conscious, and for which he was deeply humbled.

"It may be here asked, Why was not the Rev. C. H. Bateman, the pastor of my departed friend, requested to improve this mournful event, rather than the man to whom you are now so seriously listening? My answer is, No man that I know, is a more proper person for the solemn services of this day than my beloved ministerial brother, Mr. Bateman. But Mr. Stancliffe and I have been acquainted nearly forty years. I had the pleasure of first knowing him in the year 1815. And there was one circumstance in our first acquaintance, which made on my heart an indelible impression of endeared attachment to him, which no length of time, and no change of events, will ever be able to efface.

"A missionary meeting was held in the old Hopton Chapel, in the spring of 1815, and Mr. Stancliffe read the report of the doings of the generous people here, in behalf of the London Missionary Society. He was then like the youthful stripling David, when he vanquished Goliath, the Philistine champion. His almost boyish appearance, the fine soft tones of his tremulous voice, as he read the report, and especially the heroic sentiment to which he gave utterance in the last sentences he read, united my heart to him in a bond which death itself cannot dissolve. Referring to the hold which the missionary cause had on his best affections, he said—'If I forget thee, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.' A better pledge could not have been given to this godlike cause; and, surely, never did any man more fully redeem his pledge than did our departed friend.

"He was admitted a member of the church, of which the venerable Josiah Torothel was pastor, in the year 1813 (July 1st), so that he lived to the close of the thirty-seventh year of his church fellowship with this people.

During the greater part of this time he was a deacon of the church, and he used the office of a deacon well. To the venerable pastor he was his right arm. To Mr. Torothel he was like John to Jesus Christ; he was the disciple whom his pastor loved. He adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. He was 'an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile.'

"The precious document which he read, detailing his religious experience, on his admission to the church, has been preserved. I have read it carefully over, and I must only now take time to remark upon it, that it does equal honour to his head and his heart as a young disciple of Jesus Christ.

"Mr. Stancliffe was very remarkable for the meekness of his spirit and his retiring modesty. He was in all his movements in the church the same unpretending man. Easy of access to those moving in the most humble walks of life, he made all happy in his presence, however great the contrast as to his temporal estate. All who knew but little of him, were constrained to love him; but he was so clothed with humility, that the greater part of his finest excellencies was concealed, excepting from those who had daily and most intimate intercourse with him. His Christian zeal was finely tempered with humility, but it glowed with a pure and lofty ardour. This was seen in two objects which lay near his heart; the instruction of the rising generation in the Sunday-school, and the cause of Christian missions to the benighted heathen. You who regularly attend the worship of God here, know how untiring were his efforts in the Sunday-school belonging to this place. But the full extent of good he did in this department of Christian labour, will never be known in the present world. When the judgment shall be set and the books shall be opened, a goodly group, won to love the Saviour by his instrumentality, will press around my friend while he stands with honour on the right hand of the Judge, and meekly looking up, will say, 'Lo, here am I and the children thou hast given me.'

"As to devoted attachment to Christian missions, I would not say that he stands alone, an honourable exception. But how few *decided* Christians are like him. Retirement was the favourite habit of his life. This was partly from deliberate choice, and partly from the general delicacy of his health. Indeed, retirement appears to have been the best adapted to preserve him so long in those walks of usefulness in which he delighted to tread. But there was one object which fairly called him out upon the public field of usefulness. Here he appeared in the foremost ranks of those who pray most devoutly for the universal triumphs of the kingdom of God among men, and who give most liberally

according as God has prospered them. Formerly he was little known in the Christian world, excepting by a discerning few. But when the chair of the treasurer of the West Riding Auxiliary Missionary Society became empty, these few fixed their eye on Mr. Stancliffe, as a most suitable man to fill that responsible office. They did themselves honour in his election. No treasurer we ever had did greater honour to that office than did our departed friend. Though drawn from the favourite privacies of life, and knowing him to be naturally timid, I have been surprised in hearing with what fluency, zeal, and ease, he could address the vast assemblies which were collected together at our annual meetings. But here we beheld how enlightened Christian zeal makes the timid brave. His declining health, however, compelled him to resign the office he so honourably filled, to the deep regret of many who best knew his real worth. Yet he maintained his ardent attachment to this hallowed cause to his dying hour.

"Mr. Stancliffe was a man of sound judgment. His religion was the result of conviction. The light which guided his mind in this most important of all subjects, he took directly from the Bible. Whatever conflicting opinions others embraced, and whatever internal conflicts he might feel on the commencement of his Christian course, he could deliberately say of the blessed Bible—

" 'This is the Judge that ends the strife,
Where wit and reason fail;
My guide to everlasting life,
Through all this gloomy vale.'

By the light he derived from searching the Holy Scriptures, and in answer to daily and devout prayer, he was deliberately of opinion that the church polity adopted by the Dissenters of this country, is clearly taught by the inspired writings. The doctrine of salvation by grace (by grace leading to holy living) he most cordially embraced. If the slightest merit on his part had been required in order to his salvation, he would have felt compelled to relinquish all hope of entering heaven. The sentiment of the poet as to the way to heaven, was deeply engraven on his heart:—

" 'While Jews on their own law rely,
And Greeks of wisdom boast,
I love the incarnate mystery,
And there I fix my trust.'

"He was a Dissenter on principle, as firmly as any man I ever knew. He took his system from the Bible. No one could move him from this ground; because he believed from his heart that, as a Dissenter, he stood on holy ground. But his truly catholic and amiable spirit led him to love all the true disciples of Christ. He could agree to differ from those who did not see as he saw in the

minor points of religion. Whatever might be the section of the church to which others belonged, if he could see in their spirit and character a decided resemblance to Jesus Christ, these were his brethren and sisters in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ: to such he would give the right hand of fellowship, and in giving them his hand, he gave them his heart. He believed that they would arrive in heaven, and his fixed purpose was to meet them there, and unite with them in the song of perfect harmony in honour of the Lamb that was slain. Oh! if all professors of religion had such clear views of the fundamental doctrines of the Bible, and had drunk as deeply into the spirit of Christian love as did our departed friend, there would soon become one lovely brotherhood pervading the universal church. The thorny hedges, which now unhappily divide the faithful, would be torn up by the roots, and carried away into the land of oblivion, and cease to be remembered for ever. The millennial sun would be seen rising on our world in a cloudless sky. The Saviour would appear seated in his triumphal car riding forth among the nations, conquering and to conquer; and a willingly subjugated world, prostrated at his feet, as with one voice would exultingly crown him Lord of all. The Christian's harp would then be struck, and would give forth louder and sweeter sounds than that of David, when the ancient church harmoniously sung, 'Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity! It is like the precious ointment upon the head, that ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's beard; that went down to the skirts of his garments: As the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that descended upon the mountains of Zion: for there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore.'

"If all professing Christians were like our now lamented brother, in his love of the universal church, in his princely liberality to extend the kingdom of God among men, in his fervent devotional spirit, and in his lovely Christian deportment in all the walks of life, how soon the world must be converted to God! Contention and division would be swept away into the land of forgetfulness, earth would resemble heaven, and God would delight to dwell with men.

"His spirit of sympathy and kindness with families in affliction was such, that I must say I never met with a private Christian like him. Oh the apartments of suffering and distress, his presence, his counsels, and his prayers, have cheered! In these interesting walks of life, how indelibly his name must be engraven on the hearts of many who are now hearing me! You will cherish his memory while life remains. He was always ready to visit the sick and the dying, when

his health would allow, whether by night or by day—what a helper to the devoted minister of Christ!

"It is now about sixteen years since my only daughter lay dying. But as we were five miles distant from Hopton, I could not expect a visit from Mr. Stancliffe. But he heard of my distress, and this called forth his most kindly sympathies. Oh how he entered into our case, and tasted another's woe! His counsels and prayers on that occasion will be cherished while life remains. In this feature of his character, what a resemblance he bore to Jesus Christ!

"We might here remind you how highly he valued the blessed Sabbath. How constantly he attended the house of God. With what devotion he joined in acts of solemn public worship; with what attention he listened to the preaching of the gospel. With his clear and comprehensive views of religion he was well qualified to hear the preacher critically. Yet he came not to criticise, but to be fed with the sincere milk of the word, that he might grow thereby. Whoever was the preacher, if he breathed the spirit of the sacred office, and exhibited Christ as the way to the Father, though there might be nothing in the sermon to fascinate, Mr. Stancliffe could hear to edification.

"His nice discrimination as to truth, integrity, fidelity, and forbearance, when needed, in all his temporal transactions, formed a most interesting feature in his character.

"I do not remember ever to have said as much in a funeral sermon respecting departed worth on any former occasion; but in this case I could not refrain; and I am sure you have heard me with deep interest, and I suppose you will retire from the house of God and say not one-half has been told us.

"But query, how did Mr. Stancliffe die? Is it necessary that I should tell you? I know you will feel interested in hearing his last peaceful moments described; because, like myself, you will wish to die as he died.

"A few weeks before he died some coloured drawings of flowers from the Holy Land were shown him; he examined them minutely, and was evidently much pleased with them, and remarked, 'These seem to join one to the most favoured land under heaven. I have sometimes wished to visit the Holy Land, and see for myself the beautiful flowers which formed a part of the imagery of Scripture. I have often meditated on them with profit and delight. And here I seem to see them. How beautiful they are! yet such flowers wither and die. I shall soon see a land where the flowers never wither and never die.'

"There everlasting spring abides,
And never fading flowers.'

"One day he said, 'There are many things for which I feel thankful to God, but for two

things I especially bless him. I bless God that I was so early led to Christ, and was enabled to give myself in youth to God. From what snares this has kept me, and what sacred pleasures I have enjoyed! I bless God that I have been permitted to do any thing for his honour, especially in the Missionary cause.' At an interview with a friend he said, 'I wish to make to you the solemn declaration that I do feel myself to be amongst the most unworthy of God's children. My sole reliance for acceptance with God is on the finished work of Christ; and if I enter heaven, it will be as a sinner saved by grace.'

"He was asked, 'Have you any doubts of your interest in Christ?' 'Oh, no,' was his reply: 'all is right there. I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep what I have committed to him against that day. He will not deceive me—he cannot fail me.' His child-like, and yet firm reliance on Christ was quite a permanent feature in his character when on the brink of eternity.

"When evidently near his end he was asked, 'Is Jesus precious to you?' He replied, 'Yes, very precious, very precious,' while a heavenly smile lighted up his animated coun-

tenance. It was remarked, 'You seem fast approaching the valley—you need fear no evil, his rod and his staff will comfort you.' 'They are with me now,' he faintly replied. During the evening of Saturday he suddenly opened his eyes, and looked earnestly around, as if observing some unearthly object, and then heavenly joy appeared depicted on his countenance. Mrs. Stancliffe at once caught what she thought might be the object which had fixed his delighted gaze. Could it be a messenger from the invisible world? She repeated these words—

" 'These glorious minds how bright they shine,
Whence all their white array'—

He intimated that she must pause. She asked, 'Shall I repeat it at another time?' He said, 'To-morrow.' Early on the morning, Sabbath morn, June 30, he calmly and peacefully breathed his last. Not a cloud seemed to cross his sky—not a fear to harass his mind—not a doubt to disturb his repose. All was calm and serene, like the summer's setting sun in a cloudless sky. Early on the morning of this earthly Sabbath, his emancipated spirit entered upon a Sabbath whose sun shall never set, and whose pleasures shall never end."

Home Chronicle.

ACADEMIC HONOURS.

THE Senatus of Marischal College, Aberdeen, has, at one of its late sittings, conferred the degree of LL.D., on Mr. Brown, of Cheltenham. No man can better deserve this mark of honour than our esteemed friend, who is doing a great work in the important town in which he has been called to exercise his ministry.

FINSBURY CHAPEL.

ON Friday, December 6th, a small tea-meeting was held in Finsbury Chapel; for the purpose of presenting the Rev. Alexander Fletcher, D.D., with an elegant silver cake-basket, as a testimonial of esteem from the male department of the catechetical seminary which has existed for nearly forty years under his superintendence, and meet every Sabbath afternoon. The address (which was written in a handsome portfolio of velvet, ornamented with silver gilt filagree work and flowers carved in ivory) was read by F. Harrison, Esq., one of the Managers of the chapel, who had been a member of the seminary thirty years ago; and the basket, in which were some flowers beautifully

modelled in wax by one of the present scholars, was presented to the Doctor by the Secretary of the seminary, Mr. Charles Watson.

The Doctor replied at some length in a most affectionate manner; and afterwards Mr. Sargent, the teacher of the first class, and the Rev. H. L. Seaborn, formerly a pupil, addressed the meeting, which then dissolved.

The female department of the same school had testified their esteem for their excellent pastor, by the presentation of a silver ink-stand, some few weeks previously.

LITTLE HADHAM, HERTS.

THE Independent Chapel, in this interesting and important village, having been closed for extensive alterations and repairs, was reopened on Tuesday, the 26th of October. The Rev. I. Vale Mummery, of Hackney, preached in the afternoon, after which a large company of the friends took tea together in the school-room adjoining; and the Rev. W. Hurndall, of Bishop's Stortford, preached in the evening.

On the following Sunday, sermons were delivered by the Rev. W. Hurndall, and the Rev. W. Hopwood, of London.

The congregations were good, and the collections liberal; while the services were found to be "times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord."

TRINITY CHAPEL, HIGH WYCOMBE.

THIS chapel, which is beautifully situated in the London-road, at the entrance of the town, was opened for public worship on Wednesday, October 23rd, 1850. The occasion was one of deep interest, and the proceedings, which lasted the whole day, were sustained throughout with the most entire Christian harmony.

After singing, the Rev. John Hayden, minister of the chapel, read the 6th chapter of the 2nd Book of Chronicles, and offered the dedication prayer.

The Rev. Dr. Archer, who had been appointed to preach the morning sermon, then delivered a powerful and impressive discourse from the following words:—"And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb." Rev. xxii. 1.

In the afternoon, a public meeting was held in the chapel, the Rev. J. Hayden presiding. After singing, and the offering of prayer by the Rev. C. Hyatt, the meeting was addressed by Dr. Archer, R. Wheeler, Esq., the Rev. J. Elrick, W. A. Salter, J. Dickinson, and Dr. Massie.

In the course of the proceedings the Chairman took the opportunity of bearing his testimony to the almost unparalleled exertions which his people had made to meet this exceedingly difficult object; exertions which had been continued with more or less energy for upwards of *fourteen* years; and, as an encouragement to future efforts, he felt great pleasure in saying that, if the friends then present would send up to him £125, he should be happy to make it £225.

In the evening, after reading the Scriptures, and the offering of prayer by the Rev. J. Dickinson, a powerful sermon was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Massie, from 2 Cor. v. 20. The Rev. Messrs. J. Edmonds, C. Hyatt, and S. Weston, took part in the service.

The following is a gratifying proof of the great liberality displayed by the people in connexion with the above services:—The Collection, in the morning, after sermon by Dr. Archer, £24 9s. 6½d.; Ditto, public meeting, £10 18s. 8d.; Ditto, after sermon in the evening by Dr. Massie, £10 14s. 10½d.; profits of tea-meeting, £6. In connexion with the public meeting a check was given for £50, left by the late Mrs. Collingwood*, to be paid at the opening of the chapel, provided

the Rev. J. Hayden was pastor at the time. A check to the same amount was also given by the Chairman, who, in the course of the meeting, offered to give £100, if the congregation would raise £125. Towards this

Mrs. Hayden gave £100; and the people, including a check for £10 from Messrs. Spicer, Brothers, £16 10s.; and by the Chairman allowing the deficiency to be made up from the collection in the evening, his hundred pounds was secured. On the following Lord's-day, two eloquent sermons were preached at Trinity-chapel, by the Rev. J. M. Obery, M.A., of Islington; and also at the Independent Chapel, West Wycombe; that in the morning by the Rev. J. Hayden, and that in the afternoon by Mr. Obery. The collections at both places amounted to £13 19s., which added to the sums raised at, or in connexion with, the opening of the chapel on the Wednesday, gives the handsome sum of £525 14s. 7d.; and this added to the sum previously raised, during the year, amounted to £886 2s. 7½d. These extraordinary exertions would have enabled the people, in a very short time, to have freed themselves from debt, had not the expenses connected with the building greatly exceeded their anticipations. As it is, the deficiency will amount to some £900. Will no kind friend, who reads these lines, send a donation to the minister?

The following description of the chapel which was given in the *Patriot*, October 31, 1850, and in which a more detailed account is given of the services in connexion with the opening, will be read with interest:—

"The chapel, which is built of Kentish rag (or rather the front of it, including the two towers, the other parts of the chapel being built of bricks), is in the Norman style, with nave and aisles sixty feet long, and forty feet six inches wide. The roofs are supported on stone columns, with carved capitals, and semi-circular arches, carrying a clerestory above, containing twenty windows, glazed with rough plate-glass, each in one square. The main timbers of the roofs are seen and divided into eighty square bays, plastered between. The chapel is entered by a vestibule the whole width of the building, and flanked with two well proportioned towers, containing the staircases to the galleries. The windows are decorated with stained glass; the vestibule and aisles are paved with blue and red Staffordshire tiles; the chapel is lighted with double chandeliers. There are also boys' and girls' school-rooms in the rear, and minister's vestry, &c. The interior of the building generally is most complete and elegant, whilst the exterior carries with it the appearance of great strength and beauty. The architect is Mr. Charles G. Searle, of London, to whom great

* The husband of this benefactress, the late S. Collingwood, Esq., of Oxford, gave, during his life, to various objects, at the least £20,000.

praise is due. The building was erected by workmen, natives of High Wycombe, and does them great credit. The total cost of the edifice is about £2535."

To this must be added, in order to form a correct opinion of the difficulties with which the church and congregation have had to contend, the sum paid for the site, including the conveyance, which was £656 16s. 4d., and which makes the grand total of £3191 16s. 4d. It is, moreover, proper to add that, in this large sum the expenses connected with furnishing the vestry, school-rooms, &c., are not included.

"May peace attend thy gate,
And joy within thee wait
To bless the soul of every guest!
The man that seeks thy peace,
And wishes thine increase,
A thousand blessings on him rest!"

LEE, BLACKHEATH, AND LEWISHAM.

THE Rev. W. Campbell, M.A., in compliance with an earnest and unanimous invitation, has consented to minister in Boone-street Chapel, Lee, with a view to the erection of a new Independent place of worship suited to the rapidly increasing population of Lee, Blackheath, and Lewisham. In the first two of these places there has hitherto been no

Independent chapel, although their united population amounts to about six thousand; and in the last, with a population of about seven thousand, there is only one, in which the Rev. T. Timpson has long laboured, whose cordial approval, together with that of all the neighbouring ministers, has been given in reference to the erection of the contemplated chapel.

[We very cordially and earnestly commend this rising cause to the notice of the Christian public. Our friend, Mr. Campbell, much respected and loved by all who know him, is willing to make the sacrifice necessary in order to build up this infant church, in a populous and neglected district. The Non-conformists of the metropolis will, we trust, come forward generously to secure a new and elegant place of worship for the vicinity of Lee and Blackheath. The Chapel Building Society will assuredly aid this undertaking.—EDITOR.]

THE Rev. W. P. Davies, late of Petworth, has received and accepted the cordial and unanimous invitation of the church and congregation, meeting for worship in the Independent Chapel, Putney, and entered on his labours the first Sabbath in January, 1851.

General Chronicle.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY,
AND CHINESE SCRIPTURES.

Woodbridge, Suffolk,
Jan. 14, 1851.

REV. SIR,—In connexion with a review of two pamphlets by Dr. Legge, on the rendering of the name "God" in the Chinese language, there appeared, in the last Number of your Magazine, a strong condemnation of the course which has been adopted by the British and Foreign Bible Society with reference to that subject. And as I can hardly think that the reviewer would have used such decided terms of censure had he been fully acquainted with the circumstances of the case, I venture to submit a few remarks connected therewith, in the hope that you will allow your readers the opportunity of having rather more information on the subject than they would gain from the article referred to, before they decide that the Committee of the Bible Society have, in this matter, "betrayed their trust."

From the decided manner in which the reviewer pronounces in favour of Dr. Legge's opinion, and in which all different opinions are either scornfully overlooked, or strongly

condemned, it would seem as if the writer was hardly aware of the extent to which controversy on this difficult subject has been carried, or of the strong array of authorities, which still exists in favour of the renderings, for partially sanctioning which the Bible Society is censured.

For at least three years, some of the missionaries in China, most acquainted with the language, have been engaged in discussing this point; and, after failing in coming to any united decision amongst themselves, Bishop Boone and Dr. Medhurst sent over to England, in 1848, pamphlets which they had published in China, in support of their respective opinions. From the length of time that these two missionaries had been labouring in the country, as well as from their acknowledged standing as men of literary minds, it might well be considered that each was an authority, whose opinion was not hastily to be rejected; and when two such men as these were found differing in their opinion, the Committee of the Bible Society felt that the subject under discussion must be one of so much difficulty, that it would be well for them to forbear from any decision.

for which they were far less competent than those who, with all the advantages of a long residence in China, and an extensive acquaintance with the native literature, had yet failed in agreeing upon the point. It will generally be acknowledged that Dr. Medhurst, at least, brought to the consideration of this subject an extensive knowledge, both of the peculiarities of the Chinese language and of the phraseology of Chinese writers; and, without wishing to depreciate the reviewer's estimate of Dr. Legge's ability, I would remark, that some diffidence might well be expected in the advocate of an opinion differing from that espoused by Dr. Medhurst. Whilst, in two learned pamphlets of one hundred and seventy, and one hundred and six pages, Dr. M. opposes the use of *Shin* for "God," he argues in favour of the adoption, not of *Shang-Te*, but of *Ta*.

The discussion of this question has been principally carried on amongst a body of delegates, to whom the missionaries in China entrusted the revision of the New Testament; and from the advocates of different opinions in this body, a voluminous correspondence has been addressed to the British and Foreign, as well as to the American, Bible Society. Evidence has thus been furnished of the very strong feeling of confidence in their own view being right, with which each party have urged the adoption, respectively, of *Shin*, or of some other term which has been proposed for rendering "God;" and in consequence of this strong feeling, and of the delegates being *equally divided* between the two terms then advocated, this body passed a resolution, in August last, expressing their inability to come to any decision on the point at issue, and offering the version they had prepared to the Bible Societies of Europe and America, and all the Protestant missionaries in China, to be used by them, and to be printed with such renderings of the words "God" and "Spirit" as any party so using it might think right to adopt.

It was under these circumstances that the British and Foreign Bible Society adopted the course of making an equal grant to each of two applications for aid in printing; the one, an edition in which *Shin* should be used for "God;" the other, in which this should be expressed by *Shang-Te*. Deeply regretting the necessity which seemed to exist for this duplicate edition, the committee considered it more in accordance with their position to aid each, than to incur the responsibility of deciding on a question of such peculiar difficulty. The American Bible Society have adopted another course, but one which will only make them more exposed to the strong censures of your reviewer. With the com-

bined judgment of no less distinguished scholars than Drs. Turner and Robinson, professors in the Episcopal and Presbyterian Theological Seminaries of New York, the American Bible Society have printed a Report, giving a decision in favour of the use of *Shin* for "God," and *Ling* for "Spirit." Amongst the reasons assigned for this decision, it is urged, in the Report, that "*Shang-Te* is the designation of a material idol, an object of worship by the mass of the Chinese;" and again, that "the Chinese emperor is addressed by this title." This decision of the American Bible Society is given as the result of a consideration of Dr. Legge's pamphlet in defence of the use of *Shang-Te*, together with four other printed pamphlets, and various letters, on the subject.

I think it must be acknowledged, from the circumstances already mentioned, that the question is not yet so decisively settled against the propriety of *Shin* being used to express "God," as the review in your Magazine would lead your readers to infer; and, in further confirmation of this, it may be stated, that of the Protestant missionaries now in China, fifty-five advocate the terms *Shin* and *Ling* for "God" and "Spirit;" whilst, I believe, nineteen others are agreed in thinking that *Shin* ought to be appropriated as the term for "Spirit," but differ amongst themselves as to the term they recommend as most proper to express "God."

It is stated, in the conclusion of the article to which I have felt it right to refer, that "the Committee at Shanghai have deemed it their duty to decline the grant of the Bible Society." I need hardly say that there must be some mistake in this statement, when I mention that it was only on Nov. 15th last, that the Bible Society made the grant for printing an edition, using the terms *Shang-Te* and *Shin* for "God" and "Spirit;" the intelligence of which can hardly yet have reached the Missionaries to whose application it was a reply.

I am, Rev. Sir, yours truly,

T. W. MELLER,

Edit. Superintendent of the Bible Society.

THE REVIEWER'S REPLY.

(To the Editor.)

DEAR SIR,—Accept my best thanks for favouring me with an early sight of Mr. Meller's animadversions on my Review of Dr. Legge's Pamphlets, as it is important that they should be accompanied with some observations in reply. These observations will be brief; for it is not necessary that I should occupy much of your space, either to vindicate myself, or to show that the matter, as far as the Committee of the Bible Society is concerned, stands at least where it was.

In writing as I did respecting the comparative claims of *Shang-Te* and *Shin*, in

advocating the view of Dr. Legge, and in considering the course pursued by the Committee of the Bible Society, I need scarcely say that I was influenced by no private or personal feeling; nor did I write, as Mr. Meller supposes, in ignorance of the extent to which the controversy has been carried, or of the scholars who have taken part in it. My simple desire was, if possible, to awaken public opinion on the point at issue, and thereby to prevent a great society from committing itself to a course of action, which might impair its usefulness, or in any way defeat the great designs of its mission. And so far from scornfully overlooking any of the competent scholars who have engaged in the controversy, feeling, after careful examination, that the views of Dr. Legge were sound, not merely according to the usages of Chinese, but on the still broader ground presented by the philosophy of language, I simply deemed it inexpedient to encumber your pages with needless references, or conflicting opinions. My earnest and exclusive advocacy of Dr. Legge's view of the question involved neither scorn nor ignorance, in reference to the opinions of other Chinese scholars; nor did my condemnation of the infelicitous proceeding of the Committee of the Bible Society originate in any want of acquaintance "with the circumstances of the case."

Mr. Meller, as far as I can perceive, has thrown no fresh light on the subject; nor has he adduced anything, which, in the estimation of the dispassionate, can amount to a vindication of the course pursued by the Committee of the Bible Society. I rather suspect, indeed, that the more narrowly "the circumstances of the case" are looked into, as expounded by him, the more infelicitous and censurable the whole thing must be regarded. It is with reluctance and pain that I express myself thus; but truth, and the facts of the case, forbid the employment of language less distinct and emphatic.

It is known to all who have any acquaintance with the question, that missionaries have, for a considerable time, been divided in opinion as to the most eligible term for rendering the Divine name into Chinese—the most competent scholars always opposing the adoption of *Shin*; and moreover, that, in 1848, Bishop Boone and Dr. Medhurst sent over to England pamphlets which they had published in China, in support of their respective views of *Shin* and *Shang-Te*. This being the case, Mr. Meller, by a kind of mystification, which I would not otherwise designate, attempts to make it appear, that the Committee of the Bible Society shrunk from giving an opinion, or felt "that it would be well for them to forbear from any decision," and, therefore, that their present countenance of antagonistic versions is simply the mainte-

nance of the principle of neutrality, which they have uniformly adhered. Now, how does this accord with the fact that, at the very time when the pamphlets of Bishop Boone and Dr. Medhurst were fresh before them—when, according to the statement of Mr. Meller, it would appear that their perplexity and indecision were at their height, the Committee of the Bible Society passed the following resolution, dated December 4th, 1848:—"That in the best judgment they (the Committee) could form, after due consideration of the subject, it appears to this Committee that *Shin* is not the appropriate word to be employed for expressing the Divine name?" Here, surely, is no neutrality; no hesitation; no forbearing from a decision in reference to *Shin*. In their "best judgment;" in obedience to their deepest convictions; in compliance with the highest authority of their understandings; and, after "due consideration" of the subject; after bestowing upon it all the care and investigation which its importance demanded; after weighing the arguments of Bishop Boone and Dr. Medhurst, they pronounced *Shin* "not the appropriate word to be employed for expressing the Divine name." And yet, in the face of this Resolution, so distinct and decided, in order to screen, or give the semblance of consistency to, their present infelicitous proceeding, Mr. Meller declares that the Committee deemed it "well for them to forbear from any decision;" and, moreover, in opposition to its spirit and letter, he attempts to vindicate the vote which offered £250 of the Society's funds to print, and circulate throughout China, the repudiated term *Shin*, as the rendering of the Divine name. I leave Mr. Meller to reconcile and explain these things.

In Dr. Medhurst every one who is acquainted with the fact of his long residence in China, and has any knowledge of his writings, would place the highest confidence as a Chinese scholar; but in Dr. Legge, although a younger man, and although not so long resident in China, yet from his superior academic training before leaving England, and from his great capacity for acquiring languages, I should be disposed to place the same confidence; and, therefore, in adopting and advocating an opinion of his, of any point in Chinese literature, should it happen to differ from that of Dr. Medhurst, it does not appear to me that there would exist any ground for diffidence, beyond what is connected with the adoption of any opinion, respecting which great scholars may chance to differ. But why Dr. Medhurst is appealed to by Mr. Meller in the present instance, as holding an opinion differing from that of Dr. Legge, I do not understand. They are at one in condemning the obnoxious term *Shin*, which the Committee of the Bible

Society voted money to print and circulate; and besides, Dr. Medhurst maintains that *Shang-Te* is the classical term for "God," although he thinks that *Te* and *T'een Te* may also be employed. Dr. Medhurst, then, instead of holding opinions that can be pleaded in justification of what the Bible Society attempted to do, is as much opposed to it as Dr. Legge.

As to the protracted discussion and impossibility of united action among the body of delegates, it is well known that the whole is traceable to Bishop Boone. Although he took little or no part in the labours connected with preparing the translation; yet by his pertinacity in adhering to the term *Shin*, he so perplexed and annoyed his brother delegates, that, to secure the printing and circulation of the version, on which so much time and money had been expended, and which he insisted on keeping shut up, they were compelled to adopt the resolution of August last to which Mr. Meller refers. This being done, the corresponding Committee of the Bible Society in China, with only two dissentients, immediately voted the sum of £250 committed to their hands by the Parent Society, that it might be expended in printing the New Testament with *Shang-Te* for "God" and *Shin* for "Spirit." A portion of this translation has already reached England.

The two dissentients, who protested against the vote of the Corresponding Committee, are Mr. McClatchie and Mr. Hobson, the former knowing comparatively but little of the Chinese language, and the latter hardly acquainted with its simplest elements. These two gentlemen, although altogether incompetent to judge in the matter, not only protested against the vote of the Committee to which they belonged, but applied to the Bible Society in England for a grant to print an edition of the Scriptures with *Shin* for "God," and *Ling* for "Spirit." And, marvellous to say, in compliance with the request of these two incompetent applicants, who stood alone in their opposition among a large number of accomplished Chinese scholars; and in direct subversion of their own recorded resolution of December, 1848, the committee of the Bible Society voted the sum of £250 for the printing of an edition of the Scriptures with *Shin* for "God," and *Ling* for "Spirit." Happily, however, the money thus voted had to pass through the hands of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society; and they, deeming conflicting versions of the Scriptures a grievous evil, refused to accept the grant. Thus a serious mischief was prevented, and the conduct of the Bible Society was rebuked. Why did not Mr. Meller advert to this circumstance as explanatory of the mistake into which I fell, in supposing that the grant had been rejected by both parties in China? On this point I had been misinformed;

and the perplexed rumour reached me just when it was necessary to put my review into the hands of the printer, so that I had not time to test its accuracy. But, doubtless, Mr. Meller knew where the explanation was to be found.

That the Americans have so decidedly declared themselves in favour of *Shin* and *Ling*, will undoubtedly spread consternation and the deepest regret among the mission brotherhood in China, and cannot fail to wound the spirits of many Christians in England. But however deep the regret that will be experienced among missionaries in China and Christians in England, at the decision to which the American Bible Society has come, the regret must be more than equalled, in every dispassionate and enlightened mind, by the astonishment felt at the reasons assigned for that decision. They are the veriest quibble and sand.

On the question of conflicting opinions and authorities respecting *Shin* and *Shang-Te*, Mr. Meller makes a statement which appears altogether incredible. At all events, I would advise the constituency of the Bible Society not to receive it until he adduces more distinct and convincing evidence of its truth than mere assertion; for, according to the latest intelligence received from China, the printing of the New Testament with *Shang-Te*, with money voted by the Corresponding Committee of the Bible Society, is sanctioned by the cordial approval of nine-tenths of the mission brotherhood. If there are fifty-five missionaries who contend for the superior claim of *Shin*, let their names be announced, that they may be identified, and that their competency to decide on the comparative merits of the conflicting terms may be known and tested. I cannot help avowing it as my conviction, that Mr. Meller will be greatly puzzled to give substantial embodiment to his long array of fifty-five names. If, however, when they stand forth as living men before the world, their authority in reference to the important question at issue, is not superior to that of the parties on whose application the Committee of the Bible Society voted £250, to print a version of the Scriptures with *Shin*, it will, with all scholars and competent judges, be deemed simply *vox et proterea nihil*—as somewhat akin to the opinion of the blind man, who imagined that the colour of scarlet resembled the sound of a trumpet.

I might have extended these remarks; but feeling that I have already trespassed too far on your valuable space, I must close, assuring Mr. Meller and every member of the Committee of the Bible Society, that what I wrote was not intended to injure but to benefit their great and important institution.

I am, dear sir, yours truly,
THE REVIEWER.

FREE EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT CHURCH,
PARIS.

THE "UNION OF EVANGELICAL CHURCHES," constituted in the city of Paris, in the month of June, 1849, has afforded devout pleasure to all classes of professing Christians in the country, who sincerely believe and practically honour "the glorious gospel of the blessed God." It is based upon those sacred and essential principles for which the Protestant Reformers of France and Switzerland so faithfully and earnestly contended, and is at once a protest against prevailing evils of gigantic force, and a missionary organisation for the evangelising of France: and although the movement is now in the weakness of its infancy, it contains the sure elements of life and progress.

The general principles embodied in the Union are the following:—The maintenance of sound evangelical doctrine—The acknowledgment of the Lord Jesus Christ, true God and true man, as the only Head and Ruler of the Church—Individual profession of the faith as it is in Jesus, by every member of the Church—and, A positive and real distinction between the Church and the world.—Such principles, carried out with Christian earnestness, and humble dependence, cannot fail to insure the blessing of God.

The Rev. Frederick Monod, who for more than thirty years has been the consistent and honoured friend of evangelical truth in Paris, has been a *leader* in this noble effort to restore to the Protestant Churches of his country soundness of doctrine and purity of character. Constrained by solemn convictions of duty, he has retired from the Consistory of Paris, of which he was one of the senior ministers, and now assembles for Christian worship with his faithful flock in an incommensurable apartment of a private house, in one of the most obscure parts of the city. This forms a most serious obstacle to his usefulness; and a place of worship, simple, commodious, easy of access, and in a prominent position, would, under God, be one of the most important means for promoting the great cause in which he is embarked.

Urged, therefore, by a deep conviction of the importance of the object, as well as respect and affection for the Rev. F. Monod, it has been determined by a few friends of Evangelical Protestantism in this country, to raise a sum sufficient to erect for him and the people of his charge, a suitable Christian sanctuary in an eligible locality of Paris; and they most earnestly solicit the kind and liberal support of their fellow-Christians of every evangelical denomination, in furtherance of this design. It is estimated that the cost of such an edifice, including the purchase of ground, which, in Paris, is enormously high, cannot be less than £2500, and may, unavoidably, exceed that

sum. A commencement has been made, and several liberal donations have been received; these are placed in the hands of a Committee, resident partly in London, and partly in Scotland; and the names of the gentlemen composing it, among whom we find those of Sir Culling Eardley Eardley, Bart., and John Henderson, Esq., are a sufficient guarantee for the security of the funds and the accomplishment of the object.

The following liberal sums appear in the list of contributions:—

Sir C. E. Eardley, Bart.	£100	0	0
John Henderson, Esq.	100	0	0
R. C. L. Bevan, Esq.	50	0	0
Messrs. Paton.	50	0	0
Wm. Campbell, Esq.	25	0	0
Wm. Macfie, Esq.	25	0	0
Thomas Farmer, Esq.	25	0	0
George Hitchcock, Esq.	25	0	0
John Clark, Esq.	20	0	0
Alex. Dunlop, Esq.	20	0	0
John Cropper, Esq.	20	0	0
The Duchess of Gordon.	10	0	0
Nathaniel Stevenson, Esq.	10	0	0
Sir James Anderson.	10	0	0
David Anderson, Esq.	10	0	0
John Blackie, sen., Esq.	10	0	0
Richard Kidston, Esq.	10	0	0

with smaller sums amounting in the total to upwards of £650.

Contributions received at the following Bankers:—Messrs. Ransom and Co., No. 1, Pall Mall East, and Messrs. Hankeys, No. 7, Fenchurch Street; and by John Henderson, Esq., Park, near Glasgow.

EVANGELICAL CONTINENTAL SOCIETY—
EVANGELICAL SOCIETY OF LYONS.

(To the Editor of the *Evangelical Magazine*.)

DEAR SIR,—I have just received the Eighth Report of the Committee of the above Society. Will you allow me to lay the principal points of it before the readers of the EVANGELICAL MAGAZINE? Popery is gradually losing its hold on the public mind on the Continent; and is it conceivable that it will ever succeed in entangling the British public to any extent in its fearful meshes? Assuredly not, unless the churches of Christ are most unfaithful to the trust committed to them, unfaithful to the truth of God, and unfaithful to the souls of the population by which they are surrounded. But to return to the Continent, the Committee at Lyons state:—

Many of those whom the brilliant promises of socialism had led astray, have returned to us disabused. . . . Never have we seen such a number of hearers assembled at the same time, at our different chapels. The number of communicants is four hundred and forty. Since the open-

moment of the year, we have had fifty-two admissions, of which forty-three were Roman Catholics. We have sixty-two candidates for the Lord's Supper. In the city and *Faubourgs* we can count about two thousand five hundred persons, who attached themselves more or less strictly to our worship." It is a source of thankfulness that, in the Catholic city of Lyons, our brethren are able to report:—"We still enjoy all the measure of liberty it is possible to desire; much more than our brethren in any other places in France." They prosecute their good work without any molestation—they build places of worship, they preach the gospel openly without let or hindrance—in season and out of season are our faithful friends there on the alert. The following statement will be read with interest:—"We have the last six months endeavoured to extend the knowledge of the gospel to multitudes who would never otherwise have had it spoken to them. In one week at Croix Rouge this favourable occasion presented itself thrice. One of these was an aged female whose procession numbered four hundred men, composed principally of socialists. Our Evangelist thought by these means to penetrate into the ranks of their leaders—he had a conference with them on this question—Is man born good or depraved? After three hours' conversation he read to them the useful tract; *Evil, its Cause and Remedy*. The principal man present was so struck with this tract, that he cried out, 'I must have this tract at any price.' A second conference terminated still better, and nearly all the Socialists present brought the New Testament.' At another time there was a burial, at which a masonic lodge was present complete with all the insignia of the order, and the society of joiners. On another occasion the proprietor of our chapel at Villeurbanne, who, after becoming one of the most attentive of our hearers, died, placing full confidence in the Saviour. He ordered his numerous and entirely Catholic family that he should be buried by the Evangelical pastor. His conversion attested by his funeral ceremony, has made a happy sensation."

The meetings of the Evangelical Alliance are rendering essential service to the cause of truth, so our brethren report. The following is the statement of our brethren on this topic:—

"We ought further to mention here the meetings of the Evangelical Alliance, which have been more numerous this year. We have had three in six months, at St. Etienne, at Vienne, and at Lyons. That at Vienne took place the day on which the President of the Republic arrived at Lyons, so that the neighbouring towns had poured their popu-

lation into the great city. Fifty members of our church came by railway into the almost deserted streets of Vienne, to seek the peaceful and tranquil enjoyment of fraternal love. After two days of high blessed enjoyment, this little company of brethren found themselves on board the steamer, where it was asked with astonishment who were these people that appeared so joyful. They asked us to sing to them hymns, and it was with the sound of the praises of God that the boat approached the shore. Our meetings at Lyons, on the 30th of October, and 1st of November, have been yet more blessed, and we have learnt that several persons have been savingly affected, during these admirable seasons. Another means of good has been the multiplication of our places of worship. Each of them has become the centre of the rays of life. Christians of the same locality gather themselves together and zeal increases. We have now in our five chapels eighteen meetings a-week."

The following brief statement respecting the work at the missionary stations, has much in it that is gratifying:—

"Of our different labours that of Villeurbanne is the only one that has given us little encouragement; that of Guillotière has been pursued in the midst of fearful difficulties. The clergy seek to overturn the steadfastness of the people whom we visit, and spare neither entreaties nor threats. The work in Brotteaux is of longer date and stronger, has greatly prospered lately, and hereafter the Lord's Supper will be celebrated every month in this part of the city."

"Croix Rouge gives us every day more satisfaction. Here are some of the faith that give us joy. One of the commissioners of police of this part, came one day to our chapel. Our colporteur, not doubting but that he had come there with the intention of watching us, gave him a parcel of tracts. Some days after he learnt that these tracts had got into a family to whom they had been useful, and which demanded a visit. He who went to see the commissioner, who received him with cordiality, and learnt from him, that our tracts had been read with much interest at the office of the commissioner, and made many apologies for taking the liberty of lending them to some of his friends. The colporteur assured him that no apology was needed, and the commissioner bought of him a New Testament, and placed it within reach of many of his acquaintances, and promised that he and his colleagues would often come to our preaching, not to watch them, but to get instruction in the truth."

"The same colporteur unfolded the gospel in another family zealous for Popery. He there found a worker of the name of Martha, who bought a New Testament, and read it

with much attention. However, she met with things that made her doubt, and she went to ask her confessor if she might read the book, and he said 'Yes, it is a very good book.' She was going away very contented, when the priest asked her where she had got it. She replied, she had purchased it from the Evangelist. Then the curé cried out angrily, 'My child! do not read; it will do you harm.' These words opened her eyes, and she set about reading the gospel more than ever. She fully decided to come one evening to the chapel, and was greatly astonished to hear a sermon on the history of Martha and Mary. It seemed to her that the preacher was delineating her portrait. She felt convinced of her sin, and in a little time she was no more Martha, but Mary sitting at the feet of Jesus.

"A very interesting movement is now in progress, in the parish of St. Just. On the Hill de Fourviers are two spots remarkable for their religious recollections. At St. Iréné are shown the remains of the Church of the first Martyrs. St. Just is built upon a spot on which Blandine for three days exhausted the fury of her tormentors. The Curé of St. Just often quotes to his parishioners, as a model of piety, the father of a family named B—, who was a member of several paternities, assisted in all the offices, confessed every fortnight, passed a portion of his Sunday in assisting the sick in the hospital, and whose wife, brought up by a father of excessive devotion, was also very religious. One of our brethren, who was employed in the same workshop, was instrumental in converting their overseer, an obstinate unbeliever, who, as a matter for diversion, said—'I have among my workmen two devotees of a very different kind. I wish to set them arguing, in order to see how they will dispute.' He accordingly placed them as opponents, and B—, who sincerely sought the truth, was shaken in his belief; he procured the New Testament; and, after several contests, his wife and he acknowledged that their church was in error. The curé was in despair; he said that the change of so pious a man was the greatest scandal that could happen in his parish. There was nothing that he did not do in order to bring him back again, but all was useless. Then he tried his last effort. He went to see B—, and said to him—'I am ready to do everything to save your soul, and to prove this to you, I consent to hold with these men a public conference, and I offer for this purpose my parish church.'

"B— commenced by publishing this news through the whole parish, and then came, full of joy, to ask us for our reply. We declared, in writing, that we agreed to it, and B— circulated our letter, in order that it might be more difficult for the curé to re-

tract. As we had foreseen, we received an answer that the archbishop, refused the use of the church. The parishioners failed in their attempt were very much dissatisfied, the more so, because the curé, while thus being against us from his pulpit, had said, that they were always asking us for a conference, and that we always refused.

"About this time, one of our co-porters felt very anxious to come and labour at St. Just; as he could preach the gospel in a large number of houses, he was everywhere listened to with interest, and sold in a few days forty copies of the Scriptures, which were all bought by the most zealous Catholics. Thus we already see some fruit of this movement. The following is one of the most striking. Mrs. P—, a native of Lorraine, had persuaded her husband to leave their village, because their unbelieving relations prevented them from attending mass as often as they could wish. They had set out, like Abraham, drawing their children in a chaise, not knowing whither they were going, but leaving to God the care of leading them. They had arrived at Lyons, where the clergy had welcomed and protected them. The wife attended public worship every day, and took the sacrament every week. Since B— had conversed with her husband about the gospel, the latter reproached her for the time which she passed at mass. She was exceedingly angry with this man for having upset her household, and she occasioned the removal of Mr. and Mrs. B— from their mother's house. She very much wished to raise the indignation of the whole town. As if to increase her despair, she was informed that her husband had commenced attending at the chapel. Wishing to ascertain if it really could be so, she herself attended one Sabbath evening. In so doing, the scales fell from her eyes. She recollected, that since the age of nine years she had possessed a New Testament, whose value she had never appreciated; that eight years ago she had sold it, but that her husband had purchased another. She immediately set herself down to the perusal of it, and now passed a portion of her time in the house of B—, ready to suffer with him the persecutions which she had herself excited, and unable to admire sufficiently the dealings of Providence in respect to herself. We implore our friends to ask for this newly awakened town the abundant outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

"We pass now, properly speaking, to the town. Our infirmary, which we feared must have been closed, but which the liberality of our friends has enabled us to continue, is always a very precious means in the work of evangelisation."

The reports from our Evangelists continue thus:—

"Among the numerous families that we visit, there are some who are rather a hindrance, and others who make visible progress.

"Mrs. S.—had, from her earliest infancy, earnestly desired a holy life; and as she thought that she could more intimately enjoy the presence of God in the solitude of a monastery, she asked two things: to be able to enter into a convent, and to learn to know better the will of God. Her devotion to the Virgin was rendered more ardent by a fact which we know not how to call in question, however extraordinary it may appear. She had been suffering for a whole year from a painful illness, accompanied by a paralysis in the right arm. Her spiritual guide advised her to remove to Fourvières, and there take the sacrament in the presence of the image of the Virgin Mary, assuring her that this would cure her. She obeyed, and that same moment her malady was arrested and her arm restored. Whatever may have been the cause of this strange cure, it is certain that Satan employed it to blind her eyes. Under the protection of her guide she was at last enabled to enter a convent, in spite of the opposition of her family. Her first prayer was thus heard, but it was then that her second began to be cherished. Her superior one day ordered her to retract an avowal which she had forbidden her to make, since it might have occasioned prejudice against the establishment: she at first refused, but force at last compelled her to obey. From that moment her conscience had no rest. She left this convent to enter into another, and from thence into a third; but instead of meeting with the imaginary holiness of which she had dreamt, she saw only confusion, and a worldliness that thoroughly disgusted her. She re-entered upon active life, married a manufacturer, lost all her property, and was reduced to great distress. One Sunday she went to mass; but not having a halfpenny in her pocket, she sat down on a seat which was immediately taken from her, because she had not enough to pay for it. As she was going out all in tears, one of our brethren met her, and learning the cause of her grief, she said to her, 'Come with me and I will take you to a place where they do not sell the word of God,' and then led her to the chapel. From that moment Mrs. S.—learned that what she had desired from her childhood, was found only in the gospel. She has passed through

many persecutions since, has been calumniated, before tribunals, driven from her habitation, cursed and loaded with reproaches on the part of two rich aunts whose heiress she would be, yet she is very happy, because God granting the prayer of her childhood has taught her to know his holy will."

I dare not trespass further on your space than to insert the following statement respecting the financial position of our brethren at Lyons. After referring to a journey to Switzerland, &c., in which a strenuous and a successful effort was made, at least successful for the time, to relieve the Committee, the Report proceeds thus:—

"But since this great effort of our friends we have received very little, with the exception of two donations, one from a society and the other from a friend in England. Our deficit will inevitably exist again, in spite of our reductions, if our benefactors wait for fresh cries of distress before they send us what they intend for us. We place this matter before them. We are sure that they will henceforth seek to help us to avoid those crises which paralyse our work, and to assure us, by regular subscriptions, a constantly progressive course. As to the rest we have no other source of uneasiness. To entertain doubt as to the future, after the deliverances of which we have been the subjects, would be to add ingratitude to unbelief. In conclusion, beloved brethren, receive the assurance of our affection and our gratitude in Christ Jesus. He in whom we are one with you for eternity.

"In the name of the Committee for Evangelisation.

"G. Fisch, Pastor.

"Lyons, 14 Nov. 1850."

I trust that many of your readers will *practically* sympathise with their good work; and let those remember who have neither gold nor silver to give, that they have, if the disciples of the Lord, that in their possession that can procure both, the power which prayer wields.

Yours truly,

EVAN DAVIES, Sec.

. Donations and Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, William Alers Hankey, Esq., 7, Fenchurch-street; or by the Secretary, the Rev. Evan Davies, at the Office of the Society, 7, Blomfield-street, Finsbury.

THE
Missionary Magazine
AND
CHRONICLE.



HURRICANE IN SAMOA.

POLYNESIAN ISLANDS.

SAMOA.

DESTRUCTIVE HURRICANE.

THE beautiful islands of the Southern Pacific, in common with other tropical countries, are occasionally visited with storms and hurricanes, so terrific as to defy all the efforts of man to avert the effects of their fury. Before their resistless career, human habitations and the trees of the forest are alike levelled with the ground; and the smiling settlement is within a few hours converted into a waste.

The following Letters bring under our notice a scene of this mournful description (*see the Engraving, page 21*); but while we are called to sympathise with the sufferers in the destruction of their property, and of what, we trust, they valued still more—the houses in which they were wont to assemble for the worship of God, it is still a subject for praise and thanksgiving that their lives have been spared; and we encourage the hope, that so marked a token of the Divine forbearance and compassion will lead the islanders preserved, though called to suffer, to make a renewed surrender of themselves to the work and service of their Lord.

It will be seen from the following Letters that the Mission families, in common with the natives of the island of Upolu, have been severe sufferers by the storm; but we are happy to add that its ravages did not extend to the other islands of the group.

The Rev. George Stallworthy, under date Upolu, 16th April, 1850, gives the following details:—

“I must give you some account of a desolating gale which has recently swept over us.

“The gale to which I have referred commenced on the morning of the 5th of this month. During the preceding day and night a strong south-east wind had blown, accompanied with rain. That, however, is not the quarter from which gales blow here, consequently the people felt no apprehension. But between eight and nine o'clock on the morning of the above day the wind shifted to about south south-west, and a furious blow immediately commenced. At the same time a heavy sea came rolling in, which greatly alarmed many. There was all the time what appeared a driving rain, but which our taste informed us was largely charged with sea water. I tried, with the aid of three or

four natives, who came to see how we were getting on, to secure the thatch of my house, but was at last obliged to abandon the attempt. The covering of the ridge blew away, much of the thatch in other parts was turned upwards and inwards, and thus the house became deluged with water. Only one small room remained tolerably dry, in which my family took shelter. Trees were falling all around. Intelligence was every now and then brought me that such and such a house was down. In some cases the shivering and disheartened proprietors came themselves to tell me their loss. In not a few instances the most valuable property of the natives was buried in the ruins of their dwellings. About noon the wind suddenly fell, the rain ceased, and there was a dead calm, with only an occasional

gentle breath of air, little more than enough to assure us that the wind had changed. We hoped that the gale was over, but by half-past one, or two o'clock, the wind had travelled round by east to about north-west. It again blew as heavily, and some think more heavily, than before, and continued through the afternoon and night, with much rain. A large number of trees and houses which had resisted the southerly blow, fell before this. In my neighbourhood only about one house in ten was left standing, and those remaining were for the most part of the smallest kind. Into these many of the natives crowded, others found partial shelter under portions of fallen houses, and many, I am informed, passed the night without any shelter. The roof of my house gave way in the middle, and a fifth part of it was carried off. My family continues to occupy the little room. We had little apprehension that the roof of it would give way; but after the change of wind it let in much water, and my wife and family could not find sufficient standing room between the droppings; besides which, there were from one to two inches of water on the floor. A native house near us was standing, and the roof was pretty sound. But its stability was doubtful. We, therefore, determined to wait the will of God where we were. Our position was uncomfortable and anxious; but we felt that it was our God who was working around

us, and that to trust in him at such a season, was as much a privilege as a necessity. The morning dawned and found us safe and in health. In the forenoon of Saturday, the 6th, trusting that the strength of the gale had passed, we removed to the native house above named, where we found shelter from the rain: the wind blew strong occasionally during Saturday and Saturday night, and it was not till Sabbath that we felt assured that the gale had spent itself. That day was squally and rainy. We had no large house to meet in; consequently we could only in our family circles return thanks to God, who, amid so much destruction, had spared our so often forfeited lives.

"Since the gale all have been busy in drying their property, erecting small houses for their temporary abode, or taking to pieces their fallen houses, in preparation for rebuilding.

"The whole of the roof of Mr. Harbutt's house was taken off by the wind. Out of more than thirty chapels, including those of the Wesleyans, which were standing in the two districts before the gale, only one remains, and that is much shaken. Nearly all the larger kinds of houses are down, so that in almost every village we are, for the present, without any place to assemble in. As far as I can learn, no life has been lost in my district, or in that of Mr. Harbutt."

Additional particulars of the hurricane are supplied in the following communication from the Rev. William Mills, under date Apia Harbour, Upolu, 16th July, 1850 :—

"Very likely before this reaches you, you will have had some intimation of the tremendous hurricane with which we were visited on the 5th of April. All our former storms appeared but as the gentle zephyr, compared with this. All on this island have suffered more or less by it, but I am the only one in whom the greatest calamity has fallen, in being left completely destitute of house in any shape. But for the exceeding kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Williams, whose storehouse happily weathered the gale, we should have been at our wit's end to know what to do:—ever since the gale we have been residing in their family.

"I have never seen a gale like it, and hope

I never may again. The whole came upon us so suddenly that no time was afforded in any way to guard against the havoc which it made. When I arose a little before sunrise, nothing unusual appeared to indicate a storm, except light puffs coming across the island; but these puffs soon changed into squalls. In less than an hour they became so thick and strong that I began to think it prudent to secure as well as I could a small stone building, as a kind of refuge, if needed; we were not left long in doubt about that, for before the natives and myself could get the thatch secured, it became evident that our dwelling house was about to give way. Mrs. Hardie and family were with us at the time, so that

more than a dozen of us were packed into a small room only twelve feet by ten, and there we spent two full days and nights. By mid-day the storm began: it was truly awful; the very earth seemed to tremble under the fury of the tempest. Our house soon lay in a heap of ruins, and all our property lay buried underneath; every moment we expected the little shelter we had to be laid flat with the earth; but where were we to flee? Every native house was down; and even our fine chapel on which we had bestowed so much time and labour, had nothing but the bare walls standing. The Mission-store was standing, but the cocon-nut trees were bending over it so as to threaten its destruction every moment. We could do nothing but stand still and see the salvation of our God.

"You will be glad to hear that the iron Bethel chapel stood out the hurricane; and

with the exception of one of the ends being somewhat bent in, it has met with very little damage.

"Long before the hurricane was at its height, three ships which lay at anchor went on shore; one of them, a fine vessel, the *Favourite*, of London. With all our losses of provisions, furniture, barter-goods, and other things, I lament nothing more than the loss of a great portion of my books; and what remain are very much spoiled by the torrents of salt water which poured down with little intermission for forty-eight hours. It is matter for thankfulness, that, though much exposed to cold and wet, none of us suffered the least in health; and with this blessing, and the help of our gracious Father, we may expect in time to master our difficulties."

SAMOAN NEW TESTAMENT.

Our Missionary brethren in Samoa, on the completion of their important labours in the translation and revision of the several books of the New Testament, forwarded the manuscript to this country, to be printed under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Committee of that Institution, with their accustomed liberality, undertook the expense of the issue of a large edition, which was accordingly carried through the press by the Rev. J. B. Stair, whose services, while in England, were specially retained for the purpose. We have the pleasure to announce that the completed edition, consisting of 15,000 copies, which was shipped for the islands in August of 1842, arrived safely in Samoa, and is now in the course of distribution throughout the different islands of the group.

- TAHITI.

In one or two of our recent Numbers, it has been our pleasing duty to report the revival and gradual spread throughout various districts in this island of the spirit of pure and undefiled religion. In the mean-while the enemy of souls has been on the alert, seeking by means of a snare, *Intemperance*, which has too often proved effective among native tribes, to recover his lost dominion; but it will be seen from the following Letter, that the

attempt has signally failed, and that, with *very few exceptions*, the members of the churches have maintained their Christian rectitude, while the number of converts has continued to increase.

Mr. Chisholm, writing under date the 8th July, observes:—

“As the Directors may be anxious to hear how things are going on here, at the present juncture, I write to say, that, notwithstanding the amount of moral depravity which the re-introduction of *intoxicating drinks* has brought to light, there are bright points in the picture, which have been made more conspicuous by the dark shading.—The church members as a whole have shown a most pleasing measure of steadfastness: the past month has been a most trying one, as the means of indulgence have been abundant; so that Mr. Barff and I were delighted to find, on our monthly visit to Hitiaa and Tiarei, that but four members in these two districts had been ensnared; and we had the pleasure at the same time of admitting thirteen new members. One of those admitted at Hitiaa deserves particular notice, as he was a character of whom I formerly entertained but slight hopes, and was not a little surprised to see him present himself amongst the candidates. During my residence at Hitiaa, he invariably turned a deaf ear to all that was said to him, and when he attended chapel seemed one of the most careless of hearers; but God's thoughts are not as our thoughts. He who had suffered the poor man to despise the proffered mercy for upwards of fifty years, brought him to the foot of the cross with the simplicity of a little child, a few weeks ago, by the following simple means:—His sister, with whom he lived, and who was much older than himself, had been for many years a church member, and although feeble she continued to enjoy her usual health, until one morning at day-break, when she called her brother, and thus addressed him—‘My brother, don't you see how feeble I am? will not you leave off your evil ways, and seek Christ, that I may be comforted before I die? Come here, and let us two pray together.’ Prayer being ended, she again addressed him—‘I entreat you, dear brother, to follow sin no more for ever, but come now and walk in the way of life;’—and having said this, she immediately expired, without any apparent pain. It seems to have

been a message of mercy to his soul, his views were so clear, and his sincerity so evident, that we felt no hesitation in baptizing him, and proposing him as a member to the church: he was admitted accordingly. The others who were admitted, were mostly young people who have been under instruction for some time past. The improved state of things in both these districts since I removed from them, convinces us more and more that *native agency*, under occasional superintendence, will produce more real and lasting good than exclusive foreign agency can ever be expected to do. When we go there from time to time, and see that God is stirring up individuals to zeal and activity in his service, we are glad, and earnestly pray that he may carry on the good work more and more, and graciously prevent any blighting influence from falling upon it. One man at Hitiaa, who is now the life and soul of the place, was a very inconsistent member on our first going there, but I trust has been since purified in the furnace of affliction: about two years ago he was brought to the grave's mouth, and led to realize the nearness of eternity. On one of my visits to him on that occasion, I was led to pray that he might be spared for the sake of his children. He seemed to regard his recovery as an answer to my prayer, and felt that he was bound henceforth to live for the good of his children; and, happily, his concern for their spiritual welfare has led to active usefulness in other ways; and we now feel that confidence in him, as a fellow-worker in the Gospel, which we are seldom able to cherish in regard to a Tahitian. There are now Hufa and Arato at Tiarei; Roura, at Mahaena; and Mairuai and Tomu, at Hitiaa, all useful active labourers in that part of the island. I am now endeavouring to lead some to act in the same way, on this side of the island; and for this purpose have meetings with those in the neighbourhood of Papeuriri on the Tuesdays, and here on the Thursdays, for the purpose of explaining texts that may be suitable to address the people from at their

meetings. The deacons at Papeuriri—viz. Fareahu and Airima, are excellent men, and fully to be depended on. It would have done your heart good to have heard the addresses

they delivered at the last church meeting warning and exhorting the members against intoxicating drinks. They are both practical, though not pledged, teetotallers."

INDIA.

CALCUTTA.

If the day of India's conversion to the faith of Christ is deferred, and if the labourers in that extensive portion of the vineyard, on comparing their little isolated bands of native disciples with the dense mass of heathens by whom they are surrounded, may sometimes be prompted in seasons of despondency to exclaim, "O Lord! how long?" it is nevertheless a subject of encouragement and praise, that individual instances of conversion at the various Mission Stations in India have not been rare, nor is the actual number of converts in the aggregate few or small. The Christian believer, relying on the promises of God, will regard the present amount of success as an earnest of a future and glorious harvest; and will enter into the joy of the Missionary on every fresh accession from the ranks of heathenism. Under the influence of such feelings, the following account—extracted from the pages of the *Calcutta Christian Advocate*—of a baptismal service that recently took place in connexion with the native Christian church under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Joseph Mullens, will be read with peculiar interest:—

"On Sabbath last, Oct. 20th, an unusually interesting service took place in connexion with the Native Christian church at Bhowanipore, on the south side of Calcutta. This church, which a few years ago contained only six or eight members, now numbers *nineteen*, while a proportionate increase has taken place among the Christian families at the station. On the occasion mentioned, six, of the children of the church members were, by their parents, dedicated to the Lord in baptism; and at the same time, a young Hindoo threw off the bonds of his superstition, and was baptized together with his household. The Rev. A. F. Lacroix preached a sermon most appropriate to the occasion from 2 Cor. v. 17:—'If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new.' In expounding this passage, Mr. L. dwelt particularly on the spirituality of the

gospel system, pointing out that it did not require the forsaking or adopting of any peculiar external *customs* of dress, food, &c., but is intended for the governance of the heart and life of men. He exhorted his hearers also to keep in view the *object* of baptism, and its meaning; reminding them that it is a *privilege*, as well as a duty, conferred by Him who has promised to be a God, not only to his people, but also to their seed.—The Rev. J. Mullens next addressed the church and congregation on the *duties* which a profession of Christ by baptism involves; showing, that as they who are baptized into Christ are baptized into his death, they have daily to work out the *end* for which he died, viz. the destruction of sin in themselves and others. He then baptized the little band of 'neophytes' in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

"The spiritual history of the new convert,

thus received into the Lord's church, furnishes much encouragement to His servants to continue their work with a steady perseverance, and not to despair of its fruit, though it may be delayed. He is a native of Cuttack, and for nearly fifteen years has been under the influence and instruction of Missionaries. When twelve years of age, he entered one of the Christian schools, under the superintendence of the Rev. C. Lacey, of the General Baptist Mission. Christian instruction made little impression on his mind, but it fitted him to hear the Oriya preaching of the Missionaries with a deeper interest than he formerly felt; so much so, that he would often go to their preaching with pleasure, and stay to the end of the service. He subsequently became a bearer in the family of G. Hough, Esq., and of Mr. Lacey, both of whom sought to advance his spiritual welfare, and from whom he received much knowledge of Christian truth. A year ago he came to Calcutta, and entered the service of Mr. Mullens. Here the Spirit of God wrought powerfully on his mind; the seed which had long been sown, and had not died, sprang up; by the public and private teaching of the word, his views of truth were corrected and enlarged; and, with a heart apparently truly converted, he at length resolved to devote himself to the Lord. The following answers, written by himself, to questions proposed at his baptism, will show how well he apprehends the great doctrines of the Gospel. But this is not all; he appears to *feel* their power, and to have more spiritual views than many native Christians possess even in a higher rank of life.

"I. What has induced you to renounce Hindooism?

"There have been, it is said, nine incarnations of Vishnu, but not one of these incarnations has done anything for man's salvation. Juggernath is an image made with hands: it is made of the wood of the Nim tree. Altogether, the Hindoos have thirty-three millions of gods, but all these are only idols of various kinds. Children, whilst they are young and foolish, play with dolls; but when they become men, they put away childish things. In the same manner, as long as the eyes of my understanding were blinded, I worshipped dolls or idols; but the

good Lord has been pleased to open my eyes, and I now know that all image worship is a great delusion. I therefore have forsaken it. Hindoos undertake long pilgrimages, count beads, give alms, read charms, offer sacrifices, and mortify their bodies in various ways, in order to obtain health, or wealth, or children, or earthly happiness. Now, all these are perishable things; yet I never found that the gods were able to bestow them. How, then, shall they be able to save the soul, and give me eternal happiness in heaven? I also felt that Hindooism could never impart to me ease of conscience, or joy of heart, and therefore I have renounced it.

"II. On whom do you now rest your hopes of salvation?

"The Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, came into this world, and performed many miracles; but wicked men despised and persecuted him. This Jesus is a sea of love; he loved the whole race of sinful man, and for it offered up his own body as a sacrifice and atonement. From this we learn that Jesus Christ is the great Saviour of men. Other refuge we have none. This I firmly believe; I believe Jesus to be *my own* Saviour, I receive him wholly and entirely, and into his hands I commit my spirit.

"III. Is there any salvation out of Christ?

"No; there is no salvation in any other, for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved.

"IV. Can you, in your own strength, do anything that is good or right?

"No; man's nature is corrupt, and his works, thoughts, and words are only evil continually. Therefore, I know that I shall not by any endeavours of my own free myself from sin; but if God the Father will, in his great mercy, send his Holy Spirit into my heart, and make it holy, then I shall be able to act and think aright.

"V. What is the duty of every true Christian?

"His duty is to love the Lord his God with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his mind, and to love his neighbour as himself.

"VI. What benefits do Christians receive in this life, and in the life to come?

"In this life they receive many benefits.

The chief are these: they are at peace with God, and through the Holy Spirit's power and love they partake, in some measure at least, of the nature of God. God becomes their Father, and they live safe under his almighty protection. They may have either trial or prosperity in this world; in either case their minds will be happy, and all fear of death will be taken away. In the life to come, Christians will enjoy the presence of God, and perfect happiness for ever.

"VII. What ordinance has Christ established for those who enter his church, and what does this ordinance signify?

"The ordinance is baptism. The religion of Christ is essentially *pure*, and makes the hearts of men pure and holy. Water is therefore the most fitting emblem of regeneration; as water purifies the bodies of men, so the Spirit of God purifies the heart, makes it holy, and gives it new birth."

ITINERANCY UP THE RIVER ISAMATTI, IN BENGAL.

THE labours of the Society's Missionaries in Calcutta being for the most part restricted to the population of that great capital, and its immediate vicinity, few opportunities offer for visiting the regions beyond. But during the cold season facilities for such labour are occasionally presented, and of these our brethren gladly avail themselves, not only for the purpose of needful recreation, but as a means of proclaiming the word of life to thousands of deluded idolaters, who are placed beyond the reach of their ordinary ministrations.

With these objects in view, the Rev. J. H. Parker, of the Calcutta Mission, accompanied by two native catechists, undertook a journey to the interior in the early part of last year, and the results of his experience and observation are recorded in the following interesting journal:—

"During the greater part of the month of January, 1850, I was engaged in a missionary itinerancy up the river Isamatti, a large stream about forty miles to the eastward of the Hooghly, which, flowing through the Sunderbunds, empties itself into the Bay of Bengal.

"In this journey I was accompanied by my family, and by two Native Christian assistants connected with our station at Blowanipore—Ran Chandra and Kailas; the former of whom especially, having had much experience in this work in past years, I found exceedingly useful.

"CHRISTIAN STATION OF BALLIAHATI.

"We left home with the evening tide on Friday, January 4th, journeying nearly due east, along the canal which connects Calcutta with the Sunderbunds. Our plan was to spend our first Sabbath at Balliahati, a station in the Sunderbunds, where there is a body of Native Christians connected with our Society,

under the care of Mr. Lacroix. We reached the place on Saturday afternoon, and remained there till Monday morning. A catechist resides constantly at this station: but, owing to its distance from Calcutta, and its unhealthiness during the greater part of the year, it cannot receive the same amount of European superintendence which it might enjoy if more favourably situated. I was on this account the more desirous to spend, if possible, a Sabbath with these people; and was glad also to be able on my return, three weeks afterwards, to spend with them the last Sabbath of my absence from home. The first and fourth Sabbaths being thus employed in communicating instruction to this little band of Native Christians, the time that intervened was spent in labours for the good of the heathen population.

"SUNDERBUNDS.

"On Monday morning, January 7th, after

giving medicine to some applicants, we left the Christian station of Balliahati, to prosecute our journey and work among the heathen. During the whole of this day we were occupied in travelling through the intricate rivers and canals of the Sunderbunds, an exclusive district of forest and marshy country, in some parts of which tigers and other wild animals are numerous, while many of the streams abound with alligators. Our course sometimes led us along rivers of considerable breadth,—sometimes along streams so narrow, that another boat of the same size as our own could pass with difficulty; sometimes we had on both sides, down to the water's edge, dense jungle in which monkeys and a variety of beautiful birds were sporting, which disappeared at our approach, and within which had we presumed to penetrate, we might have met with beasts to frighten us in our turn; whilst, at other times, we were cheered by seeing, on one side or on both, spots which had been rescued from the jungle, and reduced by cultivation to furnish residence and food for man. Many years ago the whole of the Sunderbunds (a word signifying *forests of the Sunderi tree*; though some translate the word, *beautiful forests*) was in the state above described; but grants of land on very advantageous terms have been made by Government to enterprising individuals, by whom a considerable portion has now been reclaimed. The Christian station of Balliahati is on one of these estates, which has been for several years under cultivation, and from which the jungle has been completely cleared away; even there, however, owing to the locality and the nature of the soil, rice is the only article that can yet be produced. It was not till dark that we emerged from these maze channels into the broad stream of the Isamatti, and pursuing our course northward, after an hour's good rowing arrived at Taki.

"This place is rather more than forty miles due east of Calcutta; and here on the following morning we began our itinerating work. But as it would be tedious to give a particular account of all the places we visited in our journey, I shall content myself with stating briefly the general plan of our proceedings wherever we went, and then give a short ac-

count of our reception and engagements at a few of the villages we called at.

"THE FIELD OF MISSIONARY LABOUR.

"On both banks of the river the villages are numerous, and many of them of considerable size, presenting a very excellent field for this kind of missionary labour. The country around is exceedingly fertile and well cultivated, yielding in rich abundance the various products of the soil. At many of the villages bazars are held daily, and markets either once or twice a week. Great numbers of persons come on these occasions, especially to the markets, from the villages for many miles around, in order to sell the produce of their fields, or the work of their hands, and to purchase other articles required for domestic use. The bazars are generally held in the morning, the markets in the afternoon; the latter are sometimes kept open till eight or nine o'clock at night, and presented a strange appearance at some of the places we visited; the various articles of merchandize being all spread out upon the ground, and each vendor having one or two little earthen lamps (called *chirugs*), in size and shape nearly resembling the bowl of a table-spoon, with a little oil and a piece of cotton for a wick, in order to show off his goods. Our movements from place to place were in a great degree regulated by these markets, as in this way we were able to make known the message of the gospel to numbers who reside in distant villages, and who would not otherwise have heard the Redeemer's name.

"On arriving at a village, we generally went ashore at once, taking with us some copies of the Scriptures, and tracts; and having selected the most suitable place we could find—a little removed from the noise and bustle of the market, but sufficiently near to attract notice, and in a good thoroughfare—there took our stand; one of our number, generally Kailas, then *rang the bell*, as it is called (that is, began to read a portion of one of the tracts, or a passage from the Gospels), in order to collect the people; after this, he would sometimes add a few words, which were followed up by a more extended discourse by Ram Chandra and myself.

(To be continued.)

THE CHOLERA IN JAMAICA.

It cannot be unknown to any of our readers that the island of Jamaica has, for several months past, been suffering from the ravages of this fearful scourge, and that hundreds, and even thousands, of its population have fallen a prey to its virulence. The epidemic is not confined to the large towns and lower parts of the island, but appears to have penetrated indiscriminately to the most elevated districts. At a period of such general calamity, we feel called upon to acknowledge, with devout gratitude, the Lord's goodness in preserving the lives of our dear Missionary brethren, and the members of their families, from the fatal effects of the pestilence. It is further most gratifying to state that, so far as our information extends, the Mission churches and congregations have, to a remarkable extent, been exempted from its ravages.

With a view to relieve the anxieties of those of our friends who are more particularly interested in the Jamaica Mission, and to excite their sympathies and their prayers on behalf of the sufferers under this afflictive visitation, we give the following extract of a Letter received from the Rev. J. Andrews, under date Morant Bay, November 25th, 1850 :—

"I am extremely anxious to let you know a little of our state at this particular and solemn crisis. To enter into detail I cannot; but must gratefully acknowledge the great goodness and mercy of our kind and gracious God to us as a family, and to the people committed to our charge.

"Long ere this you will have received the mournful intelligence from this isle. The cholera, that alarming epidemic, has carried off upwards of 4000 in Kingston alone. Morant Bay has suffered greatly, and is suffering still. It is now raging very much in the Blue Mountain Valley. I have heard of two deaths this morning close to us, and several other cases. Truly, the hand of the Lord is upon us!

"I regret to inform you that, for the last five Sabbaths, I have been laid aside from my arduous but delightful labours. During this time I have been brought very low; but the Lord hath helped me, and hath not yet given me over unto death. As I was recovering from my first sickness, I was seized with the *cholera*, and was brought to the mouth of the grave; but the Lord delivered me. Mrs. Andrews was attacked with cholera, also, just as I was getting a

little better; but as she was very ill, I was compelled to crawl out of bed, to try to help her. I subsequently had a relapse, which has again reduced me, and made me unfit to attend to anything at present. Both Mrs. Andrews and myself have been at the point of death, and were so at the same time, so that we did not see one another for eight days. In fact, we did not expect to behold each other's face again in the flesh; but the Lord has been better to us than all our fears. We both felt that we were in the hands of God, and that he is 'too wise to err, and too good to be unkind.' We desire to record our Ebenezer, and exclaim, 'Hitherto the Lord hath helped us.' Our dear child, too, became very ill; but, blessed be the name of the Lord! we are all spared. Many other families have *all* been swept away; but we are still preserved, and desire to feel ourselves safe under the shadow of the wing of the Almighty. We can trust *Him* still. We regard him saying to us, 'Be still, and know that I am God.' The Scriptures have been very precious to us. By grace, through faith, we were able to *claim* the promises of God, as belonging to us!"

SOUTH AFRICA.

SECOND JOURNEY OF THE REV. DAVID LIVINGSTON
TO THE NEWLY DISCOVERED INLAND LAKE.

IN the summer of 1849 our enterprising missionary, Mr. Livingston, accompanied by Messrs. Murray and Oswell, undertook a journey to explore the unknown regions extending north-west from Mr. L.'s station at Kolobeng, and more especially with a view to ascertain the existence of a large interior Lake, reported by natives to be situated at a distance of several hundred miles in that direction. Of the signal success that crowned the undertaking, in the discovery not only of the Lake, but also of several considerable rivers flowing from north to south, full details were given in our number for March, in last year.

Encouraged by the events of the former journey, and desirous to make a more minute investigation of the Lake Region, and of its practical capabilities, with a view to the extension of missionary enterprise, Mr. Livingston resolved to avail himself of an opportunity, when his people, being for the most part engrossed by their field labours, would be prevented from giving regular attendance on the services of the station, for the prosecution of a *second* journey to the interior.

On this occasion, Mr. Livingston was accompanied by Mrs. Livingston (who, as most of our readers are probably aware, is a daughter of the Rev. Robert Moffat), and their children, and also by Sechele the chief, and Mebaloe, the native teacher of the Kolobeng Station. Proceeding from Kolobeng, in April of last year, the travellers, instructed by Mr. L.'s former experience, met with comparatively few obstructions on their route, and suffered little inconvenience from want of water or other privations incident to a progress through wild and inhospitable regions. After visiting the Bakurutse tribe, who live at the lower end of the Zouga, the travellers crossed that river and ascended its northern bank, intending to follow the course of the Tammakle until they reached the residence of the friendly chief Sebitaone; but when near the junction of the two rivers they were informed by a Bakhoba chief, named Palane, that the fly called "*tsetse*" abounded on the Tammakle. As the bite of this formidable insect was known to be fatal to oxen, horses, and dogs, though not to man, and the party were in possession of no more oxen than were barely sufficient to draw the waggons, Mr. Livingston resolved to prosecute his enterprise alone; but Mrs. L. preferring to pass the interval among the Bataoana, while awaiting her husband's return, the party re-crossed the Zouga, and proceeded onwards to the Lake. Sechulathebe, the chief, engaged to furnish Mr. Livingston with guides for his expedition, and also to make provision for his family during his absence. These pre-

liminary arrangements being made, and everything appearing favourable, Mr. L. was on the eve of starting on his journey, when his driver and leader were laid up by fever; and subsequently two of his children, and others of the party were attacked. As the malaria seemed to exist in a more concentrated form near the Lake than in any other part, and had already proved fatal in two instances, the travellers considered it prudent to retreat, after passing two Sundays with the Bataoana; and as the time at Mr. Livingston's command was nearly expended, he was reluctantly compelled, through the serious obstacles interposed by the prevalence of the fever and the fly, to return to his station at Kolobeng, deferring the accomplishment of his ulterior objects for a more favourable opportunity.

The sickness with which the party were attacked, is stated to be marsh fever, generated from the lake and river, at that period of the year when evaporation has proceeded so far as to expose the banks of vegetable matter to the action of the sun. In the natives the effects of the poison imbibed into the system appear most frequently in the form of bilious fever, and they generally recover after being copiously relieved of bile; but as the result of his observation and inquiry, Mr. Livingston has been led to doubt whether this disease may not form a serious barrier to the introduction of *European* civilization and the formation of missionary establishments in the vicinity of the Lake district. As, however, the Teoge, a river which falls into the Lake at its north-west extremity, is reported to flow southward with great rapidity, the region beyond must have a considerable elevation; and hopes are consequently entertained that localities may be found in that direction unexceptionable on the score of health. With a view to the solution of this interesting and important problem, Mr. Livingston proposes to undertake another journey at the first opportunity; and Mrs. L. so fully partakes of the enterprising spirit of her husband, and so cordially sympathises in his object, that she has consented to his leaving her during the period, more or less protracted, that an undertaking embracing such objects must necessarily occupy.

Although, therefore, the anticipations that had been held out by the results of the first journey to the Lake region, of an early introduction of the gospel among new and populous tribes, have been somewhat overcast by the unexpected obstacles encountered by Mr. Livingston and his party on the second journey, we still encourage the hope, that, in the good providence of God, these obstacles may not prove insuperable, and that a way may yet be opened for the access of the word of Life, and the blessings which follow in its train, among tribes and nations which have for ages been consigned to unmitigated barbarism.

KNAPP'S HOPE.

THE Missionary work in Caffreland having been of slow growth, and attended with few positive results, as compared with the cordial reception given to the gospel by other of the African tribes, we hail with peculiar satisfaction any tidings of conversions from amongst a people who have been found so difficult to reclaim from their wild and nomadic habits. The following communication from the Rev. F. G. Kayser, under date the 20th September, ult., will furnish gratifying proof, that they, in common with the rest of the human family, are fully capable of being made the subjects of a divine and gracious influence:—

“Since reporting the state of our affairs in May last, I have to add the following pleasing facts. A woman, who had formerly been ill-treated by her husband, on account of her having given up the custom of painting her body, had, through her patience and forbearance, succeeded in winning him over to a better state of mind. This man came one day with his wife to the station, saying, ‘I have followed my wife to the school. I am indeed blind, and know nothing of the word of God; but it is my desire to reside where my wife wishes to be. Give me garden-ground, that I may plant with her. I submit myself to the rules of the station.’ His wife is now amongst the inquirers, and both are conducting themselves well. Another woman has also, by her kind and exemplary deportment, obtained a salutary influence over her husband, so that he has agreed to her going to the school as oft as she likes. Another individual, a young man, has left the kraals, and come amongst the inquirers. Two young persons, also, from the station, have come forward to join them; so that there are now seven persons who are, with apparent sincerity and earnestness, seeking rest for their souls.

“It gives me also great pleasure to add that our two younger sons have cast in their lot with the Lord’s people. John, the youngest, has been received into the Institution at Hankey, and Maximilian has joined the church at this station. He who is faithful and true will assuredly keep and nurse these young plants, to the praise and glory of His great name.

“Since writing the above, another inquirer has come forward, and three more are expected to follow their example.

“The population at the station has of late considerably increased, and on account of this accession of numbers we have been extending the course of the water-ditch, so that the new comers are now able to sow their lands; and, indeed, but for the water-course, we could not this year have sowed our lands, for the rain of heaven has been withheld, and none of the people at the kraals have been able to sow their seeds in their gardens far and wide round about us. Two months ago the Caffres began to hasten with their presents to the rainmakers, in order to obtain rain from them; but the almighty and merciful Ruler of heaven and earth has shown them their folly, and has now made these rainmakers confess to the people, saying, ‘We have no rain.’ Praised be the Lord for so ordering the events of his providence, as to astonish the heathen, to glorify his great name, and to establish his truth, to the saving of these poor, blinded heathen, who were told by the rainmakers not to go to the schools on Sundays—they would hinder the rain. As this word was told to one of our inquirers at the kraal where she lives, she ran off in the middle of the night, and came here to her mother, who had not long been at the station. When I asked her why she had done so, she replied that she began to fear the people at the kraal might confine her, to prevent her coming here. But after showing her that there was no danger of being restrained, she returned, and has since continued to come and go without hindrance, and is now making good progress in the knowledge of the Gospel, the love of Christ, and the joy of faith.”

£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Duxford, Collected by Master Patterson		Torrington.		Sarah Smees		ISLE OF WIGHT.	
..... 0 12 0		Collected by—		Samuel Smees		Yarmouth.	
Saham.		Miss Sarah Buck-		Fanny Tunbridge		Afton House.	
..... 0 13 8		plitt	 0 4 10		Collected by—	
Master Butcher		Miss Elizabeth		Colchester.		Mrs. Cotton's two	
..... 0 13 10		Toms		Lion-walk Chapel		little girls, in ad-	
Master Hustwick		Master R. Bow		Head-gate Chapel		dition to 1½ 10.	
..... 0 12 0		Miss Fanny Beer	 2 8 3		acknowledged last	
Miss Cotton		Elizabeth Lake		12½ 1s. 6d.		month.....	
Sunday-school		M. P. Fry		Little Baddow.		0 10 0	
M. A. Jarvis		John W. Cook		Collected by—		KEST.	
..... 0 1 0		Isamy Yonatt		Mary Brown		Faversham, Sun-	
2½ 3s. 6d.		Eliza Burrige		Elizabeth Gray		day-school	
CHESHIRE.		Susan Pettie		F. T. Groom		Lenham, ditto	
Northwich, Balance		M. J. Tako		T. M. Groom		Maidstone, ditto	
..... 0 2 3		Mary Pettie		219 0		8 16 6	
Rucon.		Susan Mayell		Harriett Lucking		Margate, ditto	
Sabbath Schools		Susan Horn		0 1 7		4 8 3	
By Miss E. E. Jee-		James Row		Emma Smith		3 8 6	
son		William Eastmond		Ann Thake		11 7 3	
0 7 0		Mary Blake	 0 10 0		Swancombe, ditto	
5½ 3s. 3d.		Eliza A. Cook		Warkford, Sunday-		0 5 0	
CORNWALL.		Sophia Mayell		school		LANCASHIRE.	
Porthallow, the		Samuel Jackson		1 6 6		Chorley, St. George's	
Children of an		John Howden		Gloucestershire.		street Sunday-	
Independent		Mary J. M. a		Little Dean and		school	
0 1 6		Rebecca Williams		Popple Hill, Sun-		2 0 0	
CUMBERLAND.		Eva M. Fowler		day Schools		Darwen, Belgrave-	
Aspatria, Sunday-		Mary A. Fous		2 10 10		square Schools	
school		Susan Lloyd		Rothborough.		Hastings.	
1 11 0		Fanny Bligh		Tabernacle Sunday-school.		Collected by—	
Derbyshire.		Thomas Jackson		Miss Hillman		Ellen Peel	
Derby.		W. J. M. a		Alfred Apperly		Alice Riley	
London-road Chapel.		Rebecca Laimbeer		T. Pitt		0 5 0	
Sunday-school		Thomas Laimbeer		E. Tunley		0 3 6	
0 15 0		Liza Walker		W. J. M. a		Margaret Clark	
Derbyshire.		George Toms		0 11 3		Alice A. Sutcliffe	
Cardis		Eliza Laimbeer		0 10 10		M. A. Hoyle	
Isabella Bell		Mary J. Clark		0 6 6		Amanda Heap	
S. S. and R. West		Elizabeth Stevens		0 2 8		Benjamin Heap	
H. and R. Reed		1 0 2		0 3 6		Mary and Ellen	
P. and W. Robo-		3½ 1s. 10d.		0 2 9		0 8 7	
than		Plymouth, Union		0 1 0		0 0 0	
W. and G. Goodie		Chapel Sunday-		0 3 7		John Pibington	
0 15 0		school		0 10 0		Edith Black	
Maria L. Pritchett		0 3 7 0		0 2 6		Sarah Barnes	
Fanny Forman		0 10 0		0 1 0		Elizabeth W. a	
0 12 4		0 10 0		0 2 6		Robert W. a	
Eliza Taylor		0 8 2		0 1 8		John Ashworth	
C. and T. McKay		0 5 6		0 2 6		Alice Heap	
Louisa Sale		0 12 10		0 1 0		Thomas Holden	
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Less Expenses		0 0 6		0 2 6		Elizabeth Ashworth	
0 0 6		0 0 6		0 2 6		Whitaker Green	
0 0 6		0 0 6		0 2 6		3½ 1s. 4d.	
DEVONSHIRE.		0 0 6		0 1 0		Liverpool.	
Dartmouth.		0 0 6		0 1 0		Great George-street Chapel.	
Collected by—		0 0 6		0 1 0		Per Mr. W. K. Job.	
Elizabeth Davis		0 0 6		0 1 0		Miss Hampton	
Ellen Weeks		0 0 6		0 1 0		Mr. W. K. Job	
1½ 2s. 5d.		0 0 6		0 1 0		Miss Marples	
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0 0 6		0 0 6		0 1 0		Jane Haigh	
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£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Miss M. A. Jackson .. 0 12 0	MIDDLESEX.	NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.	James Trowbridge .. 0 1 2
Master T. Drinkwater .. 0 10 8	<i>Ealing</i> .. 1 0 4	<i>Moor Green.</i>	Emma Williams .. 0 1 3
Dr. Fisher's Boarders (Boys'-school) .. 0 10 0	<i>Hanpton, Miss Lacey</i> .. 0 10 0	Collected by—	S. J. Scammell .. 0 1 6
Miss Fanny Smith .. 0 9 6	<i>Staines.</i>	Ann Allcock .. 0 16 6	Louisa Harris .. 0 1 6
Master J. Wyllie .. 0 9 3	Independent Sunday-school ..	Mary Johnson .. 0 4 6	Gilbert Harris .. 0 2 0
Master R. Park .. 0 9 0	Per Mr. Morford.	<i>Il. Is.</i>	Harriet Panner .. 0 2 3
Master Wil. Cunningham .. 0 8 6	Mary Wright .. 0 2 1	Workshop, Sunday-school .. 2 5 7	Mary Gould .. 0 4 2
Miss Ann Moore .. 0 7 7	A. Riddington .. 0 4 6	OXFORDSHIRE.	Mary Plummer .. 0 4 6
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Miss Martha Davies .. 0 5 6	Eliza Hone .. 0 2 6	Edward Thomas .. 1 4 0	John E. Lush .. 0 6 6
Miss Sarah Bateson .. 0 5 6	Elizabeth Hancock .. 0 2 6	Edward Byles .. 0 14 2	Maria Whitley .. 0 10 0
Master John Baker .. 0 5 0	Emily Gunter .. 0 2 2	Gris Sunday-school .. 0 4 3	<i>21. 12s. 2d.</i>
Miss Fanny Rogers .. 0 5 0	Emily Bunter .. 0 2 0	Rosa Rowland .. 0 2 0	Bradford, Sunday-school .. 2 10 10
Master M. I. and J. Winchester .. 0 4 9	Pricilla Taylor .. 0 3 0	Mr. Mead's Class .. 0 2 2	By Cards .. 2 10 8
Miss Mary Franklin .. 0 4 6	Elizabeth Collins .. 0 1 3	Mr. Fuller's do. .. 0 0 4	Sunday-school Children .. 0 12 1
Miss Margt. Morris .. 0 4 1	M. A. Taylor .. 0 1 4	<i>21. 12s. 5d.</i>	<i>Corham, Juvenile Collection</i> .. 1 17 5
Miss Matilda Rogers .. 0 8 9	Eliza Collins .. 0 1 4	RUTLANDSHIRE.	<i>Mare.</i>
Miss Emma Jones .. 0 3 7	E. Riddington .. 0 2 6	Oakham, Sunday-school .. 1 1 0	Collected by—
Miss Louisa Bowdler .. 0 3 6	E. King .. 0 1 3	<i>Uppingham.</i>	Miss Anne Cross .. 0 16 6
Miss Elizabeth Reynolds .. 0 3 0	M. A. Tims .. 0 1 2	Collected by Master Samuel Green .. 1 0 0	Miss Erlebach .. 2 11 7
Master William Buchanan .. 0 3 0	Catherine Ranken .. 0 3 7	SHERIFFS.	James Jukes .. 0 5 2
Master Telford Smith .. 0 3 0	Julia Saunders .. 0 1 0	Minsterley, Sunday-school .. 0 7 0	Master J. Jupe .. 0 10 0
Miss Esther Askill .. 0 2 7	Josee Dexter .. 0 1 0	SOMERSETSHIRE.	George Love .. 0 5 6
Master Thomas Bell .. 0 2 6	A. Glide .. 0 0 6	<i>Bristol, Brunswick Square-school</i> .. 14 1 6	<i>Yarnold, Sunday-school</i> .. 0 6 6
Master G. William Johnson .. 0 2 6	L. Greenaway .. 0 0 5	<i>H. Chapel School</i> .. 4 17 0	<i>21. 2s. 6d.</i>
Master David Palmer .. 0 2 1	William Lamb .. 0 0 7	<i>St. Mary's Church, 1st class</i> .. 5 8 0	<i>Doonley.</i>
Miss H. Hitchen .. 0 1 7	Sophia Taylor .. 0 2 4	<i>South Charlton, do.</i> .. 0 17 9	Collected by—
Master Thomas Green .. 0 1 7	R. Walker .. 0 2 6	<i>Taunton, Paul's Meeting, do.</i> .. 5 6 0	Emily Thornton .. 0 5 6
Miss Mary Pearson .. 0 1 7	Henry Gunter .. 0 0 7	<i>Wardcombe, do.</i> .. 2 0 0	M. A. Hornby .. 0 5 3
Miss Anne Curvie .. 0 1 4	Joel Goodchild .. 0 3 7	STAFFORDSHIRE.	Annie Fletcher .. 0 13 8
Master W. J. Piper .. 0 1 1	Charles Vercoe .. 0 0 6	<i>Conover.</i>	Cassandra Guest .. 0 9 8
Master Robert Wilson .. 0 1 0	Henry Taylor .. 0 2 11	Collected by—	Ellen Carley .. 0 7 0
Master Philip B. Jones .. 0 1 0	William Gibson .. 0 4 2	Frederic C. Matthews, Biston .. 0 7 8	M. Williams .. 0 18 0
Miss E. Pearce .. 0 0 7	Charles Woodson .. 0 1 0	Mary Ann Todd, tree, Huntington .. 0 6 9	B. P. H. M. .. 0 16 2
Miss Jessy Chalmers .. 0 3 4	George Perkins .. 0 1 0	<i>Hanley, Tabernacle Sunday-school</i> .. 4 11 6	Cath. P. H. M. .. 0 12 0
Miss Elz. Hughes .. 0 3 4	George Dexter .. 0 5 6	SUFFOLK.	Haz. P. H. M. .. 0 3 6
Miss Parsons .. 0 2 0	Henry Freeman .. 0 0 10	<i>Last Borghol.</i>	C. Thompson .. 0 2 3
Master Wharby .. 0 8 6	John W. .. 0 3 7	Collected by—	E. Harrison .. 0 3 9
Master Kennedy .. 0 2 6	Liza Wain .. 0 2 4	Miss Jane Cooper .. 0 5 0	R. Booth .. 0 10 0
Less Expenses .. 0 3 2	Sav. Boys .. 0 4 1	Miss Mash .. 0 9 0	M. A. Gomersall .. 0 1 6
Crescent Chapel, Boys' and Girls' Sunday-school, per Mr. M. Hatherston .. 10 0 0	Amelia Palmer .. 0 6 2	Sabbath-school Children .. 2 18 5	Fanny Dale .. 0 2 0
<i>Mottram.</i>	<i>Twickenham</i> .. 1 4 0	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	T. H. H. .. 0 2 4
Per Rev. A. Bell ..	<i>Barnet.</i>	Collected by—	L. H. H. .. 0 3 1
Hollingworth School .. 1 16 8	Wood-street Sunday-school ..	Miss Jane Cooper .. 0 5 0	W. Hawcroft .. 0 0 4
Mottram, ditto .. 1 4 6	Teachers .. 0 12 10	Miss Mash .. 0 9 0	<i>Colection in the Sunday-school</i> .. 0 4 3
Wooltebridge, ditto .. 0 9 0	Girls .. 0 5 7	Sabbath-school Children .. 2 18 5	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>
<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	<i>11. 12s. 6d.</i>	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	<i>Brighams, near Halifax.</i>
Proton, street Sunday-school .. 2 12 3	MUNSTERSHIRE.	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	<i>Bridge End, Sunday-school</i> .. 4 3
<i>Southport.</i>	<i>Acryport, Tabernacle Sunday-school</i> .. 5 13 0	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	Collected by Yomz Parsons in the Congregation—
Collected by—	<i>NORFOLK.</i>	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	Jane Ormerod .. 1 0 0
S. A. Walker .. 1 15 6	<i>Fakenham, collected by Master William Hall, including his donation</i> .. 1 0 0	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	Mary Ormerod .. 0 15 6
Elizabeth Wright .. 0 5 2	<i>NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.</i>	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	Isabella Rimmer .. 0 12 4
Hannah Latham .. 0 0 6	<i>Ashley.</i>	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	John Henry Bell .. 0 5 4
Isabella Rimmer .. 0 0 6	Collected by—	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	E. J. Atkinson .. 0 14 4
A. K. Marsh .. 1 8 8	Harriet Annie .. 1 10 0	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	Collected by Children in the British School, Rastrick, under the care of Mr. Lundy .. 1 11
Mary Moore .. 0 17 10	William Stafford .. 0 10 6	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	<i>Charnell, Sunday-school</i> .. 5 6 8
Robert Marsh .. 1 0 7	<i>21. 6d.</i>	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	<i>Hill, Salem Chapel</i> .. 3 10 4
James Cross .. 0 3 0	<i>Brigstock.</i>	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	Leeds, East Parade School .. 2 6 8
David Thomas .. 0 10 0	Collected by—	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	Collected by Master J. W. Wade .. 0 10 0
James Carr .. 0 8 1	Ellen Mace .. 0 4 6	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	<i>Skipton, Sabbath-school</i> .. 1 15 9
Wm. Henry and J. Hampden Milson .. 1 3 2	Charles Lord .. 0 6 0	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	<i>Horton, do.</i> .. 0 11 0
Mary Carr .. 0 1 6	Joseph Colyer .. 0 4 7	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	<i>Thurstone.</i>
<i>LINCOLNSHIRE.</i>	After Juvenile Service .. 0 10 3	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	Collected by—
<i>Lincoln, Zion Chapel School</i> .. 0 4 0	<i>11. 4s. 6d.</i>	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	Jane Crossley .. 0 2 8
<i>Louth, Cannon-street Sunday-school</i> .. 10 0 0	<i>11. 4s. 6d.</i>	<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	Wm. Henry Moorhouse .. 0 1 0
		<i>31. 12s. 6d.</i>	

£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Isaac Smith Moorhouse	0 2 6	Collected by Miss Gordon's Sabbath-class	1 0 0	Additional Donation to provide for the annual support of three Teachers in the South Seas; to be called Isaac Watts, John Williams, & John Williams	100 0 0	Ladies' Association, per Mrs. Poulton	3 10 1
Ira Haigh	0 1 0	Nanny Watson	0 10 6	From Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Juvenile Missionary Association for Hindoo Children at Bangalore, per Mrs. T. Micklem, being for three-quarters of a year	18 3 4
George Moorhouse	0 4 7	Barbara Thompson	0 10 6	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Founded on a Journey	1 0 0
John Bittell	0 1 0	Margaret C. Black	0 11 6	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Annual Subscriptions	15 14 0
Matthew Bramhall	0 1 4	21. 12s. 6d. Glasgow.		Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Collected by Henry Lenke, Esq.	
Smith Wainwright	0 5 8	Alexander, Jessie, & Elizabeth Finlayson	0 15 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Mr. Lenke	1 1 0
Ann Judson Woodcock	0 3 1	Young Friends at Larchfield Academy, per Rev. G. Wardlaw	2 5 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Thos. Floyd, Esq.	1 1 0
Harriett Newell	0 3 6	Per Miss Watt. Irvine.		Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss Floyd	1 1 0
Woodcock	0 1 5	Collected by—		Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss M. Floyd	1 1 0
William Thackrah	0 2 10	Miss Robert Watt	0 13 7	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Mrs. J. Aldworth	1 1 0
Eliza Walker	0 2 10	Miss Fullarton & Steele	0 2 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Boys' Mission School	
Martha Woodcock	0 4 10	Collected by—		Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Mr. Cooper	0 10 0
Dorothy Crossley	0 4 5	Miss Jessie B. Thompson	0 12 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Mr. Fleet	0 10 0
Harriett Crossley	0 2 1	Miss G. Hender	0 5 6	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Mr. Ford	0 10 0
Isaac Woodcock	0 2 0	Mrs. N. E. Hender's Bible-class	0 5 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Mr. Poulton	1 1 0
Proceeds of the Tea	4 13 5	21. 12s. 6d. Edinburgh.		Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	73s. 8d.	
Upper Mill, Saddleworth.		Collected by—		Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel, after Sermons by the above Deputation	4 11 3
Juvenile Collection	4 13 5	Miss Robert Watt	0 13 7	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Do. at Littlehead	0 15 4
Whitham, Silver-st.		Miss Fullarton & Steele	0 2 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Maidenhead and Littlehead Sabbath-schools	1 17 7
Sunday-school	10 2 6	Collected by—		Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Collected by—	
WATER.		Miss Jessie B. Thompson	0 12 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Mrs. Shelly	1 0 0
Curdip, Miss Jenner.		Miss G. Hender	0 5 6	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Do. Miss L. Stuchbery	1 8 2
Wenlock Castle	0 10 0	Mrs. N. E. Hender's Bible-class	0 5 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Annual Subscriptions	2 2 0
Curdip, Hope Chapel Sunday-school	0 10 0	21. 12s. 6d. Edinburgh.		Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Less Expenses	101 18 6
Middalbach, near Seascale	1 0 0	Collected by—		Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	2 5 9	
D. M. Hender	2 6 2	The Children of Rev. W. Nicol and of the Sabbath-school	1 17 7	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Including £65 acknowledged last month.	
F. Hender	1 0 0	South United Presbyterian Church	0 6 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	CAMBRIDGESHIRE.	
School	1 0 0	Sabbath-school	0 6 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Sawston, per Mr. Gosling	7 0 0
SCOTLAND.		Mr. T. Calumet, jun.	0 10 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Little Shelford.	
Aberdeen, Frederick-st. Sabbath-school	4 0 0	St. Andrew's.		Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Rev. J. Burgess	1 1 0
The Church Juvenile Association	0 10 0	Collected by—		Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Do. Missionary Box	1 0 0
Thomas & Isabella Lassel	0 5 0	Miss Helen Rough	0 12 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	21s.	
Aberdeen, Sabbath-school	2 2 0	Miss Mary Jane Mitchell	1 3 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	CHESTER.	
Collected by—		Miss F. J. Auld	0 17 10	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Chester Auxiliary Society, per H. Colley, Esq.	149 13 8
Aberdeen	0 7 0	Miss Agnes Reid	0 4 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Including the following—	
Aberdeen	0 3 10	Master R. Smith	0 9 3	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Oxtown Chapel.	
Helen Walker	0 4 6	Master Alex. Kay	0 8 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Collected at Anniversary Sermons	7 10 3
Ann Hunter	0 2 6	Master P. Rough	0 8 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Annual Subscriptions	6 6 0
Helen Rogers	0 1 10	Master T. Mitchell	0 1 5	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Missionary Boxes.	
Alexander Thomson	0 5 1	Master W. Patterson	0 6 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss Sarah Jane Brown	0 4 2
John R. M.	0 0 4	Madras College.		Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Master John Evans	0 5 7
John M. L.	0 1 1	Per Mrs. M. J. A.		Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss M. A. Evans	0 9 4
Total, including same previously	12 2	Young	3 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss M. Jones	0 14 9
FOR GENERAL PURPOSES.		Total, including same previously	12 2	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Master S. D. Jones	0 6 0
A Friend to Missions, from S. A.	80 0 0	FOR GENERAL PURPOSES.		Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss M. A. Lloyd	0 12 2
J. W. Alexander, Esp.	5 0 0	A Friend to Missions	5 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Collected by—	
A lover of Missions	5 0 0	J. W. Alexander	5 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Mr. B. H. H.	1 16 10
X. Y.	5 0 0	A. B. G.	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Mrs. Davies	1 2 8
A. B. C.	1 0 0	Mr. Holland, for Mr. Lewis's Chapel at Southapoo	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Mrs. W. P.	0 12 4
Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Collected by Mrs. and Mr. Williams	1 16 10
Roger Cumliffe, Esq. for do.	5 0 0	Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss Williams	0 10 0
Mrs. Fiskett, for Africa	0 5 0	Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Mociety of Missionary Box	0 8 2
Miss Brownlow, for do.	2 0 0	Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Mrs. Williams	0 5 0
An Orphan, per Rev. Dr. Massie, for China	1 0 0	Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss M. Williams	0 5 0
Mr. J. H. Cuff, Jun. for a Boy in Travandrum School, called Harcombe Cuff	5 0 0	Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss E. Williams	0 5 0
Less Expenses	7 1 6	Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss Gould	0 5 0
Edinburgh, Rose-st. United Presbyterian Church Sabbath-school, collected by the Children	23 0 10	Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss Horner	0 5 0
Ellie, collected by Mrs. Wood	1 0 0	Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss S. Conderhute	0 5 0
		Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Mrs. Johnson	4 0 0
		Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	A. Platt	0 3 0
		Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss E. Jones	0 3 0
		Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss Bremner	0 2 0
		Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss E. Whitaker	0 2 0
		Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss E. Whitaker	0 2 0
		Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Miss C. Bremner	0 2 0
		Mr. J. T. Laby, for the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	Per Mrs. Wyatt, widow of the late Mr. Peter Wyatt, of Barnshury-villas, Islington, fulfilling, with conscientious regard, a supposed intention of the deceased, as indicated by a memorandum, without date, found among his papers	19 19 0	Smaller Sum	0 15 0

£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
For Mrs. Porter's Female School, Madras.		London-road Chapel.		Mrs. Backhouse, Polam, ditto		Juvénile Association	
Collected by—		Miss Lorman		Mrs. Backhouse, Northgate, ditto		Less Expenses..	
Mrs. Bridgman	0 4 6	Miss M. Dill	2 18 0	Mrs. Backhouse, Elmfield, ditto		11 5 4	
Mrs. Davies	1 2 6	Miss M. J. Robotham	4 2 10	Mrs. Backhouse, Mr. Sharpe, ditto		1 18 2	
Saighton.		Miss C. McKay	1 1 8	Mrs. Backhouse, Mrs. Gilkes, ditto		105 16 3	
Produce of Herbs and Flowers, by—		Miss Robotham's Class	0 9 0	Mrs. Dale, ditto		BENTFORDSHIRE.	
Mrs. Ralph	0 13 2	Miss Storer's ditto	0 10 0	Mrs. Common		Hitchin Branch.	
Missionary Box, by Mrs. Ralph		Miss F. Robotham	0 7 0	Mrs. Macfeggan		Public Collections—	
For Female Indian School, by Mrs. Ralph	1 0 0	Mrs. Bingham	0 1 8	Mrs. Kipling, Northgate		After Sermons	
Mr. Ralph	1 1 0	Ann Scragg	0 3 4	Mrs. Teusdale		Alter Meeting	
Tarvin.		Anonymous	0 6 10	Mrs. M. Middleton		Subscriptions and Donations	
Miss Martin's Missionary Box	0 17 0	Chester-place Sunday-school	8 5 0	Mr. Johnson		Collected by—	
29 2 1		Infant-school	0 12 0	Mr. R. C. Oliver		Hannah Dawes	
Dalkeith.		109 lbs. 3d.		Sums under 5s		Miss Martha Impey	
Sabbath Schools.		Glossop.		Juvénile Association.		Miss Mary Ann Wright	
Congreg. Church	2 14 0	Missionary Boxes	11 11 0	Collected by—		Missionary Boxes.	
Whitehill	0 8 10	Collection	9 9 0	Miss Tate		Breed	
East Houses	0 7 0	DEVONSHIRE.		Mr. Thomas Dodds		Walsworth Carter	
Rancona.		A Devonshire Dis-senter		Missionary Boxes.		Esther Chalkley	
Missionary Boxes	3 11 11	For the Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 10 0	W. Lang Macfeggan		Day	
Ladies' Auxiliary	4 16 3	2d.		James Bartlett		Alter Meeting	
Collections	11 11 1	Sidmouth.		385. 6s.		A Friend	
For the Ship	5 3 3	Collection	2 0 0	Anniversary Collec-tions		William Lewendon	
For Widows' and Orphans' Fund	1 0 0	J. L. L. Le Nuyser	1 0 0	Missionary Boxes		John M. ...	
Exps. 3d. 6s.		Miss Fouch	0 6 1	Mrs. Bourne (A.)		1st. ...	
2d. 12s.		Small Sums	0 6 1	Dr. Copeland (A.)		3rd. ...	
CUMBERLAND.		Exps. 5s. & 2l. 1s.		Private in Lucey		4th. ...	
Farrith.		South Moulton, for the Sufferers in Jamaica, in consequence of the Cholera	2 10 0	13. 11. 4d.		5th. ...	
Sir G. Musgrave	2 0 0	DORSETSHIRE.		Stockton.		Collected by—	
Bart.	2 0 0	Dorchester.		Anniversary Collec-tions		Mrs. Briscoe	
Admiral Wauchop	2 0 0	Collection	3 9 0	Juvénile Gather-ings, for the support of an Orphan in South India, to be called John Ely		After Sermon	
Miss Scott, for China	1 0 0	Subscriptions	2 5 0	Missionary Boxes		Alter Public Meet-ing	
For Widows and Orphans	2 0 0	Collected by—		Mrs. ...		Sunday-school	
For the Ship	0 15 0	Mrs. E. Pouncey	1 5 11	Mrs. ...		5l. 5s.	
DERBYSHIRE.		Mr. J. Paine	0 15 0	Mrs. ...		Collected after Ser-mon	
Bakewell.		Miss Fouch	0 11 0	Mrs. G. Braithwaite		2 13 5	
Subscriptions	2 14 0	Miss H. ...	0 5 6	Mr. Nicholson		Collected by—	
Missionary Boxes	2 0 9	Miss ...	0 5 0	Mrs. Fawcett		Mrs. Kent	
Public Meeting	4 9 2	Miss ...	0 5 0	Mrs. Harrison		Miss Adams	
Exps. 28s. 11d. & 8l.		Miss ...	0 5 0	10 13 7		4l.	
Chatterfield.		Miss ...	0 5 0	71 13 0		Shillington.	
South-place Chapel.		Miss ...	0 5 0	Less Expenses...		Collected at Chapel	
Collection after Ser-mon by Rev. E. Crisp	3 9 6	Miss ...	0 5 0	68 18 6		Miss ...	
Public Meeting	3 7 0	Miss ...	0 5 0	Brentwood.		Miss ...	
Sabbath-school	2 6 7	Miss ...	0 5 0	Mrs. Worrin		Miss Abbott	
Children's Boxes	2 6 7	Miss ...	0 5 0	A Friend, by Mrs. Worrin		Miss ...	
Collected by—		Miss ...	0 5 0	1 10s.		Miss ...	
Miss S. Tucker	3 0 4	Miss ...	0 5 0	Halsall, Rev. J. Reynolds and Friends, for the relief of the suffer-ers in Jamaica, in consequence of the Cholera		Mrs. Ray	
Mr. Tucker's Box	1 10 4	Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		Lucy Hilliard	
Mrs. Tudbury's Box	0 3 6	Miss ...	0 5 0	DOSEY.		Emma Clark	
Mr. Hurst (A.)	1 10 0	Miss ...	0 5 0	Brentwood.		Mrs. Dunham	
Mr. Tucker (A.)	1 5 0	Miss ...	0 5 0	Mrs. Worrin		3 0 1	
Collection after Ser-mon by Rev. E. Crisp at Calow Chapel	1 4 6	Miss ...	0 5 0	1 0 0		Less Expenses..	
Exps. 38s. 6d.		Miss ...	0 5 0	Halsall, Rev. J. Reynolds and Friends, for the relief of the suffer-ers in Jamaica, in consequence of the Cholera		3 12 4	
15l. 18s. 3d		Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		45 11 11	
Derby.		Miss ...	0 5 0	DOSEY.		BENT.	
Particulars of Remittances previously acknowledged.		Miss ...	0 5 0	Brentwood.		Depford, Mr. and Mrs. Spencer (2 years)	
Anniversary 1890.		Miss ...	0 5 0	Mrs. Worrin		3 0 0	
Victoria - street	25 15 10	Miss ...	0 5 0	1 0 0		Lenham	
Chapel	12 5 4	Miss ...	0 5 0	Halsall, Rev. J. Reynolds and Friends, for the relief of the suffer-ers in Jamaica, in consequence of the Cholera		4 1 0	
London-road Chapel	9 3 11	Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		LANCASHIRE.	
Public Meeting	9 3 11	Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		Furness, Mr. Al-fred Barnes (ac-knowledged as 15l. in error last month)	
Sabbath-school.		Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		30 0 0	
Collection in both schools	4 2 5	Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		Manchester.	
Victoria-street.		Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		Thomas Simpson, Esq.	
Ladies' Branch.		Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		50 0 0	
Collected by—		Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		East Auxiliary So-ciety, per S. Fletcher, Esq. on account	
Miss Deaton	5 5 8	Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		130 4 0	
Miss Trafford	12 5 6	Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		For the Chapel at Shanghai, per Rev. W. Fairbrother.	
Mrs. Bates	2 10 10	Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		G. Holford, Esq.	
Juvénile Branch.		Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		J. Gifford, Esq.	
Collected by—		Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		E. Waters, Esq.	
Miss Store	2 16 4	Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		Mr. Ward	
Miss Tammis	2 16 0	Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		0 10 0	
Miss Pike	2 7 6	Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		Mr. Walton	
Miss A. Pike	2 11 6	Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		0 10 0	
Miss Shaw	2 18 0	Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0		4l. 10s.	
Miss A. Brentnall	3 1 8	Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0			
Master Shillito	2 9 4	Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0			
Victoria-street Sun-day-school	4 9 2	Miss ...	0 5 0	10 0 0			

£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
LINCOLNSHIRE.		SUSSEX.		Amelia Mullens ..		Juvenile Missionary	
<i>Therby, Misses</i>		Auxiliary Society,		<i>Harriett King ..</i>		Boxes ..	
<i>Sewell, for the</i>		<i>per W. Penfold,</i>		<i>Elizabeth Sharp ..</i>		<i>Collected by Richard</i>	
<i>Canarese Board-</i>		<i>Esq. on Account 120 0 0</i>		<i>Leenie Bible-clas-</i>		<i>Pirkall, a Hind</i>	
<i>ing-school, Ban-</i>		Hostings.		<i>Teacher's Box ..</i>		<i>Collected after Ser-</i>	
<i>galore</i>		<i>On Account</i>		<i>Collected at Annual</i>		<i>mons</i>	
<i>6 0 0</i>		<i>15 0 0</i>		<i>Meeting</i>		<i>Collected by Sunday-</i>	
<i>21. 2s.</i>		<i>For the Native Teach-</i>		Merr.		<i>school Children ..</i>	
WILTSHIRE.		<i>er, William Hast-</i>		<i>Rev. R. P. Erlebach.</i>		<i>Collected after Pub-</i>	
<i>Chiswick, Mr.</i>		<i>ings Davis</i>		<i>Annual Subscrip-</i>		<i>lic Meeting for ..</i>	
<i>Teacher, 12 and</i>		<i>25d.</i>		<i>tion</i>		<i>Subscription for ..</i>	
<i>Miller</i>		WARWICKSHIRE.		<i>Cross, Mrs. R. ..</i>		<i>Orphan Children,</i>	
<i>10 0 0</i>		Old Meeting-house, by Mr.		<i>Erlebach, Rev. R. P. 1 0 0</i>		<i>2 Boys and 2 Girls,</i>	
Twickenham.		W. Fox.		<i>Friend, A.</i>		<i>at Mirzapore ..</i>	
<i>Per Rev. S. Hay-</i>		Missionary Boxes—		<i>Root</i>		<i>John Whitehouse,</i>	
<i>wood</i>		<i>Mr. W. Fox</i>		<i>by sale of Arrow</i>		<i>Esq. for China ..</i>	
<i>1 4 0</i>		<i>5 0 9</i>		<i>10 0 0</i>		<i>Do. for the Native</i>	
<i>For the Ship</i>		<i>For a Workman ..</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Teacher, James</i>	
<i>1 4 0</i>		<i>5 0 0</i>		Missionary Boxes—		<i>Dawson</i>	
<i>21. 2s.</i>		<i>Alpha W.</i>		<i>Alford, Jane</i>		<i>10 0 0</i>	
NONFOLK.		<i>For a Workman ..</i>		<i>Baverstock, Mrs. J. 0 14 5</i>		<i>Mrs. Whitehouse,</i>	
<i>North Elmham, Mrs.</i>		<i>10 0 0</i>		<i>Doddington, Mrs. E. 1 5 8</i>		<i>for the Native</i>	
<i>Large</i>		<i>Miss S. A. Simonds</i>		<i>Erlebach, Mrs. ..</i>		<i>Teacher, John</i>	
<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Miss M. Avins</i>		<i>Forward, Mr. W. ..</i>		<i>Whitehouse</i>	
Per Mrs. Abbs, for School at		<i>Miss Farmer</i>		<i>Godwin, Mrs.</i>		<i>10 0 0</i>	
Farleyclay.		<i>0 7 0</i>		<i>Gray, Mrs.</i>		<i>Excs. 21. 5s. 3d.</i>	
<i>Miss Agnes</i>		<i>0 16 6</i>		<i>Jupe, Master J. ..</i>		<i>1081. 6s. 1d.</i>	
<i>St. Clement's Ep-</i>		<i>Mr. H. Fox</i>		<i>1 6 0</i>		Hales Owen.	
<i>ist Church, Sab-</i>		<i>Profit Alfred G. Fox</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Collection at Public</i>	
<i>bath-school Chil-</i>		<i>0 3 7</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Meeting</i>	
<i>0 8 0</i>		<i>Profits from Sewing</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Missionary Boxes—</i>	
<i>11. 2s.</i>		<i>Meeting</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Boys' Sabbath-schl.</i>	
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.		<i>Collected by Miss J.</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Girls'</i>	
Kettering.		<i>1 8 8</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Chapel</i>	
<i>Collections, &c.</i>		<i>1 14 4</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Mrs. Ryecroft</i>	
<i>Missionary Boxes ..</i>		<i>0 3 0</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Mrs. Yorks</i>	
<i>Mr. and Mrs. Haw-</i>		<i>0 2 0</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Excs. 12s. 4d. 10d.</i>	
<i>thorn</i>		<i>0 8 8</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		Kidderminster.	
<i>1 10 0</i>		<i>0 18 3</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Public Meeting, Se-</i>	
<i>Mr. C. G. G. Esq. ..</i>		<i>561. 11s. 7d.</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>less Excs. 19s. 6d. 5s 3 10</i>	
<i>Mr. W. Foster</i>		Birmingham.		<i>1 0 0</i>		Redditch.	
<i>For Widows and Or-</i>		<i>Lady Huntington's Chapel,</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Miss W. W. Mis-</i>	
<i>phans' Fund</i>		<i>Rev. J. Jones.</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>sonary Basket ..</i>	
<i>4 16 7</i>		<i>201. 6s. 7d.</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Monthly Subscrip-</i>	
<i>Old</i>		<i>1 3 7</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>tions, by Mrs.</i>	
<i>Widow, Mr.</i>		<i>25 0 0</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Humphreys</i>	
<i>Ward</i>		OXFORDSHIRE.		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Public Collection ..</i>	
<i>25 0 0</i>		Hologate Thames.		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Sabbath-school Chil-</i>	
<i>Collected by Miss</i>		<i>White, for the</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Monthly Subscrip-</i>	
<i>Native Girls at</i>		<i>N. S. G. Hall ..</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>tions, by Mrs.</i>	
<i>St. Andrew's</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Humphreys</i>	
<i>and Louisa Jay ..</i>		<i>6 0 0</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Public Collection ..</i>	
<i>6 0 0</i>		SOMERSETSHIRE.		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Sabbath-school Chil-</i>	
<i>South Chard</i>		<i>5 4 6</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Monthly Subscrip-</i>	
<i>For the Ship</i>		<i>0 17 9</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>tions, by Mrs.</i>	
<i>10 17 9</i>		<i>Wotton.</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Humphreys</i>	
Mrs. Pene, Treasurer.		<i>Penny-a-week Sub-</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Public Collection ..</i>	
<i>scription</i>		<i>9 13 1</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Sabbath-school Chil-</i>	
<i>Missionary Box ..</i>		<i>0 7 4</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Monthly Subscrip-</i>	
<i>Annual Subscriptions—</i>		<i>2 0 0</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>tions, by Mrs.</i>	
<i>Mrs. Cull</i>		<i>1 1 0</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Humphreys</i>	
<i>Mrs. Pyne</i>		<i>1 1 0</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Public Collection ..</i>	
<i>Mr. Thorne</i>		<i>1 1 0</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Sabbath-school Chil-</i>	
<i>Friend</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Monthly Subscrip-</i>	
<i>For Widows' Fund ..</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>tions, by Mrs.</i>	
<i>Annual Collection ..</i>		<i>2 17 10</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Humphreys</i>	
<i>For Native Teachers</i>		<i>at Tadbit, named</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Public Collection ..</i>	
<i>John Hatcombe</i>		<i>Cuff</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Sabbath-school Chil-</i>	
<i>10 0 0</i>		<i>291. 6s. 3d.</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Monthly Subscrip-</i>	
STAFFORDSHIRE.		Tren.		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>tions, by Mrs.</i>	
<i>Missionary Boxes.</i>		<i>Misses Riches</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Humphreys</i>	
<i>1 9 6</i>		<i>Mrs. Colville</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Public Collection ..</i>	
<i>0 10 8</i>		<i>Mrs. Wood</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Sabbath-school Chil-</i>	
<i>0 1 7</i>		<i>Mrs. Bentley</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Monthly Subscrip-</i>	
<i>0 1 6</i>		<i>Miss Pryn</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>tions, by Mrs.</i>	
<i>0 1 0</i>		<i>Mrs. Allen</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Humphreys</i>	
<i>0 1 8</i>		<i>Mrs. Mary Ball</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Public Collection ..</i>	
<i>0 1 5</i>		<i>Chapel</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Sabbath-school Chil-</i>	
<i>0 4 6</i>		<i>Public Meeting ..</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Monthly Subscrip-</i>	
<i>1 18 3</i>		<i>Excs. 5s. 4d. 4d.</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>tions, by Mrs.</i>	
<i>Tutbury</i>		<i>10 0 0</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Humphreys</i>	
<i>Obtury</i>		<i>2 0 0</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Public Collection ..</i>	
SURREY.		WIMBORNE.		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Sabbath-school Chil-</i>	
<i>Richmond.</i>		<i>Rev. C. Harrison ..</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Monthly Subscrip-</i>	
<i>On Account</i>		<i>0 7 0</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>tions, by Mrs.</i>	
<i>For the Ship</i>		<i>0 3 7</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Humphreys</i>	
<i>121.</i>		<i>Harriet Ann Trow-</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Public Collection ..</i>	
<i>0 1 10</i>		<i>bridge</i>		<i>1 0 0</i>		<i>Sabbath-school Chil-</i>	

£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Legacy by a Pious Youth.....		Mrs. Jones's Box ..		Dundee, Trottick Sabbath-school, for a Box at Saleen ..		Eglington - street, United Presbyterian Church, Bible and Missionary Society, per Rev. W. Burgess, Collection ..	
In Memory of a Mother.....		Mr. Edward Jones, Mount-pleasant ..		Per Rev. J. Kennedy, at Glasgow, 1 l. 0 0		Per Rev. W. Burgess, Collection ..	
Miss Macaulay ..		Mrs. Catharine Mount-pleasant.....		Native Teacher, Broughton		James Watson, jun., Glasgow, Missionary Society, for China ..	
For Native Schools in India, by Mrs. Redford		Edward Jones, jun., Catharine Jones, jun., Mr. William Parry, Mount-pleasant ..		Miss Finlay, for the Widows' Fund ..		Mr. J. D. Bryce's Sabbath-evening class.....	
Per Rev. G. R. Hewlings, Collections after Sermons, and Missionary Boxes		Agent		Miss Finlay's young ladies, for four Native Girls at Saleen		Per Miss Watt, Irvine, Collection by the Rev. J. Kennedy, at Rev. Mr. Drummond's U. P. Church.....	
Leigh Sutton, Collections after Sermons		Sunday-school Box Tuesday's Collections		Glasgow, Auxiliary Society, per J. Risk, Esq. The late Mrs. Anne Connolly's Trustees' three years' payment from her estate, for orphan school, Glasgow, less property tax, &c. 1 l. 17 0		Miss N. E. Henderson's Missionary Box	
Collected by—		Sunday Collection ..		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Mr. Leonard		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Mrs. Smith		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
David Jones		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
John Bosworth ..		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Lauretta Jones ..		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Miss Rami		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Benjamin Jones ..		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
George Dolhis		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Miss Morris		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Mary Powell		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
12s. 6d. 19s. 7d. 109l. 1s. 2d.		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Total, including 2500l. previously acknowledged ..		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
355 17 4		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
YORKSHIRE.		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Hull and East Riding Association, on Account		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
210 11 10		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Legacy of late Mr. Alfred Ward, by J. B. Briggs, Esq.		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
10 0 0		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Fish Street, For Widows' and Orphans		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
18 0 0		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Box, Sunday School, Teacher		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
5 0 0		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
West Riding Auxiliary Society, Per J. Crossley, Esq.		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
180 0 0		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Of which 84l. is to be appropriated to Female Education in India; viz., Mrs. Porter's School, Madras, 21l.; Mrs. Suggen's do., Bangalore, 21l.; Schools at Benares, 12l.		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Bradford District, 364 16 6		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Titus Salt, Esq., 100 0 0		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
464l. 16s. 6d.		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Halifax District, Bramley Lane Chapel ..		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
7 8 6		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
St. Andrew do.		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
6 12 0		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
St. James do.		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
5 2 2		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Rowerby do.		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
2 9 2		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
Worley do.		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
2 0 7		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
No. Missionary Boxes		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
10 Missionary Boxes		12l. 11s. 4d.		Rev. Mr. McLay, Strathgibbon		For the Ship	
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PRIZE ESSAY.

AN

ESSAY ON HINDU CASTE.

BY

THE REV. H. BOWER,

MISSIONARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL, TANJORE.

“God hath showed me that I should not call any man common or unclean.”

“Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.”

CALCUTTA:

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PREFATORY NOTICE.

IN September, 1849, a few friends of the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society offered, through the Committee of that Society, a prize of three hundred Rupees for the best essay, treatise, or dissertation on the subject of HINDU CASTE, descriptive of its origin, intrinsic nature, and injurious tendency, and setting forth the scriptural and other arguments which may be adduced against its perpetuation. In consequence of this offer, eight essays were received, and submitted for adjudication to the Rev. Messrs. Lacroix, Ewart, and Wenger, who unanimously awarded the prize to the present essay ; at the same time directing the attention of the Committee to two others, as being likewise distinguished by great merit. One of these was the production of Babu Shashi Chandra Datta, and the other of the Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjca. To the former an additional prize was awarded, and both have since been published.

With reference to the present essay, justice to the author requires us to state that he had no opportunity of revising it for the press, and that consequently he cannot be held responsible for any oversights, which may have been committed by the Editor, whose acquaintance with the state of things in the Madras Presidency is very imperfect.

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ESSAY ON HINDU CASTE.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE ALLEGED ORIGIN, NATURE, AND CHARACTER OF CASTE.

THE term *Caste*, derived from the Portuguese *Castá*, expressive of the Indian word *Játi*, has been adopted in general by Europeans to denote the different classes into which the Hindus are divided, and upon which their social and religious systems are founded.

Though it is by no means easy to trace the origin, or to unravel the mysteries, of this intricate and vexatious subject ; yet we may be able to deduce its alleged and probable origin, and lay bare the system in its characteristics, by reference to the accredited writings of the Hindus.

I. The origin of the four castes is distinctly stated in the Institutes of Manu. In the first chapter, on the creation, verse 31, it is written : “ That the human race might be multiplied, He (Brahmá) caused the *Bráhmaṇ*, the *Kshatriya*, the *Vaisya*, and the *Sudra*,* (so named from the *Scripture*, *protection*, *wealth*, and *labour*) to proceed from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot.”

There is a work expressly written to elucidate this subject. It is called the *Játimálá*, or the garland of castes, and enters very particularly into their origin, division, and sub-divisions ; from which it may suffice to quote the following :

“ In the first creation, by Brahmá, *Bráhmaṇas* proceeded, with the *Veda*, from the mouth of Brahmá ; from his arms *Kshatriyas* sprung ; so from his thigh, *Vaisyas* ; from his foot, *Sudras* were produced : all with their females.”

* The orthôgraphy of Professor Wilson, with regard to many of the Indian names, has been adopted, and for the sake of uniformity, we have taken the liberty of altering the orthography of Sir William Jones and others.

"The Lord of creation, viewing them, said, 'What shall be your occupations?' They replied, 'We are not our own masters, O, God! command us what to undertake.'

"Viewing and comparing their labours, he made the first tribe superior over the rest. As the first had great inclination for the divine sciences, (*Brahma Veda*) therefore he was *Bráhma*. The protector from ill (*Kshati*) was *Kshatriya*. Him whose profession (*Vesa*) consists in commerce, (which promotes the success of wars for the protection of himself and of mankind) and in husbandry, and attendance on cattle, he called *Vaisya*. The other should voluntarily serve the three tribes, and therefore he became a *Sudra*: he should humble himself at their feet."*

The Bhagavat Gitá, a work of great celebrity, puts the following words in the mouth of Krishna: "Mankind was created by me of four kinds, distinct in their principles and in their duties."†

This theory of the origin of the four Castes is further exemplified in the *Vishnu Purána*. To the question of *Maitreya*, How *Brahmá* created the four different castes, and what duties he assigned to the *Bráhmans* and the rest? *Parasara* answers: "Formerly, O best of *Bráhmans*, when the truth-meditating *Brahmá* was desirous of creating the world, there sprang from his mouth beings especially endowed with the quality of goodness; others from his breast, pervaded by the quality of foulness; others from his thighs, in whom foulness and darkness prevailed; and others from his feet, in whom the quality of darkness predominated. These were, in succession, beings of the several castes, *Bráhmans*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaisyas*, and *Sudras*."‡

The same theory, it appears, according to Ward, is maintained in the *Sáma Veda*; but there are other learned writers who affirm that the theory of castes in *Manu* is different from that of the Vedas. Some *Puránas* maintain that *Brahmá* created both a male and a female. The *Sri Bhúgavat* affirms that *Brahmá* divided himself into two parts, a male, *Swayambhu*, and a female, *Sati*; and that these persons divided their children into the four castes. For instance, Professor Wilson remarks, in a note in his elaborate work, that "the *Váyu* (*Purána*) states that the castes were now first divided according to their occupations, having, indeed, previously stated that there was no such distinction in the *Krita* age. *Brahmá* now appoint-

* Colebrooke's translation. Essays, Vol. ii. 178.

† Lecture iv. verse 13.

‡ Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p. 44.

ed those who were robust and violent to be Kshatriyas, to protect the rest: those who were pure and pious; he made Bráhmans; those who were of less power, but industrious, and addicted to cultivate the ground, he made Vaisyas; whilst the feeble and poor of spirit were constituted Sudras: and he assigned them their several occupations, to prevent that interference with one another which had occurred as long as they recognized no duties peculiar to castes.”*

II. It is necessary to consider, in the second place, the *duties* incumbent upon the four castes.

In the first chapter of Manu the duties of the different castes are thus laid down:

87. “For the sake of preserving this universe, the Being supremely glorious allotted separate duties to those who sprang respectively from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot.”

88. “To Bráhmans he assigned the duties of reading the Veda, of teaching it, of sacrificing, of assisting others to sacrifice, of giving alms, *if they be rich*, and *if indigent*, of receiving gifts.”

89. “To defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read the Veda, to shun the allurements of sensual gratification, are, in a few words, the duties of a *Kshatriya*.”

90. “To keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the scriptures, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, and to cultivate land, are *prescribed* or *permitted* to a *Vaisya*.”

91. “One principal duty the supreme ruler assigns to a *Sudra*; namely, to serve the before-mentioned classes, without depreciating their worth.”

A similar enumeration of duties is specified in the Bhagavat

* Page 406.

Again, in the Vishnu Purána, the distinction of castes is attributed to a king, named Saunaka, on which Professor Wilson remarks: “The expression is चातुर्वर्ण्यप्रवर्तयिता, “The originator or causer of the distinctions (or duties) of the four castes.” The commentator, however, understands the expression to signify, that his descendants were of the four castes. So also the Váyu:

“The son of Shritsamada was Sunaka, whose son was Saunaka; Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras were born in his race; Bráhmans by distinguished deeds.” The existence of but one caste in the age of purity, however incompatible with the legend which ascribes the origin of the four tribes to Brahmá, is everywhere admitted. Their separation is assigned to different individuals; whether accurately to any one, may be doubted; but the notion indicates that the distinction was of a social or political character.”

Gitá, Lecture xviii. from the 41st to the 44th verse. A rather full description of duties is also given in the Vishnu Purána. Book iii. Chap. 8. I cannot refrain from quoting the last paragraph of that chapter, stating the duties of the various castes in time of distress.

"In times of distress the peculiar functions of the castes may be modified, as you shall hear. A Bráhman may follow the occupations of a Kshatriya or a Vaisya; the Kshatriya may adopt those of the Vaisya; and the Vaisya those of the Kshatriya: but these two last should never descend to the functions of the Sudra, if it be possible to avoid them; and if that be not possible, they must at least shun the functions of the mixed castes."

1. Transcendently high are the prerogatives of a Bráhman. "Since the Bráhman," says Manu, "sprang from the most excellent part, since he was the first-born, and since he possesses the Veda, he is by right the chief of this whole creation."* He has therefore the most extraordinary respect and pre-eminence awarded to him; and is allowed equally extraordinary advantages. "Neither shall the king" it is said, "slay a Bráhman, though convicted of all possible crimes."† "A king, even though dying with want, must not receive any tax from a Bráhman learned in the Vedas."‡ "Whatever exists in the universe is all in effect, *though not in form*, the wealth of the Bráhman; since the Bráhman is entitled to it all by his primogeniture and eminence of birth."§

There is one particular circumstance to be considered with reference to the Bráhman. While the other three classes are born in the condition* in which they are to continue to live, the Bráhman alone has a supernatural as well as a natural birth. The son of a Bráhman is considered to be by birth a Sudra; the ceremony of *Upanayanam* or *Initiation*, performed at about six years old, confers the name of *Dwija*, or twice-born, because it is supposed that the rite of wearing the sacred thread is tantamount to *regeneration*. The following is a Sanscrit sloka commonly known.

जन्मना जायते ब्रूः कर्मणा जायते द्विजः ।
वेदाध्यायी तु विप्रः स्यात् ब्रह्मज्ञानी तु ब्राह्मणः ॥

By birth he is a Sudra,
By religious rites he becomes a Dwija,
By reading the Veda a Vipra, (perfect priest,)
By knowledge of Brahma, a Bráhman.

* Chap. i. 93.

† Manu, vii. 133.

‡ Manu, viii. 380.

§ Manu, i. 100.

Being once invested with the triple cord, the Bráhmaṇ is no more to be considered as a mere mortal; he is said to be an *incarnation of Dharma*,* god of justice, and to him therefore must be offered the salutation of the *Namaskára*, made by elevating the hands above the forehead or over the head: and also the *Shastánga*, a salutation of great reverence made by the prostration of the six members of the body touching the ground, is chiefly to be given to the Brahman priest, while he, in return, gives the Sudra his *Ásirvada* or Benediction. In giving or pronouncing the blessing, the Bráhmaṇ does not return the compliment, but stretches out his hand, generally the left, as if he wished to receive something from the person who pays him homage.

In bowing to a Bráhmaṇ, the sins of the Sudra enter the fire, which is supposed to lodge in the Bráhmaṇ's hand, and are consumed. If a Bráhmaṇ should stretch his hand before a Sudra bows to him, he will sink, it is said, into a state of misery. Such is the power and influence of the Bráhmaṇs, that they, as well as the Sudras, are conversant with the following most extravagant and blasphemous assertions, packed up in Sanskrit verse, and put forth in a syllogistic form:

देवाधीनं जगत् सर्वं मन्त्राधीनं तु देवतं ।

तन्मन्त्रं ब्राह्मणाधीनं ब्राह्मणो मम देवता ॥

All the universe is under the power of the gods;
The gods are subject to the power of the mantras;
The mantras are under the power of the Brahman;
The Brahman are therefore our gods.

2. The Kshatriyas belong to the second or military class. They are kings and soldiers, and from their valour and influence command the sycophancy of the Bráhmaṇs and the respect of the lower classes. It would be difficult to distinguish the Kshatriyas as a distinct body. The Rajpoots are supposed to be the remnants of this division. And the Rajahs of Burdwan, and even the Rajah of Tanjore, pride themselves in the title of *Kshatriyaputtra*.

3. The Vaisyas belong to the third or merchant class. In Southern India they are not to be distinguished from the Sudras. They as well as the Kshatriyas wear the *Paitá* or thread. It is affirmed that in the *Kali-yuga*, neither Kshatriyas nor Vaisyas exist as a distinct class, but have merged into the Sudras; and that now only two castes exist, namely, the Bráhmaṇ and the Sudra,—and it is even alleged that the pre-

* Manu, i. 98.

sent race of Sudras have all arisen from improper marriages between the higher and lower castes. The wealthy Sudra or Vellalur cultivators of Southern India count themselves in being Vaisyas; of whom there are three classes, *Bhu-Vaisya*, the cultivators or merasdars; *Go-Vaisya*, cowherds who are also cultivators; and *Dhana-Vaisya*, respectable merchants.

4. The Sudras stand lowest in the scale of castes. According to the Shastras neither their persons nor their labours are free. "A man of the servile caste, whether bought or unbought, a Bráhmaṇ may compel to perform servile duty; because such a man was created by the self-existent for the purpose of serving Bráhmaṇs."* The law does not even permit them to have property; for "no collection of wealth must be made by a Sudra, even though he has power, since a servile man, who has amassed riches, gives pain to Bráhmaṇs."† And the poor Sudra is even doomed to perpetual ignorance, and not a ray of hope is to be held out to him, to cheer his path into a future world. It is declared, "Let not a Bráhmaṇ give advice to a Sudra; nor what remains from his table; nor clarified butter, of which part has been offered; nor let him give spiritual counsel to such a man, nor inform him of the legal expiation of his sin: surely he who declares the law to a servile man, and he who instructs him in the mode of expiating sin, sinks with that very man into the hell named Asamvrita."‡ "If a Sudra reads the Vedas or the Puráṇas, then the magistrate shall heat some bitter oil, and pour it into the Sudra's mouth; and if a Sudra listens to the Vedas, then boiling oil shall be poured into his ears. If a Sudra commits any parts of the Veda to memory, then the magistrate shall put him to death."§

In considering such inhuman laws, the solemn truth that

* Manu, viii. 413.

† Manu, x. 129.

‡ Manu, viii. 80, 81.

§ See Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws, xxi. 7.

"The respective duties of the four tribes of Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra, are also determined by the qualities which are in their constitutions." Gita, xviii. 41. See above, p. 2.

On this passage Baron Humboldt in his learned Essay remarks: "It is stated that the *qualities (guna)* are variously distributed among men. It is doubtful whether the difference of caste has any influence on the distribution of qualities. It is certainly said that the duties of caste are distributed according to the qualities arising from the peculiarity of each order, and *Sattva*, essence or truth, might be attributed to the Brahmins; *Rajas*, earthiness, to the Kshatriyas; but as there are four castes, it would be necessary to bring the two last under the one head of *Tamas*, darkness."

"the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty," and that "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel," are forcibly impressed upon the mind, and we cannot help exclaiming with one of old, "O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united:—cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel."*

How different all this from the laws of Him who declared, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls; for my yoke is easy, and my burden is light."†

III. The distinctions of caste and the social condition of the Hindus do not stop here, but go further; and the more we pursue this intricate subject, the more interminable we find it. There are yet many *sub-divisions* of caste to be considered. There are not only a variety of Bráhmans, but there are a vast variety of Sudras, who have no social intercourse with one another.

"The distribution of the whole people into four classes only," says Mill, "and the appropriation of them to four species of employment; an arrangement which, in the very simple state of society, in which it must have been introduced, was a great step in improvement, must have become productive of innumerable inconveniences, as the wants of society multiplied. The bare necessities of life, with a small number of its rudest accommodations, are all it prepares, to meet the desires of man. As those desires speedily extend beyond such narrow limits, a struggle must have early ensued between the first principles of human nature and those of the political establishment. The different castes were strictly commanded to marry with those only of their own class and profession; and the mixture of the classes from the union of the sexes was guarded against by the severest laws. This was an occurrence, however, which laws could not prevent. Irregularities took place; children were born, who belonged to no caste, and for whom there was no occupation. A wise king resolved to classify the mixed races, and to assign them occupations. This accordingly, was the commencement of arts and manufactures. The Varnasankars (i. e. mixed castes) became all manner of artizans and handicrafts.‡ Thirty-six branches of

* Gen. xlix. 6, 7.

† Matt. xi. 28—30.

‡ In the 25th No. of the Calcutta Review, for March, 1850, there are some remarks on caste and the number of mixed classes. See Article *Brahminism*.

the impure class are specified in the sacred books. The highest is that sprung from the conjunction of a Bráhmán with a woman of the Kshatriya class, whose duty is the teaching of military exercises. The lowest of all is the offspring of a Sudra with a woman of the sacred class. Such people are denominated *Chandálas*, and are regarded with great abhorrence. Their profession is to carry out corpses, to execute criminals, and perform other offices, reckoned to the last degree unclean and degrading. If, by the laws of Hindustan, the Sudras are placed in a low vile situation, the impure and mixed classes are placed in one still more odious and degrading. Nothing can equal the contempt and insolence to which it is the lot of the lowest among them to see themselves exposed. They are condemned to live in a sequestered spot by themselves, that they may not pollute the very town in which they reside. If they meet a man of the higher castes, they must turn out of the way, lest he should be contaminated by their presence.”*

The people called *Chandálas* in the north, are termed *Pariars*† in the south, upon whom is entailed, by birth, the utmost degradation. An equally degraded class are the *Pallars*, who, however, do not, like the *Pariars*, eat carrion; and though they are looked upon as equally degraded by the Bráhmans and Sudras, have no social intercourse with the *Pariars*. They will not eat with one another, nor with *Chucklers* (shoemakers), *Koravers*, and others who are considered still lower in the scale of castes.

The *Pariars* are considered by some learned men to be “the descendants of a simple homogeneous people, who were dispossessed of the proprietorship of the soil—multitudes being massacred—by colonies of Bráhmans and Sudras from distant places.”‡ They, as well as the *Pallars* and the Hill tribes, appear to be the remnants of a conquered people, and probably were an uncivilized and barbarous race, whose customs prevented their amalgamation with the conquerors, or the cruel persecution of their masters must have reduced them to their present state.

* Mill, Vol. i. 171, 172.

See Colebrooke on the Indian classes, in which it is written—“Avoid,” says the Tantra, “the touch of the Chandála, and other abject classes—whoever associates with them, undoubtedly falls from his class; whoever bathes or drinks in wells or pools which they have caused to be made, must be purified by the five productions of kine.”

† The term is derived from *Pari*, a tamil word for *drum*, which it is the duty of the *Pariar* to beat.

‡ A Memoir of the First Centenary of the earliest Protestant Mission at Madras, by the Rev. W. Taylor.

The Pariars have priests of their own, called *Valluvers*; and of them *Tiruvalluvar*, who has written perhaps one of the best books in the whole course of Indian literature on ethics and natural religion, may well be compared to Plato himself.*

IV. The Hindus, besides being divided into *castes* and *no-castes*, and also into a variety of *sects*,† are divided again into the *right-hand* and *left-hand* castes. This distinction appears of recent origin, and is confined to the south.‡

The following is a list, though perhaps an imperfect one, in which the castes are classed according as they belong to the right and left-hand divisions:—

<i>Left-hand.</i>	<i>Right-hand.</i>
The Panchalar, Five Artizans : viz.	Vellalar, Landlords, Cultiva- tors.
Goldsmith.	Kávárac.
Blacksmith.	Muturájá.
Carpenter.	Raja.
Stonemason.	Komiti.
Brazier.	Pariar.
	Kakan.
Pallar.	Dasiri.
Kikalar, Weavers.	Vannan (washerman.)
Chucklers.	Pariari, Barbers.
Palli.	Kosavan, Potters.
	Shanar, Toddy-men.
	Koravan.
	Uppalian.
	Karumban.
	Kambalathan.
	Ottan.
	Kudimagar.

The Bráhmans and some other castes do not belong to these divisions, but are neutral.

* See translation of his *Cural* by the late Mr. Ellis, and also the Rev. W. H. Drew of Madras.

† See Professor Wilson's book on the Religious Sects of the Hindus.

‡ With regard to this, the Abbé Dubois, who is otherwise an admirer of the distinction of castes, and some of the customs of the Hindus, very justly observes :

“ This particular distinction, however, which we have alluded to, by whomsoever invented, has turned out to be the most baneful that could have been imagined for the tranquillity of the state, and the most injurious to the peace of the citizens. It has proved the perpetual fountain of disturbance and insurrections amongst the people, and a continued principle of endless jealousy and animosity amongst all the members of the community.”—*Abbé Dubois' Description, &c. of India. Chap. I.*

The *right-hand* numbers the most distinguished of the *Sudras*. The *Vellalars* or cultivators take precedence amongst them, and look down with contempt on the tribes of tradesmen and labourers. The *Pariars* also belong to the right-hand, and boast of this privilege, which consists in the use of banners, &c. in marriages and funerals, and of being permitted to ride on horseback, or to be carried in a palanquin. And all this the *Pariar* claims as the child of the *Vellalen*. However, they are under restrictions as to wearing slippers and a particular kind of upper garment.*

This distinction, it appears, first originated in the reign of a king named *Tarani*, in the South, and others again assert that it was instituted by Royer and his Prime Minister Appajee.† The latter supposition is asserted in a Tamil petition we have in our possession, sent in by the *Panchalars* or the Five Artizans of the Salem district, about ten years ago, to the Revenue Board at Madras, begging to be allowed to be relieved from having the *Bráhmans* minister to them in religious matters, alleging that they are usurpers; and entreating permission to allow them to perform the various ceremonies by priests chosen from amongst themselves. This curious document, which, however, was not taken notice of by government, will be inserted in the Appendix, in an English translation, from which it will be evident that the *Bráhmans* do not hold the highest rank in society undisputed. The *Panchalars* obstinately refuse to acknowledge their superiority.‡

Some of the sects of the *Hindus* hold diametrically opposite views regarding caste, to which we shall have occasion to allude in the sequel.

V. We now come to consider the *Spirit* of caste, in what it consists, how it may be lost, and how regained.

* This rule is now violated with impunity in European settlements. The *Pariars* are a thriving and improved race. This is the effect of the Christian religion, and the silent influence of an enlightened government.

† In 1791, the Rev. Mr. Gericke visited *Kansheburam*, in search of copper plates said to be concealed there in the great Pagoda, containing the engraved rights and privileges of castes. This mission was undertaken, it appears, at the request of government, who willing to settle the constant strifes and battles between the right and left hand castes, wished to gain possession of the original grants of an early native prince, with a view to an authoritative decision. But it is doubtful whether Mr. G. was successful. It is said that there is a cave beneath the said temple, and that the primitive idols and certain copper plate engravings are buried there.—*Taylor's Memoir of the First Centenary of the Earliest Protestant Mission at Madras*.

‡ A priest belonging to this people recently became a Christian, renounced his caste, and is zealously preaching down heathenism and caste in the Tanjore district. See Appendix, A.

1. Caste arrogates to itself the heritage of *an exclusive sanctity*, and dooms a portion of the human race to *pollution* and *uncleanness*. It is founded upon supposed birth-purity or impurity, and is considered of *divine appointment*. Caste is *not*, what many imagine it to be, the mere inheritance of a profession or trade from father to son, which, so far as it is entirely voluntary, is common to all nations, and does not involve *crime* in him who should embrace a new calling, nor crush him who ventures to attempt other trades. Caste is an involuntary, arbitrary thing. It does not simply prevent the Hindu from marrying out of certain lines, which in itself may be harmless ; but prevents one man eating whatever, or with whomsoever, he pleases. The starving beggar would forfeit his caste, if he should dare to eat the food prepared by one of an inferior caste, or by a non-caste man. One perishing with thirst dare not receive even the sacred water of the Ganges, to save his life, from the hands of one of an inferior caste. This misanthropy in its vilest form, would lead the caste man to revere and adore the cow, eat her dung, drink her urine, and consider such deeds sacred, while he would despise his own image in his fellow-man.* Deprive him of his gods, he will tamely give them up ; shew him the absurdity of his idolatrous worship and his unmeaning and ridiculous ceremonies, he will laugh and join you in despising them ; but touch his caste, you touch the apple of his eye, the darling idol of his heart. Then he is, "fierce as ten furies, terrible as hell."

2. A caste man is at liberty to be an atheist or heretic, to commit any crime in direct violation of the moral law, to scorn and ridicule the gods, and still his caste is untouched. It is not inconsistent with any villany he may perpetrate. But

* "In fact, the inferiority of the Hindu Bráhmans to all other Pagan nations, with respect to religion, is the more striking, as they have not been able to distinguish what is a virtue, and what is not, since they in general suppose it much more meritorious to render service to beasts than to men. A pious Hindu Bráhman who will make it his imperative duty to share his frugal meal with fishes, snakes, monkeys, and birds of prey, will, on the other hand, behold with the coldest indifference a poor wretch starving at his door, without thinking of assisting him." "Instead of that great leading precept of christian charity, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' which is calculated to convert the whole of mankind into a community of brothers, it might be said that the leading precept of the Bráhmans is, 'Thou shalt love brutes like thyself.'" *Abbé Dubois' Letters on the State of Christianity in India*, pp. 112, 113. And yet this very man, in the same volume, has undertaken to vindicate the character of the Hindus. In his other work on India he writes a whole chapter showing the *advantages resulting from the division of castes*, and holds up many of their customs as worthy of imitation, and even defends the cruel law of not permitting widows to marry ! Strange inconsistency indeed.

let him only drink a drop of water from the hands of a non-caste man, or let his vessel be touched by a Musalman or European, he must be immediately turned out of society; his wife and children and friends must consider the tie of relationship and bond of unity broken. The simple eating with a virtuous friend, the embracing the religion of his conscience, which are the honourable actions of a free moral agent, are branded with infamy. Infringement of the rules of caste is the *deadly sin* which a Hindu commits, and one which subjects the perpetrator to as dreadful a doom as can befall a mortal. No punishment is more severe than this excommunication; he is henceforth a marked man, a wretched and miserable outcast. If he is a Bráhmán and has eaten with Sudras, they will not receive him, so as to acknowledge him as one amongst themselves, nor give him their daughter in marriage. Even the just and honourable act of marrying, or giving in marriage, a young widow, will subject the parties to loss of caste.

3. *Restoration* to caste, especially in former days, was as expensive and difficult, as *expulsion* from it was light and easy. Burning the tongue with a piece of gold made hot, or impressing some indelible mark on the body, by the application of hot iron, making the delinquent drink the *Panchakariam** or the five things proceeding from a cow, namely, milk, butter, curd, dung, and urine, with certain ceremonies; and making him pay heavy fines and offerings to the Bráhmans, would restore one to his caste. But now, since Christian education has opened the eyes of many, and they are willing to throw off these distinctions as ridiculous, childish, and foolish, the Bráhmans have invented a cheaper method of restoring persons to their religion and caste.†

It is well known that thousands violate the rules of caste, whilst its selfish tyranny presses heavily only on the ignorant and simple classes. It is not to be wondered at that laws so cruel should be often secretly violated. "It is well known that the Hindus have gone to the opposite extreme in certain cases. The Tantrikas worship demons, drink arrack and brandy, eat all kinds of meat, and practise all sorts of abominations. But

* Or *Panchagavya*.

† It is said that the temple at Canjeveram was built by a Bráhmán as an atonement for connection with a Pariar woman, on which he was restored. "A very few years ago the illegitimate son of a Collector, by a Moor woman, was privately raised to the Bráhmanical order. The child's weight in gold, poured over its head, being the preliminary ceremony." *Taylor's First Centenary*, p. 363. In Bengal a most exorbitant fine is the principal condition on which caste can be regained.

these deeds of darkness are done by confederate clubs in the shades of midnight."

VI. From all that has been advanced on this peculiar distinction amongst the Hindus, the *probable Origin* of caste appears to be, either (1) the perpetuation and corruption of the institution of Mahabad, king of Persia, who divided the people subject to him into four orders, the religious, the military, the commercial, and the servile;*—or (2) the Bráhmans, who are supposed to have come from Chaldea or Egypt, pretending to be the children of the divinity, and the gods of the earth, did not mix with the other Indians, in order not to defile themselves. The other Indians, from a disposition of imitation common to the unthinking part of mankind, have blindly and ignorantly imitated the practice of their earthly gods and teachers, to an unreasonable degree. This disposition of human nature has induced even the Mahomedans, who do not recognize caste, to imitate it, after they had conquered and settled in India. And (3) because caste was in progress of time more and more generally and strictly observed in India, and no Indian ever left the occupation of his father, and followed a higher one, it appears that they began to call caste *Jati*, as they conceived the idea, that the different divisions of people in India have, by creation, received talents and a nature only suitable to their occupations; so that a shoe-maker has only the talents and the nature of a shoe-maker, and cannot mix with other ranks in society.

I may safely here quote the sentiments of one who writes very cautiously on this subject, and who even talks of it 'in a palliative way.' "Caste in the abstract I view as the development of pride. It first entered Paradise with the nascent desire to be as gods; and, in that point of view, its origin may be ascribed to the devil:—

‘Aspiring to be gods, our parents fell;
Aspiring to be angels, men rebel.’”†

* See Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. No. 3, Sec. 2.

† Taylor's Centenary. See also, Appendix, B.

CHAPTER II.

IS CASTE CIVIL OR RELIGIOUS? IS THERE ANY THING SIMILAR TO IT IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD? DO ALL THE PEOPLE OF HINDUSTAN PROFESS AND MAINTAIN IT?

I. We have already ascertained what caste is, by reference to the accredited books of the Hindus. From them we have ascertained that it has its origin with their god Brahmá, and that the different orders or degrees are estimated according to their connection with and emanation from that deity. It is founded upon ceremonial purity and pollution, and is therefore an *essential* part of the idolatrous religion of India.

The Hindus do not distinguish between a *civil* and a *religious* element of caste. Even if it was originally a *political scheme*, the question is, did it ever exist separately from the religion of the Hindus? Their civil and religious polity seem to be inseparably connected. This is proved by the fact that when a Hindu embraces Christianity, he is considered by the heathen as having forfeited his caste, the change being considered a breach of moral and religious duty. Caste is not only guarded by the prescriptions of law, but fortified by the adamantine and impregnable barriers of the divine decree. And to mingle or confound what was originally separated, is considered a deed of the most daring impiety.

"The distinction of caste," says one who appears to have studied the subject, "is expressed easily and readily enough; but I am not aware of any simple native word of any standing to express civil distinction in caste. It is my impression that the Native Christians adopted a compound term to express the idea conveyed to them by Bishop Heber (*viz. civil distinction*). This is *desáchára*, a Sanscrit compound, which by reference to its primitive sense is unfortunate; *desa*, means *a land*, and *áchára*, *a rite*, but purely with a sacerdotal reference. Its legitimate application is restricted to the tribe of Bráhmans. Though this term is used for *the civil custom of the country*, I am afraid it means *the religious usage of the land*; and in effect—idolatry.* I have lately found that another compound term, *desa-silakyam*, is used. It means *country privilege*, and may be nearly synonymous with *freemanship* or *birthright*; but it is a compound term of recent formation. The distinction of civil and religious does not appear to me to have been known

* In Bengal, *lokáchára* (which is the same as *desáchára*) means any popular or national custom. But of which custom of this kind can it be said that it has not a religious aspect?

in this country, at least subsequent to the ascendancy of the Bráhmans. I do not think that any code can be pointed to as a digest of civil law. Indeed I would suggest to the reader's attention, that the distinction of sacerdotal and civil originated with the ancient Romans, from whom we derive the terms: even if we use the word *religious*, the derivation is the same. The Egyptians and Hebrews had no purely civil polity. In the great early monarchies which took their archetype from the father of a family, every thing, to the best of my information, had a religious bearing; and the monarch was regarded with more than what we now mean by religious veneration; he was worshipped. It does not appear to me that the laws of Lycurgus and Solon were purely civil; nor do I think that the Greek language has simple and primitive words to express the distinction of *religious* and *civil*. The Romans were formed on a constitution different from that of other people. They were lawless at the outset; were reformed on a religious basis* by Numa,—but in consequence of agrarian strifes, the laws of the twelve tables established the rights of the Plebeians. *Civis* was a Plebeian, as distinguished from the patrician, equestrian, and sacerdotal classes. The *Jus Civilis* was a law establishing the Plebeian's rights; raising him above the level of later serfs or villains; and conveying the peculiar dignity of the Roman citizen. The Pandects of Justinian have been the means of incorporating the term civil law and rights in every European nation. We are now-a-days familiar with the distinction. But still I must submit that it was unknown in India prior to the advent of Europeans: and civil rights can only be traced to local municipal customs, not having the force of law, unless sanctioned by the tribunals of the country. But it has been the policy of the British rule, always to accept those customs, when made out, as having the force of common law, here termed *mamool*; and hence civil rights, in so far as they exist, have been conferred on the natives by foreigners. It is capable of proof that caste cannot stand *ab origine* as of a civil distinction; and must be traced up to a religious, that is an idolatrous, origin."†

To lay claim to civil distinctions would imply that the Hindus were also in the enjoyment of civil liberty. To see that such was not the case, it is only necessary to know what constitutes civil liberty. "That constitution or form of government, that system of laws, is alone calculated to maintain

* Hence we read, Rex Anius, rex hominum, Deorumque sacerdos.

† Memoir of the First Centenary of the Earliest Protestant Mission, p. 329—331.

civil liberty, which leaves the subject entire master of his own conduct, except in those points whercin the public requires some direction or restraint.”*

And even if *society* should be considered as distinct from *government*—for the one may possibly exist without the other—yet we know that the one is the *principal*, and the other is the *agent*. We must admit that *civil society is an institution of God*; or, in other words, it is the will of God that man should live in a state of society, which may be shown from the original impulses common to man, and from the necessities of his nature. And as God wills the existence of civil society, it is manifest that he must forbid whatever would be *inconsistent* with its existence. And since the consent of all men is the voice of nature, the constitution of Hindu society, based on caste, so different from the framework of society in other parts of the world, and from the revealed will of the Almighty, can only be accounted for by tracing its connection with a false religion.

Every Hindu distinction is connected with and sanctioned by, nay, owes its origin to, religion, and is so intimately connected with it, that he who gives up caste in one respect, loses it in all respects. As the Christian breaking one commandment is guilty of all, so the Hindu who violates one distinction of caste, violates all.

Frederick Von Schlegel, who is an admirer of the caste system, observes in his *Philosophy of History*,† “that the hereditary division of classes, and those hereditary rights belonging to each, which form a part of the Indian constitution, have deep root in the soil; and as they rest on the *immoveable basis of ancient faith*, have become, as it were, the second nature of the people.” In connection with this subject, the same Philosopher alludes to another fact which is more to our purpose here. He says, “Among the Indians this ruling principle of existence was the doctrine of transmigration of souls, which appears indeed to be the most characteristic of all their opinions, and was, by its influence on real life, by far the most important. *The doctrine of the transmigration of souls was not unconnected with the Indian system of castes*; for the most honourable appellation of a Bráhmaṇ is *Dwiṇa*, that is to say, a second time born, or regenerated. On one hand this appellation refers to that spiritual renovation and second birth of a life of purity consecrated to God, as in this consists the true calling of a Bráhmaṇ, and the special purpose of his caste—on the other hand this term refers to the

* Blackstone.

† Translated by J. B. Robertson, Esq. Bohn's Edition, Sec. iv. p. 142.

belief that the soul, after many transmigrations through various forms of animals, and various stages of natural existence, is permitted, in certain cases, as a peculiar recompense, when it has gone through its prescribed cycle of migrations, to return to the world and be born in the class of Bráhmans." This passage, which is a just representation of the opinion of the Hindus, confirms the conclusion to which we have already come, that caste is more a religious than a civil distinction.

The sanctions of caste are not social only, but spiritual, extending beyond death. Manus says: "The Bráhmaṇ who has a Sudra female for his attendant and concubine or wife, shall be excluded from the society of his ancestors and the gods, and descend into the hell *Kaneva*." That caste is intimately connected with bráhmaṇical idolatry, and encourages *man-worship*, is apparent from the fact to which we have already alluded,—the salutation offered to a Bráhmaṇ by one of an inferior caste, and his mode of giving the blessing in return. In a memorial to the Supreme Government, presented by the Hindus of Madras in April, 1845, they declare, *that the loss of caste is connected with the vitality of the Hindu religion*.

The learned Hindus and other adherents and defenders of caste, in explaining it away as civil and harmless, resort to the only expedient left, and that is, to compare it with the distinctions of *rank* in European society. This specious argument deserves attention. Every reflecting mind will at once admit that the diversity of rank and condition is no evil, but an institution productive of much general benefit; as it is that state of society which is best calculated to stimulate the industry, and bring into action the various faculties of mankind.

The distinction of rank among Europeans is founded on birth, riches, power, learning, and merit, and answers important ends in the social union; but the distinction of caste is not formed by any reference to the actual possession of these qualities, but is confined to an imaginary celestial origin of a privileged class to the exclusion of all others, who are debarred for ever from all access to rising in the social scale, whatever may be their merits. The castes of India, therefore, cannot be compared with the classes in Europe. The caste of the Bráhmans and the Sudras is hereditary, which is not the case with the priesthood, professions, and trades of Europe. No man is by his birth excluded from any rank, except that of royalty, in England; but it is not so in India. Caste, therefore, is not, as it is by many supposed to be, synonymous with rank.

We admit that there were certain distinctions in ancient times amongst other nations, bearing only a semblance to the

distinctions of caste; but their origin, nature and spirit were very different. For instance,—

1. There were distinctions in ancient Persia. In the *Zend-avesta* is the following passage: "Ormud said, there are three measures (literally weights, that is, tests, rules) of conduct, four states, and five places of dignity. The states are: that of the priest; that of the soldier; that of the husbandman, the source of riches; and that of the artizan or labourer."

2. In Greece, Solon divided the people into four classes, according to their property.

3. The Romans were divided into Patricians and Plebeians. The *Patricians* were of more noble birth, more rich and more eminent for virtue, than the *Plebeians*. All dignities, civil, military, and sacerdotal, were confined to the former. The *Plebeians* or common people were also slaves, taken prisoners in war. To prevent sedition, which such a distinction might produce, through the pride of the higher order, and the envy of the lower, they were engaged to one another by reciprocal ties and obligations, according to the laws of the land. And once a year the masters gave their slaves a feast and served them like servants, to remind themselves that all men are naturally equal.

Amongst the ancient and modern Germans, Spaniards, &c., there were and are certain necessary distinctions. The Germans descending from one ancestor divided themselves into several families or tribes. The eldest, and sometimes the most intelligent, of the respectable families were chosen *chiefs*, and all the German tribes chose one as their general chief, who was called *Emperor*. Those families who had always maintained their probity, talents, and valour, honor, and high employments, were called, *Noble families*, the others *Citizens* or *Commoners*. And those who had been subjugated in war by the two first ranks, were called *Slaves*; but since the time that the Europeans became Christians, slavery has been, by degrees, universally abolished, and the slaves have been made as free as the commoners. But the rich, and mighty, and noble, have never fancied that they cannot, on religious or physical grounds, eat or intermarry with others.*

From what has been stated, the Hindus cannot allege that their caste distinctions are similar to the civil and social distinctions of European and other nations. It might safely be advanced that no nation on earth has at present such distinctions as the Hindus have.

There exists everywhere one *natural* distinction, namely, that of male and female. Other distinctions are that of good

* See Robertson's *Charles V.* vol. i. note 20.

and bad, of high and low, of rich and poor, of learned and unlearned. These distinctions have been appointed by a wise Providence ; and rank, especially where there is merit and virtue to uphold it, excites the natural and habitual veneration of all ; but when tyranny or vice degrades it, or when it usurps undue authority over the rights and liberties of mankind, then outraged nature is called forth to a generous and wholesome reaction against the oppressors of their species. This is the revolt of one natural principle against the abuse of another. We are no advocates for weakening authority, or suspending the natural influences of rank and wealth. The wisdom and goodness of this appointment are apparent, wherever it is duly regarded ; the different orders of society feel their mutual dependence, and learn to respect one another. In a community observing such wise and merciful regulations, superiority is maintained without arrogance, and service rendered without servility. The road to prosperity and distinction will be open to all, for all are *free*. Unless becoming respect for station and office be the operating principle in society, we know that nature would be seduced from her principles, society would be distempered and utterly disorganized. Wise and impartial legislators deliberate for the good order and welfare of the whole community, and frame a constitution not only for the *state*, but for *human nature*. But how far Hindu legislators have framed their laws and institutions on the broad basis of equity between man and man, let the palpable iniquity of their *shāstras* declare. “The very highest behest of social morality, while at the same time the most comprehensive of its rules, is that we should love our neighbours as we do ourselves. Love to our neighbour is the thing which this rule measures off—and love to ourselves is the thing which it measures by.”*

III. It is no wonder, then, that certain authors and sects among the Hindus have trampled upon the institution of caste, and have fearlessly exposed its iniquity and injustice.

Vemana, the most popular of the Telugu poets, boldly denounces it. Book I. verse 52, “Listen to the Scriptures, that declare ignorance to be the servile (*Sudra*) state, and wisdom to be (*Brāhmanship*) the priestly rank. Behold *Vālmiki*, the bard, who was once a highwayman ; when his ignorance ceased, he attained the *Brāhmanical* rank.”

V. 171. “We are imprisoned in delusion ; our inclinations

* See this principle beautifully developed by Dr. Chalmers in his *Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. i. ch. iv. “On those special affections which conduce to the civil and political well being of Society.”

are as chains; *empty* distinctions are the shackles attached to us: when shall be the deliverance from this life of bondage?"

Book II. v. 128. "Which is the chief caste among all the sects? What is the use of going on without sense? He who has understanding, is of the noblest tribe."

Book III. v. 3. "They cry: Thou art defiled and unclean, touch me not. What limits are there to defilement? What is its source? All human bodies are equally unclean: defilement is born with ourselves in the body."

V. 190. "The daily prayers and the bráhmancial cord are wanting both at birth and at the time of death: his mother never enjoyed either of these: and if his mother be a Sudra, how can he be a Bráhmaṇ?"

V. 217. "If we carefully observe and examine the universe, we shall see that all castes equally originated therein: then all are equal: surely all men are brothers."

V. 225. "Disputations as to which caste is the best, are all fruitless: all the tribes originated in the same origin; who can decide as to the superiority or inferiority of any one?"

V. 227. "Why should we constantly revile the Pariar? Are not his flesh and blood the same as our own? And of what caste is he who pervades the Pariar as well as all other men?"

V. 231. "Though a man be by birth an outcast, if he orders his heart aright, he is no outcast: he who cannot govern his affections, is the vilest of the vile."

V. 234. "His mother was a prostitute, and his wife a Pariar; yet Vasistha* was tutor to the noble Ráma: by austerities he became a Bráhmaṇ; but if you look to his caste, what is it like?"

V. 237. "Place one dish before all men in the world and let them eat together, abolishing their castes: lay thy hands on their heads, and convince them *that their present distinctions are absurd.*"†

We can cite innumerable passages from *Tamil* authors on this subject, but let the following selections suffice:

In a prose work, entitled *Sapta-prakaranam*, i. e. the Seven Lectures, translated from the Sanskrit, and in the chapter headed *Sthula-prakaranam*, Lecture on the Body,—it is thus written:—

"The saying, I am a Bráhmaṇ, I am a Kshatriya, I am a Vaisya, I am a Sudra, these differences of *caste*,—I am a Telinga, I am a Canarese, I am a Mahratta, I am a Gujeratty,

* Urvasi the courtesan was his mother, Arundhati his wife.

† Extracted from the *Verses of Vemana*, translated by C. P. Browne, Esq. of the Madras Civil Service.

these *provincial distinctions*,—I am of the tribe of Kasipa, I am of the tribe of Baradvasar, &c. &c., these distinctions of *tribes*,—I am a bachelor, I am a married man, I am a *sannyasi*, these distinctions of *states*,—I am a carpenter, I am a goldsmith, I am a blacksmith, I am a potter, I am a barber, I am a washerman, these distinctions of *trade*,—do not make in themselves any essential difference between man and man. As for those who would make any, these differences may justly be compared to a horned hare, to a child produced by a barren woman, or to a lotus growing in the skies.* “Is it a body that constitutes a Bráhmaṇ? The Kshatriya has the same body. Does the tuft of hair, or the cord, make a Bráhmaṇ? Then the potters have these likewise. Are there any differences in the members of their bodies? Is he a Bráhmaṇ, because his father and mother were Bráhmaṇs? Then the nail, the teeth, the hair, the urine, and the ordure must also be Bráhmaṇs. But they are not so. Therefore the title Bráhmaṇ is similar to the names given by children to toys in play; it is nothing in reality. So said *Vasudeva*.”

Agastya, the great sage and supposed father of the Tamil language, says :

“The ancients, in order to delude mankind, have written the Vedas and Puráṇas, that the mind may be like a fly caught in a cobweb.” “Know that the distinctions of high and low caste were made for men to get a livelihood. The Vedas were made for the support of Bráhmaṇs.”

Cabilar, a disciple of *Agastya*, in his *Agavel* (poem) says : “To Brahmá was born Vasishta of Kuti, a courtesan. To Vasishta was born Sattiar, of a Pariar woman. To Sattiar was born Parasar, of a low boat-woman. To Parasar was born Vyása of a fisherwoman. These four are renowned for having established the Vedas.”

Soobramanyar, a poet, in his *Gnanam*, says : “Hear this : the birth of all is alike, and all are subject to death. The life that leaves the body, mingles with the ether. All life proceeds from one source. Do not, therefore, speak ill of castes. All are alike. There is no distinction.”

Sangarachari is supposed to have said : “Do you know where the sun and moon were born, or where they will hide themselves? Where shall we see all castes merged into one? Where shall we see the unity of the Deity? Where shall we forget the doctrines and practices we rely upon? Where is the place where all things are considered pure? The wise will know these things.”

* Meaning, that they are non-entities.

In the *Suddha Sangita*, written by *Suddha Mamooni*, Siva says to Vishnu: "Hear this, thou wise one, the ignorant, who have no knowledge of the truth, fix their mind on the differences of castes and tribes, and go about accumulating fearful sins. The result will be nothing but delusion and folly."

In the *Sukshma Vedānta*, it is said: "Men, after exercising particular trades and professions, divide themselves accordingly into as many castes. But if we properly consider the matter, we shall find that the nature of man is the same. If so, how is it then, that one man considers himself of superior caste to another? These distinctions only become demons, not men, who are of one origin."

Siva Vaciar says: "What, O wretch, is caste? Is not water an accumulation of fluid particles? Are not the five elements and the five senses one? Are not the several ornaments for the neck, the breast, and the feet equally gold? What then is the peculiar quality supposed to result from difference in caste?"

Another writer says: "Is there any advantage in the observance of caste? No. So long as one is under the influence of caste, he is under the influence of *māyā*," (delusion).

Professor Wilson, in his "Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus," points out the repudiators of caste. He remarks in one place, that "many of the sects seem to have originated, in a great measure, out of opposition to the Bráhmancial order: teachers and disciples are chosen from any class, and the distinction of castes is, in a great measure, sunk in the new one of similarity of schism."* Alluding to the Jainas he says, "In the south of India, indeed, the Jainas preserve the distinction of castes; in Upper India, they profess to be one caste, or *Vaisyas*. It is very clear, however, that admission to the *Jaina* communion was originally independent of *caste*, and the partial adoption of it or pretension to it, is either a spontaneous or politic conformity to the strong feeling on the subject which prevails amongst all Hindus." In a note upon this passage, Professor Wilson writes: "Mahāvira himself was the son of a king, and should therefore be a Kshatriya. His chief disciples, Indrabhuti, and the rest, were Bráhmans. His special attendant, Gosala, was an outcast; and his followers, of both sexes, were of every caste."

In an interesting Essay on the creed, customs, and literature of the *Jangams*, an anti-Bráhmancial sect of Hindus, by C. P. Browne, Esq. the author, after stating what the Jangams renounce of the Bráhmancial creed and customs, says: "Basava, their leader, abolished these distinctions. He taught that all

men are holy in proportion as they are temples of the great spirit; that by birth all are equal; and among those whom the Jangam books describe as saints, we find not a single Bráhma, but many Pariars, and many women." In stating the rules in regard to their eating, he observes: "Though the Vira Saivas declare themselves entirely free from the bonds of caste, we shall perceive that their liberation is but partial. They cannot eat with any who refuses to bless the food in the name of *Basava*; —for they look upon others as heathens." "The food is polluted, if 'a heathen' casts his eye upon it, *before* it is blessed. But *after* the benediction is uttered, they consider the food holy, and are bound to eat it: it cannot be defiled by the glance or the touch of any person." "The Jangam is no leveller: he indeed desires to abolish caste: but by raising from the lowest grade those whose faith shows them to be good men." Such sentiments are certainly worthy the study and consideration of those Hindus who profess to be more enlightened than their countrymen, and more especially of those who profess a purer faith, but who have not the resolution or the moral courage to throw off the shackles of caste, although they virtually declare that it is a lie against God, an indignity to humanity.

CHAPTER III.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST CASTE. ITS EFFECTS ON THE MENTAL, MORAL, SOCIAL, AND NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE HINDUS.

The principle of caste is founded on *falsehood*. The advocate of caste has nothing to glory in. Does he really believe the fable that man proceeded from the different parts of Brahmá's body? Does he not know that this Brahmá, his Creator, seduced his own guru's wife, wherefore his head has been cut off, a temple has been denied him, and his worship forfeited? Strange infatuation, to believe, and to maintain, and to glory in a system which ascribes the creation of man to an adulterer defiled in body and mind.

Supposing that all castes have proceeded from Brahmá, as alleged, whence the *difference* between one man and another, when they owe their origin to one common father? Is Brahmá himself divided into four castes? Is there any difference in the fruit produced at the top and the bottom of the common tree?

If the Sudra is considered low and mean, because he proceeded from the feet of Brahmá, of what caste is *Daksha*, one of the

Prajápatis (^{*}*Patriarchs*), who proceeded from Brahmá's toe? * If everything proceeding from the feet be vile, whence the purifying virtues of *Gangá*, which proceeds from the feet of Vishnu? To what part of the deity are adorations offered? Is it not to his foot?

If there is an essential difference between one man and another, owing to their original birth, why are they not now born as at first? Is there any difference in the formation, birth, and death of a Bráhmaṇ, and a Chandála? Are not the blessings of Providence common to all? Do not the sun and moon give their general light, the clouds pour forth their "ambrosial rain," and the air breathe its vital influence on all? Does not the parent earth support all mankind? Is not the heaven-born soul, and the mind, with all its wonderful powers, the property of every man? Are not the souls of all men capable of *Deva-prasáda*, or divine grace? Are knowledge and wisdom the monopoly of the higher castes only? In the reign of Kunapandian, Teroovalluvar, a Pariár poet, is said to have obtained, by his superior knowledge and wisdom, the seat in the assembly of the learned Bráhmaṇs of Madura, made vacant by the degraded sages? †

If your Vedas are true, of what caste was *Vasishtha*, one of the arrangers of them, who was the son of Urvasi the dancing girl, and the husband of Arundhati, a Pariar woman?

If there are only four castes, according to the shástras, whence the vast variety of Bráhmaṇs and other castes, and the interminable differences amongst themselves? If the theory of caste be true, will there not be some marks by which one caste might be distinguished from another?

Is it not a fact that all castes agree in sin, all go to the house of ill-fame, eat and drink proscribed food in private? Is it not a fact, corroborated by universal experience, that every man is born in sin, is sunk in a sea of impurity, and carries about a body of sin and death?

Will it be said that every man's caste and condition in life depend on his deeds in a former birth, and are regulated by the impartial and unavoidable laws of transmigration, and that the fate of every individual is written in his forehead, and cannot be altered, it being the result of actions done in a previous existence? ‡ If the state and circumstances of the

* Professor Wilson says, *Daksha* was born from Brahma's right thumb. Vishnu Purána, page 348.

† Professor Wilson's Historical Sketch of the Pandya kingdom.

‡ The theory that a Sudra was contaminated in a state of pre-existence, will give a clear and perfect account of the way in which he comes to be what he is: it is too perfect a theory to be a true theory. It is a spe-

present existence be the result of a former birth, the present is not a state of trial, but of punishment. But is this consistent with fact and experience? If it be alleged that this is a state of penance and purgation to some, and of reward of merit to others, the last assertion is contradictory to the Shástras, where it is said that in the present age, the *Kali yuga*, there will be no virtue nor righteousness in the land.*

If caste were of divine appointment, would it not be more extensively recognized, and would not its benefits be more apparent? Would He who is "too wise to err and too good to be unkind," give us a law against the very principles of the nature He has implanted in us himself? Is caste necessary for the existence or well-being of man? If it were an institution based on equity and humanity, why do many of the wise Hindus trample upon it, as they have done in their writings? Do they not declare, in unequivocal terms, that without disclaiming caste man cannot be holy, and that he is still under the influence of the *five-fold* ignorance, "consisting of obscurity, illusion, extreme illusion, gloom, utter darkness?"

If caste is of divine institution and necessary for the welfare and happiness of man, whence the amalgamation of communion of castes at Jagannáth, where all the four castes eat together and consider it no defilement? Does not this show that all mankind are brothers, and belong to one *Játi*?

If eating with one of an inferior caste should deprive a superior of his caste; by a parity of reason, why should not eating with one of a superior caste elevate the inferior to the superior grade? If "evil communications corrupt good manners," is it not equally true that *good communications elevate the mind and purify the affections*? But it is well known that caste is not lost by doing evil, but in many instances by doing what is right and good.

Are the rules of caste now punctually followed? Does the Bráhmaṇ confine himself to his original functions? Or does he not, in numberless instances, rise early and sit up late, immersed in secular affairs, intent on plundering, and hoarding up money? And by changing his dress, and neglecting his ceremonies, does he not cringe at the foot of his European master, and even of the wealthy Sudra, to secure their favour and patronage?† We know that this will be referred to the force of

cimen of a theory, which does not present the mind with something above experience, but something absolutely contradictory to it; and though I may be wrong, I do not think any pure revelation would ever contradict experience, however much it may go beyond it.—*Morris's Prize Essay*, page 187.

* See Vishnu Purána, Book IV. Ch. I.

† But it cannot be passed unnoticed that those who practise idolatry, and

circumstances and to the law of necessity, for which there is provision made in the Shástras; but does this not in the very face of it indicate priestcraft, and prove that the Bráhmans who were the framers of the laws, have evidently studied their own advantage, convenience and comfort?

You will say, perhaps, that caste distinctions are necessary to be observed, in order to preserve the order of tribes by the prevention of intermarriages, which has been an immemorial custom. But your ancestors did not observe caste as you do. Intermarriages are allowed in Manu, the Dharma Purána and the Játimálá. Manu says: "If a Bráhman marries a girl of the Kshatriya caste, the duty of the sons is to teach military exercises. If a Bráhman marries a Vaisya woman, the sons become musicians, astronomers, and shepherds. The son of a Vaisya and a Sudra woman may become servants to princes; the children of a Bráhman woman and a Vaisya must wait upon women." Where then is the empty boast of your following the laws and customs of your ancestors? Have you not understanding to distinguish between good and evil, between true and false, between just and unjust? You should learn from your ancestors, so as to benefit by their experience, and avoid their mistakes and errors. Will you perpetuate an evil because it is *custom*, and continue to be its slaves?

Perhaps it will be said, that Sudras and especially Chandálas are extremely filthy in their habits;—and the nature of their food and duties are such that those of superior castes could not with propriety associate with them. I admit this. There will certainly be a feeling of repugnance to *associate* with people of that kind. But the *spirit* of Hindu caste is in the idea of *defilement* attached to the very touch of an inferior. Every man is naturally filthy. If the Pariar washes and keeps himself clean, and better still, if his mind is enlightened and

defend it under the shield of *custom*, have been violating their customs almost every twenty years, for the sake of a little convenience, or to promote their worldly advantage,—a few instances which are most commonly and publicly practised, I beg leave to state here. 1st. The whole community in Bengal, with very few exceptions, have, since the middle of the last century, forsaken their ancient modes of the performance of ceremonial rites of religion, and followed the precepts of Raghunath, and consequently differ in the most essential points of ceremonies, from natives of Bahar, Tirhoot, and Benares. 2d. The system of their subdivisions in each caste, with the modes of marriage and intermarriage, is also a modern introduction, altogether contrary to their law and ancient customs. 3d. The profession of instructing European Gentlemen in the Veds, Smritis and Puránas, is a violation of their long established custom; and 4th. The supplying their European guests with wine and victuals, in the presence of their gods and goddesses, is also a direct breach of custom and law."—*Rammohun Roy*, Preface to the *Ishopanishad*, p. 21.

purified by truth, if he is called by Providence to fill a responsible and respectable position in society, and if his manners are agreeable, what should hinder the Bráhmán from associating with him? What is the one then better than the other? "Ah! but," the objector may say, "he or his parents and friends have eaten the flesh of the cow; how can I make up my mind to associate with him to that degree as to give him a proof of cordial friendship, or to eat with him?" A higher law and purer philosophy would tell him that it is not eating that defiles a man, but the evil thoughts and sinful desires that proceed from the heart. But, really, are the scruples of a cherisher of castes so great with regard to eating, or towards him that eats flesh? * Let him consult his understanding, and it will tell him that the milk of the cow is the essence of the animal, and clarified butter is the very essence of animal food. Even vegetables have *life*; every seed has the principle of life, and every vegetable teems with animal matter. Let him consult his common sense, and it will tell him that the urine and the dung of the cow, † considered pure and purifying, and which are eaten and drunk, are certainly worse than eating the flesh. Or let him consult his Shástras, and he will find that animal sacrifice is commanded, and moreover he will find the mortifying story of *Garga Rishi's* cow in the *Matsya Purána*. ‡

* "The Ved says (observes Rammohun Roy) that he who has true faith in the omnipresent Supreme Being may eat all that exists, i. e. is not bound to inquire what is his food, or who prepares it." In *Manu* we read, "Doubtless in the ancient sacrifices and in the offerings of Bráhmans and Kshatriyas there were sacrifices of such birds and beasts as may be eaten." (V. 21.)

† Bezoar-*Korosani*, found in the cow's belly is highly valued as an internal medicine by the Bráhmans and others; and *assa foetida*, so commonly used by the Hindus themselves, is supposed to be mixed with animal matter.

‡ "The Rishis asked, how did Kaushika's sons obtain the supreme union? Suta replied: In Kurukshetra there was a Rishi named Kaushika. He had seven sons called Swasrapa, Krodhana, Himstra, Pishuna, Kavi, Vagrishta, and Pitrivarti. Their father Kaushika died; and a dreadful famine came on. Having nothing to eat, they went to Garga Rishi, who sent them into the woods to herd his cow. One day, when pinched with hunger, they said among themselves: What would you think of killing the cow and eating her? The youngest son said: if we kill her, let us offer her to the manes of our father, and feast on her afterwards. All agreed to his plan; and he having put two of his brothers in the place of gods, and three in the place of ancestors, one being made a guest, they killed and ate up the cow; and at night brought home the calf to the Rishic, and told him that a tiger had eaten up the cow. For this meritorious act they obtained union in five births; and had the remembrance of all the former in every succeeding birth." Extract from the *Matsya Purána*. The Rev. Mr. Stevenson of Poona observed to me that he has frequently found the recital of this story a powerful *argumentum ad hominem* in the case of the Bráhmans.—*Dr. Wilson's Refutation of Hinduism*, quoted in Phillip's *Missionary's Vade Mecum*, page 190.

But lastly, the Hindu books say that all castes will eventually become one. Extraordinary knowledge is not necessary to make such a prediction. Vyásdev, a prophet probably like Balaam of old, has declared: "The Turks shall reign fourteen generations without discretion, after which the Feringis (a name applied to Europeans) shall remain thirteen generations. In this time all religion shall go, caste and conduct shall not remain." (Book xii. Ch. i. 179.) Again, it is said, speaking of the same time—"All castes shall sit and eat in one place with excellent minds. The Bráhmans shall sell the Vedas, and in process of time their knowledge shall be lost. No one will support the religion of his family, but all will forsake the distinctions of caste. Even in marriage caste shall not be regarded, for all shall become one class. In this manner will end the Kali Yuga, after having remained 10,000 years." (Book xii. Ch. ii. 115).

Ye Sudras, who know and feel the inhumanity and injustice of caste bondage, why will you not throw off a lie, a corruption, a hardship, which your gurus have imposed upon you for their own advantage? Perhaps you say: Let the Bráhmans and the great first give up their caste, and then we shall give up ours. But would you say so in other cases? Would you defer appropriating to yourself any worldly advantage that offers itself to you, and wait for your gurus to lead the way?

Ye wealthy and educated Hindus! Permit us to ask you, how long you will suffer yourselves to be governed by such unjust laws that trample upon the rights of man? Let us appeal to your reason. "Why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?" Throw off the shackles becoming only an ignorant and priest-ridden age. Ye bolder and more enlightened sons of the North, whose minds are imbued with the arts and sciences of Europe, conversant with the poets, historians, and philosophers of Britain, lead the way to the great reform of abolishing these invidious distinctions,—break the inexorable chains, and throw down the barriers which an iron age has formed and raised to perpetuate misanthropy, to alienate man from man, to banish benevolence from the land;—and lead the way to your ignorant, timid, and supercilious countrymen of the South. They would be led, but will not lead.—Oh! that there were some Luther-like genius, to head the battle for humanity and righteousness. We have heard of your meetings on the banks of the Ganges, and in the halls of Calcutta, when "looking forward to the period in which knowledge, by its transforming power, would make the lowest type of man feel itself to be of the same species as the highest, you

have given utterance, in an apparent ecstasy of delight, to these characteristic lines :—

For a' that, and a' that,
Its comin' yet, for a' that,
That man to man, the world o'er
Shall brothers be, for a' that."

Our prayer is, that such a consummation may be realized in a higher and nobler sense than the poet or his Hindu admirers were privileged to conceive.*

II. Unnatural and arbitrary as the institution of caste has eventually proved, and favorable as it must necessarily be to the exercise of despotism, it has not unfrequently been defended, as singularly adapted to serve the end for which it was formed. It has been said, that this institution was an accommodation to the law of necessity; and that, however repugnant it may be to our feelings, it is calculated not only to teach the Hindu his station in life and the duties peculiar to it, but to repress the fatal effects of inordinate ambition. It has also been alleged, that this division is the most undoubted proof of the early and high civilization of the Hindus, and of their perfection in the art of government. It has been finally asserted, that to this institution may be attributed the astonishing perfection of the inhabitants of India in the arts and sciences.†

Whatever may be the origin assigned for such an institution, and however morally innocent as well as politically useful it might have been at first, yet we know that this singular institution, originating probably in a necessary division of labour among the different orders of society, became soon immutably fixed and riveted by the chains of an inexorable superstition. That its present state can have a tendency to increase national prosperity, is a position which equally contradicts reason and experience.

In order to judge accurately, it is by no means sufficient to isolate and point out a few of its apparent advantages; but it is requisite to take an enlarged view of the system, in its direct and necessary tendencies.

It has been well remarked that "like all other attempts to cramp the human intellect, and forcibly to restrain men within bounds which nature scorns to keep, this system, however specious in theory, has operated like the Chinese national shoe, it has rendered the whole nation cripples."‡

It is an institution more calculated to *divide* than to *unite*. The effect of error is division, that of truth unity. Caste

* Dr. Duff's India, page 650.

† Sic Robertson; Abbé Dubois, and others.

‡ Ward on the Hindus.

destroys the principle of unanimity. It splits the bonds of union, by putting asunder what the Creator has joined together.

From the time when our acquaintance with the history of India begins, its inhabitants, so far from possessing any political importance, have ever groaned under the dominion of a foreign yoke. They have dragged the chains of ignominious servitude for ages, under a people whose numbers have scarcely exceeded a tenth part of their own population. Is it not wonderful, if the institution of caste were really as beneficial as is contended, that the ardour of the military class should be so completely extinguished, and the warriors of India should so long have slumbered in supine indifference? "That an order of men, like the sacerdotal order, to whom is entrusted the care of science as well as religion, should, in modern times, have so far degenerated from their ancient pre-eminence, is another proof of the impolicy of this regulation, plainly demonstrating, that where knowledge is not permitted generally to expand, knowledge is itself diminished. When it is, at first, from interested motives, confined to a few, it is, at length, neglected by all." To this existing evil may be traced the limited knowledge of the arts and sciences. The mind of man cannot soar above the principles it imbibes, and whatever latent capacity the Hindus may have for scientific pursuits, it cannot be developed, while the Bráhmans are permitted to hold their minds in trammels. The Bráhmans monopolize the Shástras as well as the Vedas. How can a nation be expected to rise under circumstances like these? While the Bráhmans arrogate to themselves the exclusive right of reading and expounding the Shástras, they have themselves sunk generally into ignorance and apathy, without abating one iota of their pretensions; and the people, implicitly conceding the claims of this proud and ignorant priesthood, have submitted to be held by them in a state of mental thralldom, worse than Egyptian bondage.

This system not only fixes, but even paralyzes the genius and industry of the country. It severs the sinews of exertion, it impedes and destroys it. India is now what it was 2000 years ago. A Hindu is prohibited from embracing any thing new, however useful, necessary, or profitable it may be. That some of the manufacturers of India may have excelled in the labours of the loom and other arts, is certainly to be imputed to other causes than the institution of a commercial caste. The scrupulous adherence with which they follow the practices of their ancestors, has entirely checked the spirit of invention or discovery. In the religion of the Hindus, every art is declared to be revealed from heaven, and all knowledge, speculative or

practical, is traced to its source in the Vedas—a revealed system of philosophy and a revealed science both preclude all change or improvement.

“Their law has permitted the mixed classes, which have sprung from the intermarriages of the four first, to gain a subsistence by agriculture, commerce, or menial service. The same law has also permitted, with a few limitations, such as cannot procure a subsistence by following the duties of their own class, to pursue those of another. Yet this seemingly wise provision, which might have been used to better purposes, has been converted, by the Hindu priesthood, to their own interested designs, to gratify their avarice; a passion which takes deep root in their minds, and which always preys on minds not stimulated by nobler objects. It has enabled the Bráhmanical order to follow their own inordinate love of wealth, by insinuating themselves into offices of trust and emoluments. It has enabled them to administer to their interest, without derogating from their sacred character, or injuring their reputation in the eyes of their followers. But this provision has proposed no incitement, it has not even given permission to the subordinate castes to aspire to eminence. The sacred order, to which it entrusted ‘the key of knowledge,’ must be preserved unpolluted; into that none of the inferior classes can enter.”*

Caste proscriptions account for the limited knowledge of the arts and sciences. The Hindus have speculated much on the human frame, and written largely on medicine, and seem to understand it better than any other branch of knowledge, probably because the Bráhmaus interfere less with it. Their dread of shedding human blood has prevented them from studying the anatomy of the human frame, and from applying this science to the purpose of medicine.

Their total abhorrence of maritime voyages, arising from religious prohibition, has prevented them from enjoying a general intercourse with distant parts of the world, either for purposes of commerce, or for the gratification of useful curiosity; and they have seldom seen the face of a stranger, but to recognize in him an enemy. In short, there is scarcely an art which embellishes life, or a science which strengthens the faculties, which is not, in some manner, brought under the domination of their superstition, and is not either prohibited, or restrained, or controlled, by their religious creed.†

* Carwithen, 230.

† It is well known to have been the chief wish of Alexander, among his other vast projects, to reconcile the dissimilarities between the Western and Eastern nations. After his death, there was found, among his tablets or commentaries, a design to build several new cities, some in Asia, and some

"If in addition to the arguments, which have already been urged, to prove the inseparable connection between mental ignorance and moral degradation, and the powerful influence of religion on the removal of both, any exemplification should be thought necessary, this may be fairly instanced in the superiority of Europe over Asia; a superiority acquired and retained by intellectual strength: and this intellectual pre-eminence arising from the profession of a religion favorable to the progress of knowledge. And if there be any truth in the popular apophthegm, that 'knowledge is power,' its propriety and its justice will here be forcibly asserted."

I cannot better express my conviction on this subject than by quoting the following passages from Carwithen's Bampton Lectures, to which I am already indebted for some of the foregoing remarks, which are as beautiful as they are true.

"The elegant and rational Jortin, with a warmth which the subject justifies, and which, if the professors of Christianity have any cause for glory, or if Christianity were capable of inspiring ostentatious vanity, might be enlarged on with greater force, and emblazoned with greater eloquence—has enumerated many of those advantages, for which the world is indebted to the Christian Religion; and which have, in more senses than one, proved the assertion of its divine Author to be true, 'I am the light of the world.'

"In the same spirit, and with the same success, may we apply his observation to the subject which has now been under contemplation, the superiority of the European to the Asiatic continent.

"We may boldly ask, By whom was the design first formed and attempted, of encountering the fury of distant seas, when navigation was yet in its infancy, with the laudable desire of rescuing the commerce of the Eastern world from the despotic influence of Mahomedanism?—by Christians. By whom was this influence at length subdued? And by whom were the riches of Asia diverted from the Persian Gulph to the shores of the Adriatic and the Mediterranean?—by Christians. In spite of the exaggerated aspersions of prejudice, of ignorance, or of party, on the European character in the East, we may again confidently ask, Where, in the records of history, shall we first behold the factorial establishment of a commercial nation,

in Europe; to people those in Asia with Europeans, and those in Europe with Asiatics: that by intermarriages, and by the constant interchange of the common offices of social life, the inhabitants of these two great continents might be gradually moulded into a similarity of sentiment, and become attached to each other by mutual affection.

erecting an absolute empire over a population of more than sixty millions ; while the best security of that establishment is founded on the opinion, which the inhabitants entertain, of the superior wisdom and integrity of foreign settlers?—among a nation of Christians. From whom did the humane and liberal idea originate, that the natives should be governed by those laws which they have so long revered as divine, and which alone they are qualified to appreciate, while at the same time, the stern code of *Manu* should be softened by that spirit, which dictated the institutions of *Alfred*?—from Christians. Where shall we first see the singular spectacle of the refined Asiatics willingly flying for protection to the arms of strangers ; seeking redress for injuries in their courts of justice ; following them to the field of battle, with a confidence in their invincible strength ; tacitly owning the benefits of their administration ; and proving that, if the Aristotelian maxim be true, that ‘the Asiatics are born to be slaves,’ yet subjugation itself may become a blessing, when absolute power is exercised by free-men?—in a colonial establishment formed by Christians. Finally, where shall we see a European nation, differing indeed as to the means, but agreeing as to the end, endeavoring with parental care to meliorate the condition of a vast empire, which the inscrutable destinies of Providence have committed to its protection, not indeed by sudden innovation and wild theories of reform, but by that cautious and gradual propagation of truth, which is requisite to ensure its ultimate and complete success?—in a colonial establishment, formed by Christians.

“Let us indulge a pious gratitude for the enjoyment of the blessings of religious truth : for these are the triumphs of Christianity ; let us feel a pious exultation as Britons : for these triumphs are ours.”

Caste has not only a powerful influence in contracting the intellectual faculties, but also operates in contracting the social affections. It is emphatically unsocial. It has been known to impede the flowing forth of sympathy, to destroy kindness of heart, and love for country—where Egotism reigns, Benevolence must languish. It resists the progress of *truth*,—it perpetuates ignorance,—on it mainly depends the practice of early marriages, and mournful widowhood.

India wants a work similar to the *Reformation*, which emancipated Europe from the priestcraft of Rome, to break the Bráhmanical spell which holds down its deluded inhabitants. This Reformation, if it should ever come about, must be based upon the regenerating power of Christianity.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INSTITUTION OF CASTE INCOMPATIBLE WITH DIVINE REVELATION—CREATION OF MAN—THE PEOPLING OF THE WORLD—THE GOLDEN RULE OF LIFE BETWEEN MAN AND MAN ESTABLISHED BY CHRISTIANITY.

THE question whether all the races of men scattered over the surface of the earth, distinguished as they are from each other in structure of body, in features and in colour, and differing in languages and manners, are the offspring of a single stock, or have descended respectively from several original families, cannot easily be answered without reference to the sacred Scriptures, in which alone we find the proper solution for this difficult problem.

The whole constitution of revealed religion stands upon the declaration made against the Bráhmancial theory of creation,—a declaration based on eternal truth and involving the highest welfare of man. The declaration is, “God, who made the world and all things that are in it,—the Lord of heaven and earth,—who giveth to all life and breath and all things, *hath made of one blood every nation of men to dwell upon the whole face of the earth.*”*

Man, who has been presented as “the glory, jest, and riddle of the world,” is thus represented in the sacred records as being the handy-work of the Almighty Creator; and mankind as proceeding from *one original pair*. From one pair all the varieties of mankind have descended,—forming not many, but one species. The creation of man is thus related in the sacred oracles: “God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him: male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.” Gen. i. 26-28. “And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul. And the Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an helpmeet for him. And the Lord God caused a deep

* Acts xvii. 24-26.

sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof; and the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh." Gen. ii. 7. 18. 21—24. "And Adam called his wife's name Eve; because she was the mother of all living."* Gen. iii. 20.

The history of man's creation is here given with great simplicity. No explanations are offered, though our curiosity is often ready to ask them; facts of the most interesting character and deepest import are stated without the slightest colouring. In this account several things appear worthy of notice. Man, for whom all other things were made, was himself made last of all. The inanimate elements are first produced, then vegetables, next animal life, and then man, the master-piece of the creation, endowed with reason and intellect, and therefore an accountable being, the subject of a moral administration. He was made in the *image* of God. His nature has two essential constituent parts: the *body* formed out of pre-existent matter, the earth; and a *living soul*, the inspiration of the Almighty. 'God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of his own eternity.' (Wisdom ii. 23). This divine image is to be found in the *mind*, i. e. in the understanding, the will, and the affections. With regard to the physical part of his nature, it is an organization of wonder and beauty; and with regard to the intellectual and spiritual part, it consisted in wisdom, holiness and happiness,

* אָדָם *Adam*, אִשָּׁה *ish*, גִּבֹּר *geber*, אֱנוֹשׁ *enosh*—These various words, all somewhat significant, are applied to denote man, the head and lord of the animal creation. *Adam* signifies *red earth* or clay, from the belief that man was originally formed of that substance. *Enosh* is derived from *Anash*, which signifies to be malignant, ill, incurable. *Geber* signifies to be strong, mighty, to conquer, prevail. We have a *common* and a *proper* name for the first mother. She shall be called woman. Woman, *isha*, אִשָּׁה is the feminine of *ish*, אִישׁ man, and signifies "man-ess." The English word *woman* is derived from the anglo-saxon *womb-man*, i. e. female man. It is significant both of *nature* as well as title. Adam called her so as his wife. But as the mother of all she is called Eve, חַוָּה *Havah*, i. e. *Life*, indicating his faith in the promise of a future seed, because she was the mother of all living. Sir William Jones thinks that *Adam* may be derived from *Adim*, which in Sanscrit means the *first*, and is a name of the first Manu. By his wife Satarupa he had two sons and three daughters. See Wilson's Vishnu Purana, page 51, Preface.

“sufficient to have stood, but free to fall.” And though now, by *sin*, this divine image is effaced from the soul, and the body is subject to pain and death; yet we know that ample provision is made in the revelation of the divine will, which brought life and immortality to light, for the recovery and restoration of man to more than all his lost privileges and blessings.

Whatever some learned men may suppose to the contrary, the fact that all mankind have been derived from one original pair, is not only settled by the authority of Scripture; but the conclusions of reason and science concur with it. This fact, which lies at the foundation of revealed religion, is confirmed by an accumulation of proof from anatomical structure, from the theory of language, from history, and from the philosophy of intellectual and moral qualities. The sources of knowledge, then, which lead to the solution of this enquiry are:—

1. *The Physiological*, including all that relates to the physical conformation of man. He is, *first*, to be considered as a part of the animal creation at large, and under the many points of close and unalterable likeness to other forms of animal life, in all that relates to his procreation, nutriment, growth, decay, and death, as well as in regard to the modifications of which the species is susceptible, and to the diversities it actually exhibits. But beyond and above this comes in the peculiar condition of man as an *intellectual* being, richly provided by his Maker with those endowments which, in their highest elevation from nature or culture, have bequeathed to the admiration of all ages names made immortal by their genius and attainments. And, moreover, man is yet further gifted with that moral sense, those faculties and sensibilities of feeling and passion, to which, duly guarded and governed, we owe our understanding of virtue and conscience, and of all that is beautiful and sublime in the world around, forming what Milton has well called “a piece of divinity within us, something that was before the elements, and owing no homage to the sun.”

2. The second source of knowledge, which leads to the solution of this enquiry, is the *Philological*, which includes all that relates to human languages, their connexions, diversities, the theory of the changes they undergo, and the history of such actual changes, as far as we can follow it. The gift of speech is confined to man alone by the design of the Creator, and the consideration of this higher attribute of man, and the organs adapted to it, are subjects of the most interesting enquiry. Human language has become a main index to the history of mankind. Languages, though numerous, are reducible to certain common roots; and though diversified in structure and

idiom, indicate a peculiar connection, arising from one common origin.*

3. The third source of knowledge, which bears on our enquiry, is the *Historical*, taking the term in its largest sense, including all written history, inscriptions, traditions, mythology, and even the more common usages, which designate and distinguish the different communities of mankind. It might seem, on a superficial view, that this would be the most copious source of knowledge as to the physical history of man and his original dispersion over the earth. Profane history, however, as we have it in our hands, is rarely capable of conducting us to the heights of this great argument, seen dimly through the mists of time, and often rather obscured than enlightened by human tradition. In the sacred history of the Old Testament we have, as already cited, not only a distinct statement of the creation of man, but also a line of successive generations down to the period of the great Deluge; from which we are led to date a second growth and dispersion of mankind, proceeding from Noah, and his sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth.†

Passing from the Scriptures to profane history, whether embodied in writings, or traditions, or mythology, we lose the distinct affirmation of the unity of mankind. The notices indeed multiply as to the growth and spread of particular tribes; but even if possessing much more authority than belongs to them, they would go a short way towards satisfying our desire for information regarding that mysterious period, which intervenes between the creation of man and the formation of nations and empires. We lose ourselves in utter darkness, when we seek to go beyond certain epochs, remarkable in the ancient world as the periods of great improvements and migrations among the nations best known to us.

India offers a striking example of this imperfection of history, as bearing on the creation, early condition and diffusion of the human race. All is lost in the depths of time, or in the still darker depths of mythology.

Naturalists have much disputed, whether mankind is to be considered as forming one *genus* with several subordinate *species*, or one species with several varieties. The theory of a plurality of species, so gratifying to man's vanity, and so adapted to support a false religious system, has found supporters even amongst the learned of Europe. That differences in the human race are only *varieties* effected by circumstances, and not *species*, which would imply separate primary ancestors, is

* See Dr. J. Pye Smith's Lectures on Geology, Supplementary note [E].

† Might not the Hindu notion of the origin of the four castes from the different parts of Brahma's body, be a mystified tradition of this fact?

borne out by Scripture and facts. But the question being an important one, let us further enquire whether proper zoological deductions will coincide or not with the Mosaic narrative.

Is the human being then a single species of what naturalists call the *Genus Homo*? Can the perfect Negro and the perfect European, seeing the strong contrasts and diversities they exhibit, be rightly deemed to be descended from the same stock? If man be not a single species, how many species of the human being must we count on the earth? Are the fair Caucasian, the black Negro, the giant Patagonian, the dwarf Laplander, the long-haired Greek, the woolly-headed Hottentot, the oval-faced European, and the broad and flat faced Mongolian, different species of the human race? If we admit this, how and where are we to stop in these admissions? Diversities exist every where around us. "Multiplicity in this case becomes itself an argument for unity. No lines of demarcation are found sufficiently strong to render the plurality of species natural or probable. Every such line is transversed by others, which, while effacing its distinctness, do all point to a certain common origin, expressing in this what we believe to be the unity of the species over the earth."

The best criterion, however, is to determine the identity or diversity of species both in the *animal* and *vegetable* life. Limiting our present view to the former, and to the part of the scale more approximate to man, we may name the following conditions as those which must mainly determine the result in each particular case;—the anatomical structure in all its parts; the average duration of life; the relation of the sexes and laws of propagation, including the period of utero-gestation and number of progeny; the production, or otherwise, of hybrid progeny by mixed breeding; the liability to the same diseases; and the possession of the same instincts, faculties, and habits of action and feeling. It will be readily admitted that wherever individuals or groups of beings concur as to these general conditions, there the proof of identity of species is complete. Each condition includes a liability to variations.*

From these criteria an affirmative answer is derived, as to

* "By species, then, we mean all those individuals descended from a common origin; and if there be a doubt as to whether an individual does or does not belong to a species, we compare it with the individuals known to be of that species, and ascertain whether it is marked by any more decided particularity than those by which they are distinguished the one from the other. If it be, we conclude it of a different species, and assign it a different origin; if not, we look upon it as a *variety* of that species, assign it the same origin, and term its particular characters *accidental*.—*Lord's Popular Philosophy*, page 395."

the proper unity of man. In truth, each point has been directly or silently conceded, except those which regard *configuration*, *colour*, and certain other bodily peculiarities on the one hand, and on the other the equality of the mental endowments and capacities. The species are generally reduced to three races, the Negro, the Mongolian, and the Caucasian; and among these the diversities of *colour* are as prominent as those of *figure*. The extreme contrasts in this case are the Negro and the Albino. The latter is clearly an accidental variety; but as such becomes, from its marked character, a valuable exponent of all other varieties of colour. That part of the structure of the skin, which is the pigment cell, is evidently capable of undergoing great changes in its secretions, from climate, manner of life, and those more mysterious causes, connected with generation and the hereditary transmission of bodily features and peculiarities, the mighty influence of which we everywhere see, but which our ignorance makes it difficult yet to subject to particular laws. Time is manifestly an element of the greatest importance here. "Nature produces frequent varieties in all races, as striking as are the extreme diversities amongst them. A striking example is, a Negro having an Albino offspring without pigment cells,—a fact that includes at once all those minor varieties of colour which are so familiar to us in the same community and even in the same family."

There are analogies to this in the inferior species of animal life, the horse, dog, cow, sheep, fowl, &c. In them we know, and regard without surprise, those vast diversities of size, figure, colour, habits of life, and even instincts of action.

The faculties of laughter and tears, as well as other expressions of feeling, common to all, mark identity.

The mental faculties of the Negro are not inferior to the European, when cultivated.*

"Among all other topics of argument are the melancholy demonstrations that moral depravity has acquired the dominion over all the nations and families of mankind,—that there is a mournful consciousness of this, lying deep in every human breast—that we all need a redemption from guilt and misery; and that all the varieties of our race, down to the Esquimaux and Hottentots, are capable of receiving that holy happiness, and all its elevation of character, which spring from restoration to God through our Lord Jesus Christ."†

We have endeavoured, then, to prove from physical, philolo-

* I am indebted for the greater part of the above remarks to the Quarterly Review, for December, 1849; Article, "Natural History of Man."

† J. Pye Smith's Geology, p. 396.

gical, and historical proofs, the *unity* of the human race, by derivation from one ancestry.

“One touch of nature makes the whole world kin.”

“We contemplate, among all the diversified tribes who are endowed with reason and speech, the same internal feelings, appetencies, aversions; the same inward convictions, the same sentiments of subjection to invisible powers; and, more or less fully developed, of accountableness or responsibility to unseen avengers of wrong and agents of retributive justice, from whose tribunal men cannot even by death escape. We find everywhere the same susceptibility, though not always in the same degree of forwardness or ripeness of improvement, of admitting the cultivation of these universal endowments, of opening the eyes of the mind to the more clear and luminous views which *Christianity* unfolds, of becoming moulded to the institutions of religion and of civilized life. In a word, *the same inward and mental nature* is to be recognized in all the races of men. When we compare this fact with the observations which have been heretofore fully established, as to the *specific* instincts and *separate* psychical endowments of all the distinct tribes of sentient beings in the universe, we are entitled to draw confidently the conclusion that *all human races are of one species and one family.*”*

If then the Almighty Creator “hath made of one blood every nation of men to dwell upon the whole face of the earth,” it follows, that no one nation, and no individual, can claim any pre-eminence over others in virtue of birth or blood. All are in this respect equal; and all the members of the human family, however they may differ in complexion, customs, and laws, are to be regarded and treated as brethren. It follows also, that no one part of the race has a right to enslave or oppress any other part, on account of difference of complexion, or any other inequality.

II. We think it necessary that we should here introduce a short account of the origin of the principal nations of the earth.

The doctrine of the creation would not be easily believed, if Moses had not given an account of the succession of mankind.

The fulfilment of Noah’s prophecy, uttered 3000 years ago, gives the only correct view of the pedigree of nations. This remarkable prophecy runs thus:—Genesis ix. 25—27. “Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan

* Dr. Prichard’s Natural History of man, &c. quoted by Dr. Pye Smith, p. 401.

shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant."

From this passage of holy writ, and according to the concurrent testimonies of historical records, we find that Noah, or *Satyavrata*, and his sons settled north of India, in Persia.

Ham's descendants went to Africa, Canaan, and probably also to India.* They flourished in the early ages of the world. Their's was the first empire. Nimrod founded Babylon, and Mizraim established the kingdom of Egypt; two of the greatest empires of the world. They were both brought under subjection, first by the Persians who descended from Shem, and afterwards by the Greeks and Romans, the children of Japheth;—and latterly by the Saracens and Turks. They have been made the *slaves* of other nations on account of their wickedness. Though these things are far from excusing the conduct of their oppressors, yet they establish the fact and prove the fulfilment of prophecy. The posterity of Canaan was cursed; God foreseeing their wickedness, which began in their father Ham. The curse did not affect individuals, or even nations, so long as they continued righteous; for Melchizedek and Abimelech appear to have been both Canaanites; so that this curse is no just objection against the dealings of Providence.

Shem's descendants settled in Asia, of whom Abraham was born, whose descendants worshipped the true God, and of whom was born the Saviour of the world. Besides the Jewish nation, the Persians and Assyrians, two great Asiatic nations, were derived from Shem.

Japheth's descendants settled in the northern parts of Asia. They had all the isles of the sea westward, and those countries near to them, viz. Spain, Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, &c.; besides which, Media, part of Armenia, Iberia, Albania and Scythia (Tartary) were their portions; from which last place the people of the new world seem to be derived, the Scythians going thither by Behring's straits.

Japheth is the progenitor of more than half the human race. His descendants, formerly straitened, have in the latter ages extended their conquests, and the civilized world has been for

* On this subject the opinions of learned men differ. It is probable that the aborigines of India—now constituting the Gonds, Khonds, Santals, and other mountain tribes—are descended from Ham; but judging from the character of the Sanscrit language, with its derivatives and cognate tongues, as well as from the contour of physiognomy and the traditions regarding Kashmir, &c., there can be little doubt that the Bráhmans and most of the Hindus belong to the posterity of Japheth. In most of the provinces of India the rural population is probably a mixture of both.—*Editor.*

2000 years in their hands. They have entered into the tents of Shem. At this moment Europe and America are in their possession ; while the extent of the British dominions alone, over parts of Asia, includes nearly one hundred millions of people. Their dwelling in the *tents* of Shem implies a friendly, and not a hostile feeling ; and is prophetic of the accession of the Gentiles into the Church of God ;—to which privilege and blessing the descendants of Ham also are to be admitted. The promise is, “Princes shall come out of Egypt ; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.”* “I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that know me : behold Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia ; this man was born there.”† But it is a fact based also on the never failing promises of God, that the descendants of Japheth will not only know and honour the God of Shem, and possess and prize the *lively oracles* of the living and true God ; but that to them pertains the great privilege and high honour of bringing the whole family of man, by the knowledge of the truth, into the Christian Church. The Messiah speaks : “Listen, O isles, unto me, and hearken, ye people, from afar ; the Lord hath called me from the womb, and hath said unto me, It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob—I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou shouldst be my salvation to the end of the earth.”‡

Let us take heed, then, to this sure word of prophecy, which forms a sketch, as it were, of the history of the world, especially connected with the progress of true religion and of the Christian Church. It accumulates its evidence as time advances, affording to every reflecting mind a standing miracle, a light like the sun, which “shines more and more unto the perfect day.”

But it is necessary to make one remark before dismissing this subject, and that is, though most of the early nations began to worship their ancestors, Shem, Ham and Japheth ; and all were equally proud of their origin and race ; and might have remained separate wherever they settled, whether as conquerors or as conquered, just as the Hindus have remained separate to this day ; yet they saw no reason why they should not help each other, or eat with each other, or intermarry, according to their convenience and pleasure. It cannot be proved that any of them observed the distinctions of *caste*, in the letter and spirit of it, as observed by the Hindus. We read in history that Phœnicians and Egyptians went to Greece, and the original inhabitants received them, and intermarried with them. Pho-

* Psal. lxxviii. 31.

† Psal. lxxxvii. 4.

‡ Isa. xlix. 1. 6.

cians went to the south of Gaul, where the king's daughter chose one of them for her husband. Alexander wished to unite the Greek nation with the Persian by intermarriages, and many nobles and soldiers married Persian women. Romans mingled with the Spaniards, Gauls, and Britons. And the Arabians received into their nation any one who would embrace Mahomedanism. Is it not, then, a strange anomaly, that people of the same country, colour, and religion, and professing to be the sons of one father,—Brahmá, consider themselves as antipodes of one another?

“ O execrable son ! so to aspire
Above his brethren ; to himself assuming
Authority usurped, from God not giv'n.
He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl
Dominion absolute ; that right we hold
By his donation : but man over men
He made not Lord : such title to himself
Reserving, human left from human free.”

Milton.

III. If then the world has been peopled from one original stock, and all mankind are the children of one common parent, we are under obligation to love our fellow-men, not only because they are our fellow-creatures, but because we are commanded to do so by our heavenly Father. Every child is obliged to love its parent, and every child is also bound to love its brother, both because he is its brother, and also because this love is a duty, enforced by the relation in which they both stand to their common parent.

The relation in which men stand to each other, is essentially the relation of *equality* ; not equality of *condition*, but equality of *right*.

God has given to one man wealth, to another health, to another strength, and to another intellect, so that the human race presents a scene of the greatest possible diversity ; and yet God has given to every man the means of happiness, and has constituted him an accountable and responsible agent.

Since all men are placed under circumstances of equality, though their conditions are very various, it follows that every man has a right to use the advantages with which his Creator has endowed him. No inequality of condition can create inequality of right. One man may be endowed with better eyesight than his neighbour ; but this does not give him a right to put out the eyes of the other. One may have greater physical strength than his neighbour ; but this gives him no right to break his arms, and interfere with his right to use them as he pleases, for his own benefit and happiness.

Since it is the design of the Creator to promote the common happiness of all his creatures, every individual is under obligation to pursue his own happiness in such a manner *only* as will leave his neighbour in the undisturbed exercise of that common right, which the Creator has equally conferred upon both. The teaching of the Holy Scripture on this subject is clear and express. "*Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*" Two questions are here to be considered. The first is, To whom does this command apply? or in other words, Who is my neighbour? And the second is, What is implied in this precept? The first of these questions is answered by the Saviour himself, in the parable of the good Samaritan. (Luke x. 25—37.) He there teaches us that every man is our *neighbour*, whether friend, relative, or countryman, or stranger, and that we are under obligation to love every man as ourselves. The second question, What is implied in this precept? or, What is the import of the command to love our neighbour as ourselves? is now to be considered. It has been already stated that God has conferred on every man the means of happiness, and has given a right to every man to use those means for the promotion of his own happiness. This principle is implanted in every one; and he therefore cannot be happy, unless this principle be an operative one. No man can be happy, unless he can gratify his lawful desires; and he is painfully conscious of injury, if this right be interfered with. In the exercise of this principle man loves himself. Now, in the same manner he is commanded to love his neighbour. That is, he is, by this precept, obliged to have the same desire that his neighbour should enjoy, unmolested, the control over whatever God has bestowed upon him, as he has to enjoy, unmolested, the same control himself; and to feel the same consciousness of injury, when another man's rights are invaded, as when his own rights are invaded. With these sentiments he would be just as unwilling to violate the rights of another, as he would be to suffer a violation of his own.

The same precept is expressed in another form by the Saviour. "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them; for this is the law and the prophets." This *golden rule* inculcates, as in the former case, a principle of *universal obligation*. It teaches us to estimate the rights of others by the consciousness of individual rights in our own bosoms. All that we desire or expect of others in similar circumstances, we are commanded to do to them. It teaches the practice of self-denial, and recognizes a *conscience*, or the power of moral obligation, so essential to the welfare of individuals and societies. This rule has been well compared to the balance wheel of a machinery, and would, if universally

obeyed, prevent all irregularity of movement in the moral world, and by promoting virtue, banish all injury and violence and wrong from the earth.

This law of universal reciprocity applies with the same force to communities as to individuals. Whenever societies of men treat with each other; whether powerful with weak, or polite with rude, civilized with savage, or intelligent with ignorant; *all* are bound by this law, to love each other as themselves, and do unto others, *in all things*, whatsoever they would desire others to do unto them.*

“God, working ever on a social plan,
By various ties attaches man to man;
He made at first, though free and unconfin’d,
One man the common father of the kind,
That every tribe, though placed as he sees best,
Where seas or deserts part them from the rest,
Differing in language, manners, or in face,
Might feel themselves allied to all the race.”

Cowper.

CHAPTER V.

ARGUMENTS URGED IN FAVOR OF CASTE, FROM THE SACRED SCRIPTURES, REPUTED :—CONFUSION OF TONGUES—ISRAELITES SEPARATED FROM OTHER NATIONS—DISTINCTION BETWEEN CLEAN AND UNCLEAN ANIMALS.

I. The confusion of tongues at Babel, and the dispersion of the people, have been triumphantly brought forward as an irresistible argument in favor of the divine institution of caste; because, it is alleged, when “*the whole earth was of one language and of one speech*, the Lord came down to see the city and tower, which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, *Behold the people is one*, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and there *confound* their language, that they may not understand one another’s speech—*so the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth*, and they left off to build the city.”†

Very little consideration will enable us to perceive that this passage is more *against* than *for* the caste theory it is meant to establish.

* See Wayland’s Moral Science.

† Gen. xi. 1—8.

The building of Babel was a terrible instance of the perverseness of man. It was an attempt to defeat God's purposes ; it was a plot laid to falsify the prophecy of Noah ; " it was a notable exhibition of caste ;"* and therefore was not and could not be permitted. " There is no wisdom nor understanding nor counsel against the Lord."† To build up an argument in favour of caste, on that which was evidently a *punishment* rather than a *blessing*, is certainly a confusion of ideas,—as strange and perverse as the building of Babel itself.

" He builds too low that builds beneath the skies."

It is generally agreed that *the children of men*, in Scripture, are opposed to *the children of God* ; as bad men and infidels are to the good and the faithful. According to this interpretation we may infer that neither Noah, nor Shem, nor Arphaxad, nor Salah, nor Heber were engaged in this work ; but some of the worst amongst the people, who degenerated from the piety of their ancestors. It is probable that some of the race of Ham were the principal persons in this work. It is likely that Ham carried much of the spirit of Cain into the ark : otherwise he could not have behaved himself so vilely towards his father, after they came out of it.‡

" The only object," says Fuller in his exposition, " which appears to accord with the whole account taken together, is that of a *universal monarchy*, by which all the families of the earth, in all future ages, might be held in subjection. A very little reflection will convince us, that such a scheme must of necessity be founded in *ambition* ; that it required *union*, and of course a *city*, to carry it into execution ; that a *tower*, or citadel, was also necessary to repel those who might be disposed to dispute their claims ; and that if these measures were once carried into effect, there was nothing in the nature of things to *prevent the accomplishment of their design*." " The dividing of languages was therefore, in effect, the dividing of nations ; and so a bar to the whole world being ruled by one government. Thus a perpetual miracle was wrought, to be an antidote to a perpetual disease."

The corruption of languages was one of the most decided effects of sin, of pride and ambition, and the source of great embarrassments and difficulties. By it idolatry was spread through the world, and the knowledge of God and true religion was almost lost. But on the day of Pentecost " when all the disciples were with one accord in one place,"§ they received the *gift of tongues*, to repair the knowledge of God throughout

* Taylor, 360. † Prov. xxi. 30. ‡ Bishop Patrick's Comments. § Acts ii.

all the nations of the earth. As at first mankind were separated by diversity of speech, so now is given in some sort a community of tongues, that the whole world might be brought to oneness of faith. No miracle would be more striking than the power of conveying our sentiments at once into all the languages of the earth. It was a miracle effected by the Almighty Being who made the tongue of man, and who was the original author of it; and this miracle was necessary to qualify the apostles to execute their commission to preach the gospel to every creature. For, since the gift of tongues has been the means to many nations of their having one hope, one faith, one baptism, mankind are far nearer to being one people, than if they had all one language, but different religions. That such would be the case in the gospel dispensation, was predicted in the Old Testament;* according to which, at the *foundation* of the Christian Church, “built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord,”†—at the foundation of this glorious temple, which is to pierce the skies and to connect heaven with earth—the gift of languages was restored, to *gather* together all the *scattered* into one fold, and unite them all under the one great Shepherd and Bishop of souls.

II. Another objection is, that God himself has forbidden the Jews to have intercourse with other nations, either in the way of eating or intermarrying.

It must be recollected that the object of such prohibitions was to make a separation of the good from the bad, of the worshippers of God from idolaters. As “evil communications corrupt good manners,” minute directions were given to the Israelites as to their food, clothing, intermarriages, &c., which operated as a constant check on idolatry, by restraining their intercourse with their idolatrous neighbours. It is well known that intimate friendships are in most cases formed at social meals. There is seldom any great familiarity, where the parties neither eat nor drink together. The ancient Hebrews did not, therefore, eat indifferently with persons of other nations and religions, which they considered pollution. Daniel the prophet refused to partake of a portion of the Babylonian monarch’s meat and drink, lest he should defile himself;‡ and in our Saviour’s time the Jews had no dealings (social intercourse) with the Samaritans. The reason was that these idolatrous nations either ate of what to the Jews was forbidden

* Isa. xxviii. 11.

† Eph. ii. 2, 21.

‡ Daniel i. 8.

food, or food offered to their idols, which were abominations to the Jews. But the Jews, consisting of twelve tribes, had no distinctions of caste amongst themselves, nor did they consider it defiling to eat with every circumcised brother. But there were some of the supercilious, who considered themselves more righteous than others, and who would say to another, "Stand by thyself, come not near to me; for I am holier than thou;"* and who were scandalized at the Saviour's eating with publicans and sinners. But these were not Israelites indeed, in whom there was no guile. They would "strain out a gnat and swallow a camel." They were hypocrites, "who made clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they were full of extortion and excess. They were whited sepulchres, full of all uncleanness within."†

Since *marriage* is acknowledged to be an institution of God, and therefore a solemn religious act, as well as a branch of public morality, and a source of civil peace and national happiness; it is necessary that there should be certain wholesome restrictions regarding it. There is, doubtless, a great evil in intermarriages between people of different religious professions, feelings and customs. "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he which believeth with an infidel?"‡ is an apostolic injunction, applicable to unlawful intimacy of any kind, and among the rest to unequal marriages.

The descendants of pious Seth married the daughters of the wicked Cainites, and their progeny was the cause of much wickedness and misery. Lest Abraham should be infected by the idolatry prevalent in his own family, he was ordered to leave home, but his son and grandson married into their own tribes, because they were better than other idolaters.

The case of Esau's marrying those who were under the curse of God, and of Solomon, whom "outlandish women caused to sin," are instances of the evil effects of such unequal connections. But notwithstanding the restrictions laid upon the Jews, we find that they did contract marriages with other nations. Joseph married the daughter of an Egyptian Priest; but it is probable that at that time the Egyptians had not yet entirely lost the knowledge of the true God, and that she was not led into the abominations of idolatry. Moses married a woman of the Midianites.

* Isa. lxy, 5.

† Matt. xxiii.

‡ 2 Cor. vi. 14.

There are two remarkable instances of women, of a religion and nation foreign to the Jews, being received into the Jewish Church and nation. Rahab, a heathen woman, and her family, were received, because they left their idolatry and wicked practices, and became true believers. Boaz married a woman of another nation ; but because she was pious, Christ, the Saviour of the world, was born in her family, and thereby evidently manifested to the world that he condemned caste, in the Hindu acceptance of it.

We have already alluded to the fact that in Manu's institutes, intermarriages are allowed between the different castes ; though now, the breach having become wider, and the prejudices and enmity stronger, between man and man, such marriages are attended with the most fatal consequences amongst the idolatrous Hindus.

In connection with this subject, another objection may be briefly noticed, which is, that as the family of Shem were chosen to be the people of God ;—of whom a tribe was set apart for the priestly office ; so the Bráhmans, who are also supposed to be the descendants of Shem, are said to have been chosen as the first of castes, and set apart for the priesthood.

We have already expatiated on the fact that Japheth shall dwell in the tents of Shem. As the exclusion of a whole class from the rights of citizenship and the offices of religion would be incompatible with the principles of Christian love, so an hereditary transmission of the priestly office would be inconsistent with the Christian doctrine, which declares that the sacerdotal office belongs to Christ alone.

The very people who were the chiefest of the race of Shem, to whom the oracles of God were committed, are now rejected from the priesthood, and scattered among the nations. This is a proof that even priestly tribes may cease to be so, and it is also another proof of the incompatibility which exists between the system of castes and the Christian Religion.

III. Another more serious objection, directly bearing on the question of caste in connection with ceremonial purity and impurity, is the distinction made by Jehovah himself with respect to clean and unclean animals, and the restrictions laid upon the Jews with regard to the use and rejection of these animals, as food.*

Let us look at the *object* for which this law was given. In Leviticus xx. 22—26, we have it expressly laid down, “Ye shall therefore keep all my statutes and all my judgments, and

* Lev. xi.

do them ; that the land, whither I bring you to dwell therein, spue you not out. And ye shall not walk in the manners of the nations, which I cast out before you : for they committed all these things, and therefore I abhorred them. Ye shall therefore put difference between clean beasts and unclean. And ye shall be *holy unto me* ; for I the Lord am holy, and have severed you from other people, that ye should be mine." From this passage we find that this law conveys a *moral signification*, which is, that the animals foreshadowed clean and unclean men, and that the unclean were heathens and idolaters, with whom those that are *clean*, professors of the true religion, should have no intimacy or communion.

In itself nothing is unclean, for God made all things *very good*. St. Paul says, "Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving : for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer."* And again, "I know and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself."† Some animals, however, are not *naturally* but *typically* unclean, which may be proved by the vision of St. Peter, which will serve as a key to open the whole subject. At Cæsarea, "Peter went up upon the housetop to pray, about the sixth hour. And he became very hungry and would have eaten : but while they made ready, he fell into a trance, and saw heaven opened, and a great vessel descending unto him, as it had been a great sheet knit at the four corners, and let down to the earth : wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air. And there came a voice to him, Rise, Peter ; kill and eat. But Peter said, Not so, Lord ; for I have never eaten any thing that is common or unclean. And the voice spake unto him again the second time, *What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common*. This was done thrice : and the vessel was received up again into heaven."

After that Peter went to the house of Cornelius, a Roman, whom God had chosen for a member of the Christian Church, —of which society the sheet was a figure, comprehending people of all nations, gathered from the four quarters of the earth. When he entered the house of Cornelius, he observed to the people who were present, "Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or come unto one of another nation ; but *God hath showed me, that I should not call any man common or unclean*." And then he declared : "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons ;

* 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5.

† Rom. xiv. 14.

but in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.”*

The Jew and Gentile were henceforth to be one. The heathen were to be received into the Christian Church, and by the principle of a living faith and the laver of regeneration, be purified. “For Christ is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between Jew and Gentile; having abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances; for to make in himself of twain one new man, so making peace; and that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby.† And henceforward “there is neither Jew, nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye all are one in Christ Jesus.”‡

There are two kinds of laws; *positive*, which are mutable at the will of the authority of him who institutes; and *moral*, which are immutable. That which might have been at one period divinely sanctioned, might be in another period divinely abrogated. The law which relates to the distinction of clean and unclean animals was such a positive law, which, after a time, God intended to remove, and to show that it was not binding on them to whom he committed the new and final dispensation. As pollution is not inherent in matter, the idea of uncleanness attached to it should not be binding upon Christians.

The nature of true defilement has been explained by the Saviour, in a sense exactly contrary to the notions entertained by the Jews and the Hindus. “Do not ye understand, that whatsoever entereth in at the mouth, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught? But those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart; and they defile the man. For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witnesses, blasphemies: these are the things which defile a man.”§ From which it appears that there is nothing unclean with God but sin, nothing pure but obedience and holiness. “The kingdom of heaven is not meat and drink; but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.”||

* Acts x. 34, 35. See Gen. ix. 3, where all animals are allowed, and only blood prohibited, (Acts xv. 29) which exception long continued in force under the Christian system.

† Eph. ii. 13—16.

‡ Gal. iii. 28.

§ Matt. xv. 17—20.

|| Rom. xiv. 17. This passage, however, is brought forward by the advocates of caste as favouring their views; little knowing that it is *against* them. The apostle argues that we should not judge another on account of eating and drinking. In verse 3, of the same chapter, the Apostle says, “Let not him that eateth (both flesh and vegetables) despise him that eateth

Christianity, therefore, abrogates all distinctions not founded upon inward and invisible gifts, and maintained by sanctity. "As the moon doth not withhold her light from the dwellings of the Chandála, so the Christian Church does not withhold her blessings from any of the nations that flow in unto her, but sets aside all distinction of Mlechchha, Sudra, bond or free, and bestows even the greatest honours upon men of meanest birth, provided they are regenerate with the true regeneration, and lead a holy life."*

The difference between believers and infidels is not a difference of *nature*, but of *grace* and *principle*. Though they are all of one blood, yet a different course of conduct will make them differ from one another, as the sheep differs from the wolf, or the dove from the vulture.

Isaiah, foretelling that the Gentiles shall be brought into the Christian Church, says: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them, &c. &c., for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."† This scene had been once literally verified, when the various kinds of animals were taken into the ark of Noah. This was typical of the Christian Church, in which all empty distinctions are abolished. The great commission to the Apostles requires this: for he said, "Go ye into all the *world*, and preach the gospel to *every* creature." And accordingly, "the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net, that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind."‡ And every creature in heaven and earth is to join in the triumphant song, and ascribe "all honour and glory unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever." Nothing short of such universal benevolence will befit a religion whose object is "glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men."§

We consider it our imperative duty, however, to admit one distinction in the Christian Church, which will never be obliterated. For though Jews and Gentiles are incorporated together, the immutable distinction between good and evil shall at length prevail; an eternal separation shall take place; and they only who possess a purifying faith, shall have their final portion in the kingdom of heaven.

not flesh (but only vegetables;) and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth; for God hath received both." Neither the Sudra nor the Pariar is to judge one another in this matter, being at liberty to do as he pleases.

* Morris' Prize Essay, 186.

† Matt. xiii. 47.

† Isa. xi. 6—9.

§ Luke ii. 14.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TOLERATION OF CASTE DISTINCTIONS IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH—(I.) BY THE ROMANISTS, AND (II.) BY THE EARLIEST PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES.

We must in justice admit that the first Missionaries of the Papal Church, who laboured to convert the Hindus, were actuated by pure intentions, and prosecuted them by unexceptionable means. The earliest baptisms are said to have been administered by Cabi Lonez, the confessor of Vasco De Gama. Francis Xavier, who came out to India in 1542, was a man of rare self-denial, devotedness, and simplicity; and his efforts were crowned with success. He belonged, however, to the Jesuits at their first organization. For several years the mission field was occupied by Franciscans and Capuchins. But soon after, a reinforcement of Jesuits came out, and pursued a different method to their predecessors. The desire of secular power was the motive which influenced all their attempts; and to this the precepts of their religion were made to yield. While they compelled the Syrian Christians, whom they found established on the Malabar Coast to abjure the tenets and practices of their ancient creed, and to acknowledge the authority of the Papal See; they sought to acquire an ascendancy over the followers of a debasing idolatry, by a ready compliance with their long-rooted and favourite prejudices.

In the synod of Diamper, held at Malayalim, in 1599, at which Archbishop Menezes presided, the following is one of the decrees. Session 9, decrec 2, "*permits Christians to refrain from touching persons of inferior caste, when in the company of heathen of superior caste; but forbids all such scruples, when none but Christians are present.**"

On which Mr. Hough remarks: "This concession to heathen pride and superstition would have been very questionable under any circumstances: but when made to the prejudice of those *Christians* who happened to be converted from the lower castes, it was utterly indefensible on the principles of the gospel. To this day the Church in India suffers from the practice. It was not to be expected that a prejudice in which they had grown up, was to be eradicated from the minds of an ignorant people without an entire prohibition. The partial sanction, given to it, tended rather to its confirmation; and the Romanists, throughout India, preserve among themselves the distinc-

* Hough's History of Christianity in India, Vol. II. p. 114.

tions of castes, with all the marks that distinguish the different classes of idolaters of similar castes, to the present day.”

In 1606, sixty years after Xavier’s death, one of his fraternity, Robert de Nobilibus, a deep, designing man, full of worldly policy, came to India, with others likeminded with himself, and pursued a system of *accommodation*, and did not hesitate to adopt unscrupulous *expedients*, in defiance of the sovereign Pontiff himself, for carrying out his views, to the scandal and injury of the Christian faith.

“With this persuasion,” to quote their own authority, “they at their first outset announced themselves as European *Bráhmans*, come from a distance of five thousand leagues from the western parts of the *Jambudwip*, for the double purpose of imparting and receiving knowledge from their brother Bráhmans in India. After announcing themselves as Bráhmans, they made it their study to imitate that tribe: they put on a Hindu dress of *cavy*, or yellow colour, the same as that used by the Indian religious teachers and penitents; they made frequent ablutions; whenever they showed themselves in public, they applied to their forehead paste, made of sandal wood, as used by the Bráhmans.”*

The mark on the forehead above referred to is the very mark of idolatry. It signifies the eye of Siva, which is supposed to be in his forehead. They had also, it is said, a golden casket, containing a small crucifix, which they worshipped during their ablutions, and suspended round their necks in imitation of the Lingavites, who have the *Linga*, “the representation of Siva,” suspended round their necks, or tied to their arms.

As one lie leads to another, and one false step is generally followed up by another, we find that these men were obliged to have recourse to extreme measures to carry out their false principles. Their primary object was to conciliate the Bráhmans, supposing that by securing them they should easily gain the rest of the Hindus. “For this purpose they did not scruple to compromise the truth of the Gospel, and the liberty of the poor believer. Having announced themselves as Bráhmans of a superior order from the western world, they actually assumed heathen names,† and conformed in every respect to the customs of that haughty and exclusive caste. There are several degrees of Bráhmans; and in order to give the more effect to his deception, R. de Nobilibus pretended to be one of the highest order:

* Abbé Dubois’s Letters, pp. 5, 6.

† For instance the assumed name of Robert de Nobilibus was *Tattwa-bodhagya Swámi*; that of R. C. J. Beschi, was *Virámamuni*. The heathen always knew them and their brethren best by their heathen names.

and to stop the mouths of his opposers, and particularly of those who treated his character of Bráhma as a deception, he produced an old, dirty parchment, in which he had forged, in the ancient Indian characters, a deed, showing that the Bráhmans of Rome were of much older date than those of India, and that the Jesuits of Rome descended in a direct line from the god Brahmá. Father Jouvenci, a learned Jesuit, tells us, in the history of his order, something yet more remarkable, even that R. de Nobilibus, when the authenticity of his smoky parchment was called in question by some Indian unbelievers, declared *upon oath*, before the assembly of the Bráhmaus of Madura, that he really derived his origin from the god Brahmá. Is it not astonishing that this reverend father should acknowledge—is it not monstrous that he should applaud, as a piece of pious ingenuity, this detestable instance of perjury and fraud?*

“The forging of the deed in question, with all the circumstances connected with it, was one of those *pious* frauds, as they are improperly called, which the Church of Rome has so long been accustomed to practise upon mankind. It has been conceded to be just possible, that they may sometimes, though seldom, have been set up and encouraged with a design to do good; but the good they aim at, requires that the belief of them should be perpetual, which is hardly possible; and the detection of the fraud is sure to disparage the credit of all pretensions of the same nature. Christianity has suffered more injury from this cause, than from all the other causes put together.”†

In the life of Father Beschi, a celebrated Tamil scholar, written and published in Tamil, by one Mootoosamy Pillay, a Romanist, there is a defence of the conduct of the Jesuits, which we shall take the liberty of translating.

“*Tattwa-bodhagya Swámi*, (alias Robert de Nobilibus) gave out that he was a Roman Bráhma, the reason for which is, the term Brahmá does not only mean omnipresent, but also means Ved—knowledge—from whence the term Bráhma signifies a divine, one that knows the Veda; and therefore a Roman Bráhma means nothing more than a divine from Rome. The ignorant would not accuse *Tattwa-bodhagya Swámi* of prevarication, if they knew the signification he attached to the word Bráhma, even its real signification. And even if it should be

* Jouvenci, *Histoire des Jésuites*: Norbert, *Mémoires Historiques sur les Missions de Malab.* Tom. ii. Liv. xi. Sec. 11, &c. Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical Hist.* Cent. 17, Sec. 1. Asiatic Researches, Vol. xiv. p. 57.

† Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. ii. p. 230.

insisted, that *Bráhmans* signify the descendants of Brahmá, because they were created from the forehead of Brahmá, it must be equally admitted that the other three castes, who have also proceeded from Brahmá's body, are also the descendants of Brahmá; and therefore that the *Bráhmans* alone are the descendants of Brahmá, is inadmissible. The term *Bráhma*n is not so much a patronymic as a verbal noun, significant of profession, not birth. As men versed in divinity are called divines, so all whose duty is to learn and teach the Veda, of whatever country they may be, they are *Vediars*, or *Bráhmans*. This is the explanation of the term given by Tattwa-bodhagya himself. In his writings, he calls Ananias and Caiaphas, the Jewish High Priests, Jewish *Bráhmans*. And this explanation he gave before the learned assembly of His Holiness the Pope at Rome, and justified his conduct."

By professing to be Brahmans, the Missionaries were led to despise the lower castes. They refused to eat in the houses of *Pariars*, or to administer to them the last rites of their Church, and forbade their communing at the same altar with converts of a higher grade. The Christianity, resulting from such a system, will of course, as it does, wear all the guise of heathenism,* and what was effective perhaps at the moment, became fatal at the end. It was the means of introducing a variety of idolatrous ceremonies into the Church. Let the Abbé Dubois declare some of these: "If any of the several modes of Christian worship were calculated to make an impression and gain ground in the country, it is no doubt the Catholic form, which you Protestants call an idolatry in disguise: it has a *Pujá* or sacrifice (mass;) it has processions, images, statues, *tírtam* or holy water, fasts, *tílyis* or feasts, and prayers for the dead, invocation of saints, &c., all which practices bear more or less resemblance to those in use among the Hindus."†

* See Abbé Dubois' Letters, which are a complete exposure of his Church. In his larger work on India, the Abbé views the institution of caste as coincident with the tribes of Israel, and writes largely on its advantages.

† Letters, p. 18.

"Parallel and contemporaneous with these acts of the *Madura Missionaries*, were the controversies respecting the adoption of the practices and language of the Chinese idolatries. The worship of ancestors and the appropriation of a term to the Deity, which is constantly represented as conveying to the Chinese mind merely the idea of a material first cause, were freely allowed and defended; and, in justification, it was maintained that the same acts, though idolatrous in idolaters, ceased to be so in Christians: and thus, by a sophistical refinement, which involved a practical falsehood, the outward religious act was disjoined from the inward, and a mere intention of the mind was substituted, in the worship of God, for the homage both of 'body and spirit which are His.'"—*Grant's Bampton Lectures on Missions*, p. 163.

Their churches are generally divided into two sections, one for the use of Pariars, and the other for persons of caste. A wall divides them both; and if the Pariar dares even to place his hand on the other side of the wall, it is sufficient to justify his expulsion from the house of God.

The internal economy of their Missions will be further seen from what Father Mauduit writes:—"The Catechist of a low caste can never be employed to teach Hindus of a caste more elevated. The *Bráhmans* and the *Sudras*, who form the principal and the most numerous castes, have a far greater contempt for the *Pariars*, who are beneath them, than princes in Europe feel for the scum of the people. They would be dishonored in their own country, and deprived of the privileges of their castes, if they ever listened to the instructions of one whom they look upon as infamous. We must therefore have Pariar Catechists for the Pariars, and Bráhmanical Catechists for the Bráhmans, which causes us a great deal of difficulty."—"Some time ago a Catechist from the Madura Mission begged me to go to Pouleour, there to baptize some Pariar catechumens, and to confess certain neophytes of that caste. The fear that the *Bráhmans* and *Sudras* might come to learn the step I had taken, and thence look upon me as infamous and unworthy ever after of holding any intercourse with them, *hindered me from going!* The words of the holy apostle Paul, which I had read that morning at mass, determined me to take this resolution, 'giving no offence to any one, that your ministry be not blamed.' 2 Cor. vi. 3. I therefore made these poor people go to a place about three leagues from here, where I myself joined them *during the night, and with the most careful precautions*, and there I baptized nine!"

"With all deference to Father Mauduit, it may be doubted whether the apostolic injunction is very consonant with this work of darkness: nor does the good-natured Father tell the whole story. For the poor *Pariars* had not only separate catechists, but separate churches; and if they presumed to enter the church of a higher caste, they were driven out and well whipped. Nay, even when they were dying, the Christian *sanyásis* refused to enter their dwellings; and the expiring wretch, in nature's last agony, was dragged from his couch into the open air, or to a distant church, that the *sanyási*, uncontaminated by entrance into the house, might, (but without contact) administer the last rites of the Church."*

It has been urged, again and again, that Christianity would

* Calcutta Review, No. 3, p. 94.

sustain a severe shock if these practices were discontinued : the cause of conversion being made to rest upon them.

It was only the other day that a military gentleman, travelling from Tranquebar to Trichinopoly, politely invited a French Priest, who had just then arrived at the bungalow, to dine with him. The Priest, after ascertaining that the food was prepared by a Pariar, declined eating any thing cooked, and partook only of fruit, alleging as an excuse, that his compliance would shock the prejudices of the Sudras !

Does such conduct become men who profess to teach the religion of truth and love ? Are the sacred verities, that God made of one blood all nations of men, that He is no respecter of persons, and that the great atonement was to save all the nations of the earth and to unite them in one body, the Church ; —are these vital truths to be sacrificed on the altar of a worldly policy, for the purpose of inducing the heathen to assume the Christian name, without sacrificing the arrogance peculiar to caste ? Away with such abominations ! Away with such soul-destroying treachery !

II. The first Protestant Missionaries also, it must be confessed, admitted this evil into the Christian Church ; though perhaps under a somewhat modified form. But the question has been agitated with greater or less warmth, and the opinions of good men have been much divided, as to the expediency or impropriety of allowing it from the very first. From accredited documents we can prove that a firm stand was originally made against the recognition of caste ; but when the difficulty of bringing over the natives to a profession of Christianity was felt, this firmness gave way, and concessions were gradually made ; and the evil was recognized as a civil custom, which would, in time, as Christian principles would take deeper root in the understanding and the affections, naturally die away. But alas ! they were mistaken ; and the subsequent history of the native Protestant Church proves that the toleration of caste “was found to encourage the prejudice it was intended to conciliate.”*

The remarks of the first Missionaries on caste, at the commencement of the Protestant Mission at Tranquebar, express the proper language of Christianity. Their observations are clear and uncompromising.

Ziegenbalg and Grundler, in 1712, viewing the subject in a proper light wrote thus :†

* Trevelyan's *Education in India*, p. 20.

† *Ancient Reports*, Vol. I. p. 342.

“When a heathen embraces Christianity he must renounce all superstitions connected with caste, viz. ‘that no one should intermarry or eat with those of another caste; that every caste should have a distinguishing title, peculiar ceremonies and customs, and a different way of living; that those who acted contrary, should lose their caste and be accounted the most despicable wretches.’ For we admit of no such distinctions; but teach them that in Christ they are all one, none having a preference before the other. We allow them therefore to intermarry not in regard to caste, but according to their own pleasure, if otherwise they may be united in a Christian manner without difficulties. On account of the above superstitions, the heathens are very much surprized to see that those who have embraced Christianity, sit together in one church, marry without respect to caste, live, eat, drink together, and renounce all former distinctions. To rank derived from official station we do not object, but take care that good order be observed among our people.”

Fourteen years after this, the difficulties seem to have been felt, and Mr. Schultze, in his diary, writes :*

“On the 5th of March a school was established at the Paper Mill for Pariar children, who had none hitherto, being prevented, on account of their despised caste, to sit with other children. The Pariar children of our congregations, as long as they remain with us, are treated alike with those of other castes, but we cannot bring them up together to one and the same trade. We can neither prevail as yet on our grown up Christians to forget the distinction of caste, and to get a Pariar girl of our school married to a man of another caste, be he ever so poor, is entirely out of question. But though we are obliged to indulge them in these points, as far as they are merely political, yet we do not in the least countenance such as are of a spiritual nature; on the contrary we admonish them on every occasion that they must be all in Christ, in order that he in them might be all in all.”

“Our predecessors were at first obliged to appoint to the Pariars who had become Christians, separate places at church, to which they also willingly submitted. But this distinction at church was afterwards with great difficulty abolished again. When we had newly arrived from Europe, we also thought this was all right and should be so. But our Catechists always complained that the heathens reviled them on that account. Though such excuses are but absurd in themselves, yet it is necessary, in imitation of the example of Paul and other apos-

ties, to bear with the infirmities of these poor people. Being persuaded, therefore, after repeated and mature deliberation on the subject, that outward order may well agree with Christian humility and concord, we have allowed that the Pariars shall sit at church one step distant from the Sudra. But in the administration of the sacrament no such distinction is observed.”*

Five years after this, the Missionaries appear to have yielded to difficulties rather than to conviction. In the Report of 1732, it is stated :—

“The School at Poreiar has been established chiefly for the sake of heathens and those of our Christians in the country who are Sudras. Both will send their children rather to this school than that in town, because in the latter are also Pariar children, but none in the former. However, in the school in town we observe the distinction in caste, so that the Pariar children are together by themselves, when they learn, eat, and sleep.”

In a letter written from Tranquebar 1738, we find the caste system developing itself. The Missionaries say :—

“We are endeavouring to eradicate from the minds of the Sudra Christians their too great aversion against the Pariárs, but the observance of this distinction is so generally prevailing in the whole country, that we must yield in many things.

“The Pariars very easily conform themselves in such cases. On this account we are not yet come to a final determination to ordain Raja Naick, a Pariar, as a native pastor. Besides he performs already in his diocese every duty of a country pastor, except the administration of the Lord’s Supper. And here we must observe that it cannot be expected of Sudras to receive the sacrament from his hands; and thereby the Pariars might easily be led to despise this holy ordinance, as some Roman Catholics, who made lately a great noise, because the country pastor, they said, had brought the sacred memorials into a Pariar village.”

Though the authorities in Germany recommended that this exemplary Catechist, whose labours were crowned with success, should be elevated to the ministry; the Missionaries “hesitated to have the Lord’s Supper administered by him, lest it should diminish the regard of Christians of higher caste for the sacrament itself.” And deeming the impediment insuperable, they did not attempt to surmount it.†

* Ancient Reports, Vol. III. pp. 38, 39.

† A late anonymous writer in the Madras Circulator, a Tanjore caste Christian, alleges the uselessness of teaching Pariars, with a view to the ministry, and says, that “their preaching will be liable to be discarded with

That the abolition of caste was not required by the Missionaries, is apparent from a letter written to the Dharmapuram Pandaram from one of that order who embraced Christianity in 1765:—

“The God of infinite compassion hath delivered me, wretched sinner, out of Satan’s captivity. Your promise of honour and riches touch me not. I have the hope of an everlasting kingdom: you also can inherit it when you repent. I have changed my religion, *but not my caste*. By becoming a Christian, I did not turn an Englishman, I am yet a Tondaman. Never did the priest of this place desire of me any thing contrary to my caste. Never did he bid me to eat cow’s flesh or beef, neither have I seen him eat it, or any of the Tamulian Christians,* though such a thing be not sinful in itself. Turn to the living God, so writeth Arulananden, formerly a Pandaram, but now a disciple of the blessed Jesus.”

The opinions of the venerable Schwartz on this subject are well known from his Life by Pearson, which has received an extensive circulation. The evil had taken root, ere he appeared upon the field. He wrote against it in his Dialogues between a Christian and a Heathen; and charitably hoped, as all his predecessors did, that it would disappear before the light of Christianity and the lessons of humility which it inculcated.

There is an anecdote connected with this subject, which is not in Pearson’s Life of Schwartz, but which throws some light on the way in which he treated caste. It was related by the late venerable John Caspar Kohlhoff, who was present when the circumstance occurred.

One Sunday, on a sacramental occasion, a respectable and pious native Christian, named Daniel Pillay, who was a Seristadar in the service of the Danish Government at Tranquebar, and who was on a visit to the Tanjore Rajah on business, was also present. Among the communicants between this man and Royappen, a native minister, there was room for another person; and Mr. Schwartz beckoned to Gabriel, a respectable Pariar Catechist, to come and kneel down in the vacant place; which he did. Mr. Schwartz gave the elements to him first, and after that to Daniel Pillay and others. When the service was over, Royappen, the native minister, observed to Daniel Pillay, how presumptuous it was in the Pariar to come up along with the Sudras; to which Daniel Pillay piously remarked, “Do not

emotions of disdain and ridicule by the higher castes, and slighted by the lower.” We know, however, of one Pariar minister who has done more good than half a dozen caste ministers put together.

* i. e. Caste Christians.

talk about it, for when we come to the Lord's table, we ought all to come without distinction in the character of wretched sinners."*

After the death of this Patriarch of Protestant Missions, as caste Christians became men of importance, occupying respectable Government situations, their minds became secularized, and they studied to please their heathen neighbours by conforming to caste customs.

In a letter of the Tanjore Missionaries, written in 1809, in defence of their principles, they say, caste differences are only "the differences between nobility, clergy, gentry, and common people; that their renunciation was never insisted upon; that it would be an unscriptural surrender of their birth-right," &c.

But what was the consequence? Caste was rampant. It was justified by its adherents; and as in the Romish Church it was the means of introducing additional errors and idolatrous practices, so here it developed itself in its native colours, and brought forth innumerable evils. The Tanjore poet, a scholar of Schwartz, and himself a great stickler for caste, wrote songs denouncing caste, which were everywhere publicly sung, and also a book, which we have now before us, exposing all the idolatrous customs of caste Christians.

But this man, with all the inconsistency peculiar to caste, has also written a volume in defence of caste distinctions. Some of his arguments we have already disposed of, and others we shall notice in the sequel; but one objection urged both by the Romanist and Protestant caste Christians should now be considered. The renunciation of caste is objected to, on the ground of its having been allowed to exist in Christian churches, by most eminent Missionaries, for upwards of a century. It has been already observed that the former Missionaries tolerated caste, under the idea that the Gospel would in time effectually banish it from the hearts of their converts. To argue for the continuance of caste on the ground of its having been allowed to exist so long, is an absurdity; for on the same principle the Romanists contend, even against their present priests, for images, processions, and many other practices; and the heathen may with more plausibility contend for their idolatry.

* The native minister here alluded to was no favourite of Schwartz. He was sent to assist him by the Missionaries at Tranquebar, but on his refusing to submit a report of his labour to Mr. Schwartz, on the ground of his being a minister like himself, Mr. Schwartz sent him back to Tranquebar; and the remark made by him: "What Catechist Royappen would do, the Rev. Mr. Royappen will not do," has since turned into a proverb applicable to other ministers of his stamp.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NATURE OF CASTE AMONGST PROTESTANT NATIVE CHRISTIANS.
 —THE QUESTION AGITATED.—EPISCOPAL INTERFERENCE.—RESOLUTIONS OF MISSIONARY BODIES.—VARIOUS OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

“Caste will entwine itself round every thing ; it only wants support, and whilst supported, it destroys. We think of Christianity as of a goodly tree which has been transplanted from the west for a shadow to the east, and a refreshment to the weary and the heavy laden. The husbandmen were faithful, and it has taken root, and spread out its branches to the heavens. But the adversary has sown his seed, and the parasite shot up beside the tree, and under her shadow and support. The husbandmen were not alarmed, for the shoot at first was small and tender, and it has crept and twined with her growth and strengthened with her strength : the stems are now incorporated ; the branches are mingled ; the foliage is unnatural ; the growth is checked, and there are symptoms of decay. Is this the tree which was planted for the healing of the nations ? Is this the emblem of Christianity ? No. It is the emblem of Christianity with caste,” says a writer in the *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer*, for June 1834.*

Such a state of things is certainly a cause for deep humiliation. We have permitted the enemy to have free access to and liberty in the camp ; who, well knowing that Christianity asserts its divine origin by the very universality of the message it contains, and by its tendency to unity, has assumed the appearance of an angel of light, and spread discord and disunion, to defeat, if possible, the purposes of the Eternal.

Caste, as observed by native Christians, is essentially the same as that observed by the heathen. “It has the same name,—is regulated by the same conditions as to transmission,—is divided and subdivided in the same way, and may be lost by the same means, that is, by ceremonial defilement, and not by a course of immoral conduct. Its rules of conduct are the same. The caste Christian can have no more intercourse with those below him than the caste heathen. He observes the same prohibitions as to meats and drinks ; he cannot have a Pariah servant in his house, cannot take water from the hands of a lower caste Christian brother, eat with him, drink with him, live with him, or be buried by his side. He cannot partake of food even with his spiritual pastor, if of a lower caste ; he could not freely asso-

* Article, The Caste Question, p. 247.

ciate with the Jewish Prophets or Apostles, were they here ; nor even with the Lord of glory himself, were He upon the earth.* In all these and other important respects it is identical with Hindu caste. Its leading idea is the same, to guard against ceremonial pollution, as among Hindu idolaters. What else can be needed to show its identity?"†

The object for which caste is retained is, evidently, to conciliate the heathen, and keep up an intercourse with them, which is contrary to the plain apostolic command, "Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you."‡ "A worldly spirit is thus gratified; dissimulation is practically promoted, and the road to apostacy kept open. The evils of caste in the Christian Church have gradually developed themselves, and have been better understood, or at least more firmly resisted, of late years. Conscientious minds have ventured to oppose and expose it; and the opposition has excited the rage and virulence of the evil one."

1. In attempting to give a historical sketch of the attack upon caste, we must begin with Ceylon. At a very early period of the Dutch settlement in the island, they issued a proclamation that could hardly fail to tempt the natives of all descriptions to embrace Christianity, without understanding the faith which they professed to receive. It was decreed that no native should attain the rank of *Moodaliar*, be permitted to farm land, or hold any influential office under government, without subscribing the Helvetic Confession of Faith, and submitting to baptism. The consequence of this decree was such as might have been foreseen. Heathen and Romanist Singhalese and Tamulians, who aspired to any dignity or office, assumed the name of Protestant Christians, while many of them cherished and secretly observed their old superstitions. The Dutch committed a serious mistake in issuing this decree: it was tantamount to setting a premium on hypocrisy. It was soon found that caste was retained in the full strength of its prejudices. One of the Dutch ministers, M. De Vriest, put their sincerity to the test in 1693, at the examination of the schools, at which the Dutch Commodore presided. After the examination he invited the native Christian officers who were present, as well as the students, to dine; but they begged him to excuse them, alleging

* This sounds irreverent, but we know it as a fact that such language was actually made use of by a caste Christian, not long ago.—ED.

† Madras Christian Instructor, Vol. viii. p. 205. See an enumeration of caste differences in Bishop Wilson's charge of 1835, p. 73.

‡ 2 Cor. vi. 17.

that their customs forbade them to partake of the food which he had provided. Some, however, were induced to sit down, and a few partook of the food. Whatever some may be disposed to think of this proceeding, it is the plan now adopted by the American Missionaries, who invite their people to partake of what they call the *Love feast*; and it is the plan followed by some of the Missionaries in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in the Tanjore District, and probably in other places, when any situations in the Mission, or scholarships in the educational establishments, are to be conferred.

At Tranquebar, to accommodate the prejudices of the higher castes, they had formerly two cups in the administration of the Lord's Supper. The late Dr. John, judging such a practice to be incompatible with the ordinance of Christ, was determined to remove the distinction, by dispensing with one of the cups. But no sooner did he do that, than the demon of caste felt his prerogatives interfered with, and its adherents declared they would sooner leave the *table of the Lord*, than suffer what they considered so unwarrantable an innovation.*

Even to this day, in some of the native churches, the celebration of the eucharist is a heart-rending sight to a truly Christian mind. Where there is a mixture of castes, there is generally a rushing to the communion table of persons who are afraid lest any other caste men should approach the altar with them; and when it does happen that a person of an inferior caste comes up, there are evident signs of distress, when all solemnity must be lost and all devotional feeling die. Is this the place, and this the time, when the Saviour's dying love to a world of sinners is commemorated, that one who calls himself a Christian should manifest the malignant effects of his prejudices? Well might an inspired Apostle ask, "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"†

This growing evil was first systematically attacked by Messrs. Haubroe, Schreyvogel and Rhenius.

At Vepery there is a colony of caste Christians, who obtain a livelihood in the Mission Press; printing and book-binding being works in which those who retain caste can engage. The children of these caste men were in the habit of having separate places in the school room, which Mr. Haubroe objected to, and

* What is now the state of this once flourishing Mission? *Ichabod* is written upon it, for the *glory is departed*. What the present reinforcement of Lutheran Missionaries will do to repair its ruins, time must declare.

† 1 John iv. 20.

endeavoured to remove. When he went further and interfered with the caste arrangements within the church, they made a covenant amongst themselves, of which the following is the purport:—

“Covenant made amongst us, members of the English Mission Congregation.—Because Mr. Haubroe, on the 23rd day of this month, permitted a child of a Pariar to take his seat in the church alongside the *Tamil* (Sudra) school boys, which is a great disparagement to our caste, be it covenanted, that neither we nor our families will come to church any more, nor send our children to school; until Mr. Haubroe gives us a fair promise not to allow such a thing in future. But if any shall break this covenant, he is bound to pay 12 pagodas to the Police office, as a person guilty before the congregation.”*

But when they found Mr. Haubroe was unwilling to yield to their prejudices, they complained against him to Archdeacon Vaughan, President of the Madras Diocesan Committee; and on the Archdeacon’s soliciting information on the point in dispute, Dr. Rottler wrote to him the following letter, dated Sept. 13th, 1824.

“I have been favored with your letter of the 11th instant, and I am sorry to learn from it that *some* of our native Christians (for I am certain it is not all of them) have brought forward a complaint against their ministers, who have hitherto endeavoured to instruct and lead them in the way of righteousness. It has never been our practice to *compel*, but to persuade, and direct them to that which we, from the word of God, can shew to be just and right. We think that a Christian congregation ought to be nearly united in the bonds of faith and love, agreeably to the admonition of St. Paul, Eph. iv. 1, &c. And we are grieved to say that the distinction of caste in this country is the greatest obstacle in obeying it; but we, as well as our predecessors, have hitherto experienced how great are the difficulties in removing this unhappy distinction. Having, however, instances before us that, by the blessing of God, successful efforts herein have been made, we tried to make the same; and to begin in our schools, where we found such a distinction of castes to be the greatest hindrance to a regular and proper course of instruction; we therefore united boys and girls of the higher and lower castes in their respective classes, and observed no other difference between them, but what their progress and learning and well behaviour naturally required; the same order and distinction, we endeavoured also to keep among them, when they attend divine service on Sundays. This, however, proved to meet with a strong opposition on the side of their parents.

“Hitherto no other steps have been taken by us to associate the Tamulers with the Pariar. I suppose that the persons of our Tamul congregation, who complained against their Pastors, are the same who troubled our late dear Lord Bishop, by presenting a similar paper to His Lordship against the regulations which I found necessary to establish, when I took the charge of this mission, and which His Lordship highly approved.”†

* Taylor’s Centenary, 215.

† It is related that when good Dr. Rottler had charge of the Vepery congregation, some of the caste Christians used to wear a very small sandal wood

From this letter we gather Dr. Rottler's opinion on the caste question, though perhaps it contains only all that he could safely say on the subject. When Mr. Gerické had charge of the Vepery congregation, there is reference made to the death of a man named Pakien, of whom it is written, "By the confessions, prayers, and praises of the man during his sickness, he gave proof of his knowledge of Jesus Christ, and of the hope that was in him, particularly on the day before his death, when he received the sacrament; at which many persons were present—yet it is observable that *he had not renounced the heathenish and devilish system of caste.*" From this passage it would appear that caste was allowed to exist, hoping that in time it would vanish of itself. But time has proved that *that* hope was fallacious.

II. Simultaneously with the disturbances caused by caste Christians in Vepery, similar disturbances broke out at Tanjore and Trichinopoly, and the caste Christians finding no redress from the Madras Diocesan Committee, appealed to Bishop Heber, shortly after his arrival in India. As the Bishop had no personal opportunities of judging on this intricate subject, and relied on the statements of the Rev. Christian David, himself a caste man;—he wrote to Mr. Schreyvogel, the agitator in the south, from Chillumbrum, dated 21st March, 1826. This letter is held in the highest esteem by the advocates for caste, because the Bishop suggested the idea that caste distinctions might be *civil* rather than *religious*; and because the passage, "God forbid that we should make the narrow gate of life narrower than Christ has made it," is so congenial to their feelings, and so apt to be quoted as an authority in their favor at all times.

The Bishop also put forth articles of enquiry on the subject, which, together with the answers given by the Tanjore Missionaries and the Rev. Christian David, and the Bishop's "famous letter," as well as Bishop Wilson's Circular, containing sentiments and decisions worthy of a Christian Bishop, will be given in the Appendix, for the information of those who wish to know the *pros* and *cons* of this vexatious question.*

wafer, called *Pottu*, on their forehead, even when they attended church. As this was not taken notice of, a non-caste man wore one, made of pipe clay, on his forehead, about ten times the usual size, and to attract notice, came and sat right before the Doctor, who, shocked at such a sight, sent for the man and reprimanded him; when the man, after asking whether there was any difference in the use of a small or a large *pottu*, told the Doctor the names of all the persons in the congregation who were in the habit of wearing these heathen insignia on their foreheads.

* See Appendix, C.

Bishop Wilson's letter to the southern churches, issued in 1833, requiring the abolition of caste, was publicly read in the churches, and was the means, as the Tanjore Missionaries describe in their report, of causing "great anxiety and gloom, having to contend with the calumny, perverseness, and ingratitude of the caste Christians." They seceded in a body, behaved shamefully, and at once manifested the evil results of permitting caste in the Christian Church.

The injurious tendency of caste to affect the stability and purity of the Christian Church being so very apparent, the calm and deliberate decision of the Bishop was a timely one. The whole question had, in fact, arrived at a most important crisis; the timid principle of non-interference had been fairly tried; the harmless nature of the practice had been contradicted both by the temper, and in some instances by the apostasy, of its advocates; persuasion was tried, and now *authority* was the only resource left. The Bishop's decision, which the crisis rendered imperative, was worthy of his head and his heart. He says, "The distinctions of caste, then, must be abandoned, decidedly, immediately, and finally; and those who profess to belong to Christ, must give this proof of their having really put off, concerning the former conversation, the old, and of having put on the new man in Christ Jesus."

The Bishop, in his charge to the Reverend Missionaries of Tanjore and Vepery in 1835, says in reference to this subject: "I wonder not that the decisive step was not taken sooner. It was natural, it was proper, it was necessary, to try every other expedient, before so violent a one, for such it appears to the natives, was adopted. Whilst the master minds of Schwartz and Gericke remained to keep down the attendant heathen practices, caste was comparatively harmless. It seemed more of a civil distinction. But I rejoice to find that the judgment of all my brethren, and of the whole body of Christian Protestant Missionaries without exception, concurs now with my own—that the crisis had arrived, and that nothing but the total abolition of all heathen usages connected with this anti-christian and anti-social system, could save these Missions."*

It was not long before the seceders were made to return to the bosom of the Church. The malcontents, perhaps no longer able to suffer the distress, consequent upon their disconnection and the loss of mission employment and patronage, sought reconciliation and submitted to certain conditions. But so long as they were permitted to hold their caste preju-

dices untouched, which the controversy and rupture had tended only to increase in graceless hearts, the subsequent results have plainly proved that the breach was slightly healed, and the people have been bound to the Church by a rope of sand.

What part the first Bishop of Madras took in this matter is not known, further than may be gathered from a letter which he wrote to one of the leading Tanjore caste Christians, a copy of which having fallen into our hands, we here give it entire, as we are not aware of its having been printed before.

To A. Njunaprasadam.

DEAR FRIEND,—Your letter of the 30th January* found me here to-day. I am sorry to find you have not attended to the answers which have been so often given to the points you stand upon. Caste is not as rank in society in any sense. You see what rank is in the army. An officer may rise from the rank of Ensign to that of Commander-in-Chief: a private soldier may rise to the rank of an officer, and many private soldiers do. A civil servant serves at first as a writer, and may be selected from any class of society, and may one day (as Mr. Lushington) become Governor. In any of these ranks a man may take food, if occasion require, from an inferior, or he may assist with food and bodily service, if need be, some poor or diseased creature, but loses no rank by so doing.

"How different is all this from caste, which is always one! As to the Lord's Supper, no one who receives it otherwise than with a true penitent heart on account of his sins, and with a lively faith in the Lord Jesus—the Saviour of sinners, can be benefited by receiving it. But those who refuse to receive the Lord's Supper, because an inferior has first partaken of it, refuse the Saviour, because he has become the Saviour of a poor brother first.

"Thus caste sets itself up as a judge of our Saviour himself. His command is, *Condescend to men of low caste—esteem others better than yourself.* No, says caste—Do not have communion with low men; consider yourself of high estimation. 'Touch not, taste not, handle not.' Thus caste condemns the Saviour. Believe me, that in no other part of the world do any, who call themselves Christians, hold such destructive opinions. These destroy the soul by nourishing pride and self-dependence. In this way also you make the heathen believe that their distinctions are founded in truth and righteousness. If Christians, they argue, hold these distinctions, they must be good.

"No evil can come to Merasdars† from obeying the gospel entirely. They pay the same tax to Government, whether they have caste or no caste. There are so many who profess Christianity, that no society worth keeping is lost. In short, it is only unacquaintance with the true spirit of Christianity, which upholds this fatal delusion. May God the Holy Spirit enlighten your mind, and lead you into the light of everlasting life! I pray for you.

"Your Sincere Friend,
DANIEL MADRAS."

P. S.—"You say that yielding caste hinders the heathen from embracing the gospel, but the contrary is the fact. What progress had been made of late years in converting the heathen? None in comparison of former times. When they see Christians obeying the same customs as themselves, they think Christians approve of their ways, and see no reason to change. But

* Probably 1837 or 1838.

† Land-holders.

in other parts of the country, where caste is not allowed among Christians, many heathen are daily forsaking all, and taking up their cross and following Christ. You have no cross to take up; the heathen do not despise you, because they think you are like themselves; and thus you are the occasion of their perishing in their idolatry and sin."

"D. M."

Bishop Spencer, in his first charge, speaks cautiously on caste, doubtless feeling incompetent to judge on so intricate a subject; but very little time sufficed to convince him of the evil tendency of permitting it, and in his charge, delivered to the missionary clergy in 1841, he says, "As a civil distinction I touch it not; if used as a badge of religious superiority by either Catechists or schoolmasters, I say, Away with it, down with it even to the ground. I wish it therefore to be distinctly understood that from henceforth, deeply anxious as I am to gather around me a native priesthood—for to a native priesthood we must look, humanly speaking, for the evangelization of India—I will not admit to holy orders any native who refuses or even hesitates to eat and drink with my Reverend brethren or with myself. If he hold his Bishop and fellow-clergy "unclean," he cannot be fit to preach, far less to practise the gospel of Him who ate and drank even with publicans and sinners, to shew that the word of God cleanseth all who receive it in an honest and good heart."

In 1845, Commissioners were appointed at Madras, to enquire into the state of caste in the Vepery congregation; and the result of their enquiries was given in a letter to the Bishop, which, as it is carefully drawn up, and throws some light on the question, we shall give in the Appendix, together with the excellent minute of the Madras Missionary Conference on the subject.*

If caste is a religious distinction, it is reprobated by the Bible; and if it is a *civil* distinction, it is belied in practice. It has been proved that, as a religious distinction, it is connected with one of the worst systems of idolatry and superstition; and as a civil distinction, it does not promote the welfare of man. If so, then is it to be tolerated in the Christian Church? Even to this day, notwithstanding the vigilance of faithful missionaries, and in places where the people came up indiscriminately to church and to the Lord's table, caste is lurking and exercising its withering influence. If India is to be christianized, what kind of Christianity is it to be? Are the heaven-born truths of Christianity to be mixed up with error and superstition? Is this to contend for the faith, to propagate the truth, and to inculcate the religion of universal love?

* See Appendix D.

The clergy of the Madras Presidency, with the present Bishop at their head, have just put forth a declaration, with the concurrence of the Metropolitan, and published it as the united testimony of the ministry of the Church of England against caste. The declaration is as follows: "We, the undersigned Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese and Archdeaconry of Madras, having observed with great pain the disabilities to which our native Christian brethren are subject amongst their countrymen through the heathen institute of caste, as well as the unprecedented obstacles to the progress of the gospel springing from the same source, and perceiving that the disabilities alluded to arise more from relinquishing caste than from renouncing idolatry, deeply deplore and reprobate this system of tyranny, grounded upon a totally false standard of rank, irrespective of virtue, learning, or station.

"We desire further to express our extreme concern that such an evil, tending to perpetuate one of the most mischievous features of a false religion, should have found any place in the Christian Church: and we are of opinion that the exclusive distinctions of caste, however divested of the idea of ceremonial defilement, are inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel, which teaches that we are the body of Christ, and members in particular."

IV. A common objection frequently urged by the advocates for caste, is the difference that is said to exist between Sudras and Pariars, in point of cleanliness. This gratuitous assertion will only be received by those who have no opportunities of judging. It is well known that the heathen Pariars have very mean and filthy offices to perform, and their habits, owing to their poverty and oppression, are far from being cleanly. But with regard to Pariars who have embraced Christianity, it is well known that they are as cleanly as the generality of the Sudras. But with the cleanest and best of them a Sudra will not associate, though to eat and drink with the filthiest of his own caste, he will not for a moment hesitate. The Pariars are accused of eating things strangled, but we know of Pariars who will not eat a strangled goat or sheep, which many a Sudra will not hesitate to do. The apostolic injunction is, "Be of the same mind one toward another. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate. Be not wise in your own conceits."*

Some would say that "a vigorous and faithful preaching of the gospel, according to the doctrines of grace, and a steady attention to the caste-breaking ordinance of the Lord's Supper,

* Rom. xii. 16.

will break down caste. Preach the full gospel, and keep out all distinctions there; and every thing else concerning caste may be allowed to go on to natural and necessary decay."

Does this not insinuate that the excellent missionaries, who planted and nourished the churches, did not preach the full gospel, according to the doctrine of grace? Let all the old Tranquebar Tamil books declare. Let the excellent writings and sermons of Schwartz and Gerické declare, that the full gospel was preached according to the doctrines of grace. The gospel of salvation was preached, but the gospel in connection with caste distinctions was not perhaps discriminated and insisted upon. The vision of Peter, so applicable to the introduction of Christianity into India, was not perhaps applied and insisted upon as it should have been. "We doubt not" says Mr. Rhenius, "that our predecessors in Missions have often urged upon the Christian congregations the abandonment of caste, in the hope of eventually prevailing with them; yet as it never began to be actually abandoned, and its renunciation was never insisted on as indispensable, caste has, as it were, grown with the congregations; and although a century has passed since the establishment of Protestant congregations in this country, the attachment to caste, instead of diminishing among Christians, has rather increased, and is perhaps more obstinately insisted upon by them than by the heathen."

Shall it be said that some of the sects amongst the Hindus have abandoned caste, and that the Mahomedans, who receive all castes into their religion, do not tolerate it amongst themselves, and yet that Christianity has not the power to effect its destruction? We know that the evil is not tolerated in Bengal and other parts of India, and we know that amongst some Missionary bodies it is required to be entirely abandoned. And why should not the Tranquebar, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Tinnevely, and Madras congregations be guided by the same rules as their other fellow-Christian countrymen? Shall the Church of England be said to tolerate this evil, and be behind other churches in this respect? Are we to preach the Gospel, and at the same time cherish caste, in the hope that in time it will die away? "The serpent does not lose his poison by being taken into the house and fed on milk."

It is also alleged that "distinctions of caste will insensibly die away—only give it time." Time would remove it, without any interference. A large numerical increase of Christians, a preponderance in numbers of Christians over heathens, and an equality of public employment once secured—mountains in effect being removed, the thing is done. Few, if any, native Christians love the distinction for itself; but they fear certain

heavy disqualifications, consequent to forsaking it." Are not a hundred years sufficient to test an evil? Does not a little leaven leaven the whole lump? Experience has shown that where this distinction is permitted, the evil, so far from melting away under the genial influences of the gospel, possesses the most inveterate tendency to perpetuate itself; thereby stunting the growth of congregations, and enfeebling the aggressive energies of the Christian Church. It has been painfully observed that the Christians are more tenacious of caste than the heathen themselves.

There could be but one decision *a priori* in the present case: gentle means have been tried, and time enough has been given to have allowed caste to die away, if it had contained within it the seeds of dissolution. But conciliating measures have only encouraged the prejudice they were intended to remove.

In connection with this a divine command is alleged; *that the tares should be allowed to grow with the wheat*. The tares and wheat here refer to the wicked and the righteous, the hypocrites and the godly, who are known only to God. Though the tares are forbidden to be plucked up when sown, yet it is the duty of the Church to hinder their being sown. When we find that the tares are likely to destroy the wheat, is it not our duty to pluck them out, if we can do so without prejudice to the wheat?

Shall we perpetuate an evil which fosters the pride of the human heart, despises the children of God, and honours heathen distinctions more than the image of Christ? Shall we permit an evil which is directly opposed to the genius of Christianity, "the unity of the Spirit?"

It is the opinion of some conscientious Missionaries of the present day, that Christianity is sent to the nations, not to *change*, but "to *sanctify* their customs." They say, "every nation has its own peculiarities, with corresponding institutions, laws and customs. These peculiarities the Church of the Lord has not, among any people, suppressed, taken away, or abolished; but on the contrary, by the word and the sacraments she everywhere sanctifies, purifies, and glorifies."

It would appear from this objection that the observance of caste is necessary, and that it is a *custom* to be *sanctified*. A Hindu would on a similar principle defend suttee, infanticide, polygamy, the forbidding widows to marry, and girls to learn, the exposure of the sick and aged, to die on the banks of the Ganges, and other cruel practices, as being customs, not to be changed, but sanctified. Why is the slave trade declared to be sinful by the most enlightened Christian nations? A noble and generous nation, influenced by the principles of Christianity,

has thought it proper not to sanctify, but to abolish the custom. "Is Hindu caste, which binds, in worse than African slavery, the soul as well as the body of every inferior grade to the superior, and all to the will of the Bráhmaṇ, who is made by it the representative of the gods—to be baptized into the Christian Church, adopted, fondled and cherished, that it may be 'sanctified, purified, and glorified?' Then let idolatry be baptized, for it does not oppose a greater barrier to the spread of Christianity than does Hindu caste; and it is no more a lie to declare that 'there are gods many,' than to declare that the different races of men have a different origin, and are by nature pure or defiled as born of higher or lower castes. 'God hath made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth.' This is the declaration of the Bible, and to this, Hindu caste gives the direct lie. 'Let God be true.' There is no need of morbid sensitiveness on this subject."*

In confirmation of the above and similar excuses, a remarkable passage from St. Paul's writings is quoted. The apostle says: "Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all, that I might gain the more. And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews, &c. To the weak I became as weak, that I might gain the weak. I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some."† From which passage it is argued, we should assimilate to the native customs, after the example of Paul, in order to gain the people of caste. But this is only a partial view of the question, and not a carrying out in all its fulness the example of the great apostle; for here they forget that upon the strength of this very passage, they ought also to assimilate to the Pariars as well as to the Sudras, in order to gain them. This passage is frequently quoted by caste Christians, without at all thinking that it requires the Sudra to become in some sense a Pariar, which is the very thing they refuse to do. But could the apostle have meant that he would have become a Bráhmaṇ to a Bráhmaṇ, a Sudra to a Sudra, and a Pariar to a Pariar, in adopting their customs and yielding to their prejudices? We think not. St. Paul says again, "I please all men in all things," 1 Cor. x. 33, i. e. by accommodating himself to their respective circumstances, not seeking his own profit, but the profit of many. But he did not seek to gain their favor by any compromise inconsistent with truth and duty. To obviate such a construction, he says in another place, "If I yet pleased men, I am not the servant of Christ." Let us first obey God's word, which has declared that we should not consider "what

* Madras Christian Instructor, for May 1850. † 1 Cor. ix. 19–22.

God hath cleansed, common or unclean," and then let us accommodate ourselves to any set of men in all innocent things, so as to gain them over to Christ.

It must be recollected, in reference to this passage, that St. Paul is here alluding to the less instructed, and therefore superstitiously scrupulous, both among Jews and Gentiles. Here is evidently a reference to the toleration of Jewish prejudices. But it must be remembered that Judaism was of divine appointment, and there was nothing sinful in allowing circumcision or distinctions in meats among the Jews. Another very striking passage of St. Paul's settles the question at once. He says: "Unto the pure all things are pure; but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving, is nothing pure, but even their mind and conscience is defiled."*

There is another passage of Scripture which the advocates of caste bring forward, viz., "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations." (Rom. xiv. 1.) We admit that weak and scrupulous brethren, who are, notwithstanding, sincere Christians, are to be received. The fellowship of the saints is not to be broken for non-essentials, and we have no right to make any thing a term of communion which is not inconsistent with piety. Him that is weak in the faith we must receive as a Christian brother, and treat him kindly, whether he be Jew or Gentile, Sudra or Pariar. See Acts xxviii. 2. Rom. xv. 7, Philem. 15, 17. But are caste Christians always to remain weak, and never to go on to perfection?

Persecution, it is said, will be the inevitable consequence of renouncing caste. "It may be that the renunciation of caste will subject a Christian to severer trials than the renunciation of heathenism only in part; but as this is a sacrifice which the gospel peremptorily demands, it is required, in order to enjoy the peace of God, which passeth all understanding. On a profession of Christianity, the odious distinction of caste should be relinquished. But why is the renouncing of caste so great a sacrifice? Is it because it forms a principal part of heathenism, and is one of its strongest bulwarks? If so, then it cannot possibly be united to Christianity; for that which is of so much importance to the one, must unquestionably be inimical to the other. The inference, then, is natural, that caste must be abandoned, as well as every other part of heathenism, whatever persecution should be the result."† It is said of the persecuted apostles, that they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name.‡ "Blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me."§

* Titus i. 15. † Rhenius. ‡ Acts v. 41. § Matt. xi. 6.

Another objection is, that "the sudden abolition of an evil that has become an inveterate habit in society, is mostly attended with danger, and frequently works another wrong of an opposite kind." We admit the truth of this remark in one sense, but with regard to the subject under review, what evils can be consequent upon the abolition of one of the greatest evils society can labour under? On this principle it is said that if the Sudras were to relinquish caste, the Pariars would become proud, or a revolution may be the consequence, to prevent which caste must be retained. According to this we should do evil, that good may come. The difficulty is more imaginary than real. "Pride in the Pariar is an evil; but caste is the very image of pride, and tends most powerfully to increase and perpetuate it. The pride of a Pariar, occasioned by being put in some degree on a level with a Sudra, is occasional, temporary, and limited in its operation; but the pride of caste is a continued system, and acts on society like a pestilence. The pride of the Pariar, as implied by this objection, consists in his thinking himself entitled to the same respect as the Sudra, placed in similar circumstances. And upon what Christian principles can we deny him so just a right? And how can a principle so natural, and which is held so sacred by the wisest of men, be designated pride? Would to God that the world were full of such pride. How different the pride engendered by caste, which demands that a fellow-creature, a fellow-Christian, a fellow-heir of eternal life, should crouch beneath another, who has no claim to such respect, but what the superiority of caste is supposed to give him. The pride of a Pariar, then, sinks into nothing when compared with the pride of caste. Allowing that there is danger of the Pariar becoming proud by the Sudra giving up caste, the system we propose for adoption, 'would be an effectual barrier against it.' For we conceive that no person should be baptized, that does not give real evidence of a change of mind and of being under the influence of the Holy Ghost, which will be the most effectual means to suppress and guard against any tendency to pride, especially when the minister's admonitions are not found wanting. Again, while we show ourselves anxious to prevent the Pariars from unnecessarily giving offence to the Sudras, we should be equally anxious to check by every means in our power the reigning pride of the Sudras, inasmuch as the latter is more common and more mischievous than the former."*

It is again stated, with some degree of confidence, that if the renunciation of caste be made a *sine quâ non*, there will be an

end to conversions. Yes, there will be an end to *nominal conversions*. Ten real Christians are worth ten thousand nominal ones ; and those ten real Christians may be the means of leavening a whole mass of their countrymen with holiness and righteousness. The Saviour himself says : " How can ye believe, which receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor that cometh from God only ? " Every sensible heathen, with whom we have conversed on the subject, has admitted that a Hindu forsaking his religion has no right to retain his caste ; and if he does so, his conversion is a doubtful one. They have always respect for a conscientious, learned, and upright man, who from pure motives has given up his caste,—though as heathens they would not eat with him. Such men are known to be more respected by the heathen, than by the caste observing Christians. We have an instance to the point. Mr. Haubroe had a Munshi who was once a guru among the heathens of high caste, but on his conversion renounced his caste. Mr. Haubroe desired a Tanjore Catechist to take this man into his house, until he could provide a place for him ; but the Catechist and his caste fraternity deemed it a great insult " to allow a person who had made a Pariah of himself, by eating in Mr. Haubroe's house, to be considered on an equality with themselves." This one instance is enough to show the odiousness of caste, and the necessity for its renunciation in the Church of Christ, whatever may be the consequences.

Not long ago an anonymous writer in the Madras Circulator put into the mouths of the Hindus, as an objection to their becoming Christians, " the too frequent admission of Pariahs into the church." From which it appears, as has been well known to be the fact in many instances, that he would have them excluded, or admitted less frequently. He also makes the Hindus charge the Missionaries with an " inconsiderate eagerness and zeal to advance the interests of Christianity, to the thorough annihilation of the established order of society—established by a countless number of ages." And the writer, after some remarks about following *custom*, and making some uncalled for and mean allusions to the Tanjore District Theological Institution, which is an eyesore to caste Christians, observes, that " the indefatigable labours of European Missionaries and native Priests of high caste, though exerted for a long series of years, have produced proselytes scarce worth the time and expense, and these only on the ground of being allowed to retain the distinctions of caste." Little did the writer know what testimony he was bearing for the cause of truth. He has unwittingly given an opinion in which we fully concur. The labours of Missionaries, for a long series of years, " have pro-

duced proselytes scarce worth the time and expense." Yes, it is so, and it is a humiliating fact; and it will be so, as long as caste is allowed to be retained in the Christian Church.

A plausible objection of the advocates of caste is, that if the Church should insist on the renunciation of caste, the probability is that many would apostatize and go back into heathenism, or become Romanists;—and the consequence would be that only Pariars and other low castes would become Christians. This is the language of a short-sighted policy. We have the sure word of prophecy that all shall know the Lord, from the least to the greatest, and every knee shall bow to Him in heaven and earth. But we know that the chaff must sooner or later be blown away from the Christian Church, while the grain will remain. And with regard to the professors of Christianity, it is God's plan that *the poor have the Gospel preached to them*,* "having chosen the poor of this world rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which He has promised to them that love him."† "For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called. But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are: that no flesh should glory in his presence."‡ God is no respecter of persons. All souls are his, and capable of the impression of his image. Are not the souls of Pariars, as well as of Bráhmans and Sudras, incalculably precious? Are they not capable of the enjoyment of an eternity of bliss?

"O! be wise!

Nor make a curse of immortality.
Knowest thou the importance of a soul immortal?
Behold this midnight glory; worlds on worlds!
Amazing pomp! Redouble this amaze;
Ten thousand add; add twice ten thousand more;
Then weigh the whole; one *soul* outweighs them all;
And calls the astonishing magnificence
Of *unintelligent* creation poor."

Young.

* Matt. xi. 5.

† James ii. 5.

‡ 1 Cor. i. 26—29.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRISTIANITY A SYSTEM PERFECTLY ADAPTED TO RESTORE FALLEN AND DIVIDED HUMANITY TO A STATE OF HAPPINESS AND UNITY.—THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.—ORDINANCES AND CEREMONIES.—AN ADDRESS TO NATIVE CHRISTIANS.—THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.—CONCLUSION.

“The soul, whose sight all-quick’ning grace renews,
Takes the resemblance of the good she views,
As diamonds, stripp’d of their opaque disguise,
Reflect the noonday glory of the skies.”

Cowper.

Man is a religious being, and will worship something; and by worshipping becomes assimilated to the character of the object he worships. The whole experience of the world, however, confirms the fact that man cannot by his unassisted reason establish a perfect rule of religious and moral duty, applicable to himself as a sinner and an immortal being. Even a high point of civilization has opposed no check to idolatry; thus forcibly illustrating the remark of unerring truth, that “the world by wisdom knew not God.”*

The necessities of our nature cry out for relief; they press towards something which they know not, but which they “feel after, if haply they may find it.” We want the restoration of our ruined nature. To all this Revelation responds. Do we feel that we are poor, insignificant, dependent, *limited* beings, with every thing fleeting and unsubstantial around us? The Bible declares to us a Being unlimited, unchanging and eternal, from whom we sprang, by whom we are sustained, and for whose use and glory we are formed. Do we feel that we are wretched, self-condemned, *sinful* beings? The Bible declares to us a Being holy and divine, who came into the world to save us from sin and its consequences. And do we feel that we are *feeble* beings; in understanding, weak; in will, uncertain; in every good work, imperfect? The Bible declares to us a Being wise and perfect, who can infuse new life and regenerate the soul and purify the affections.

Natural reason and conscience are insufficient to lead man into the path of truth and happiness. Conscience is not entirely guided by reason, but in a great measure by what men *believe*. *Faith* may therefore be said to be the regulator of the conscience. A correct view of God and man will form a correct

* 1 Cor. i. 21.

conscience ; and a wrong view, on the contrary, will produce its opposite.

God has given us a law by which holiness and justice, and moral right and wrong are known and felt. The Mosaic or preparatory dispensation was one of shadows and ceremonies, which "could not make the comers thereunto perfect," but pointed to a great and glorious truth which was to be developed, and which was to be a more perfect and more spiritual dispensation, bringing "life and immortality to light."

This new and perfect system of religion, now revealed to us in Christianity, is adapted to develop and perfect man's moral powers, and render him in his present condition as perfect as his nature and his circumstances will allow.

Since man cannot be instructed but by human language, and since he is so constituted that he learns by example better than precept, and since in a perfect system there must be both precept and example ; a perfect model of human nature was necessary for such a purpose ; a being, possessing a perfect human nature, who would not only give perfect precepts, but also practise those precepts before the eyes of men. The teaching and example of an angel, or of any being from a different order from man, would be of no benefit to the human family. Man must see his duties, as man, exemplified in his own nature. *Jesus Christ* assumed a perfect model of human nature, and appeared in that condition, which would have the most direct influence to destroy selfishness and pride in the human heart, and to foster in their stead humility, contentment and benevolence. "It became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings. For both he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one : for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren."*

Jesus Christ is the sun of the moral world. He came and stood as the centre of attraction to a race of beings ruined by the malignant power of sin, and scattered and dissipated by the repulsive power of selfishness. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." But Christ died for us while we were yet sinners." "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to give his life a ransom for many."† What amazing love, which made the Lord of heaven stoop down to empty himself of all his glory, to tabernacle with created sinful beings, and associate and eat with sinners, in order to elevate their condition, and to lay down his life as a purchase for their redemption. In the incar-

* Heb. ii. 10, 11.

† Matt. xx. 28.

nation and the atoning sacrifice of the Lord of glory, we see an unparalleled exhibition of love and mercy. And in his glorious resurrection, ascension and out-pouring of the promised Spirit, we see not only the doctrines he taught confirmed, and the truth of his religion established; but we also see him in his mediatorial capacity exalted to be our Prince and our Saviour, to give us repentance and the remission of sins. Jesus Christ then is the light, and life, and love of the spiritual system, drawing all men unto him by the attractive power of his meritorious righteousness.

Christianity claims to itself the title of being the only true revelation of the one only true and living God;—of being “the way, the truth and the life.” Even that doctrine which has been assailed with the greatest virulence, the doctrine of the *atonement*, is, in its practical effects, calculated to produce sentiments of the most unbounded philanthropy. It teaches that the benefits of this sacrifice are unlimited in their efficacy, and have a retrospective influence in sanctifying the virtues of those who saw the promises of God afar off.

The only way in which truths, on which depend eternal interests, can be brought into efficient contact with the soul of man, is *faith*, a living and operating principle which rectifies the conscience, purifies the affections, and produces love to God and man. It destroys sin in the heart, and produces righteousness and benevolence. This vital and necessary principle is laid at the foundation of the Christian system: “He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved.”* The main scope of Christian faith is to establish two principles, the corruption of human nature, and the redemption by Jesus Christ. The whole system of Christianity might be made to rest on this one remarkable passage, “God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.”†

Knowledge of God’s truth is the one thing needful for man. This knowledge sanctifies the heart, destroys selfishness, and produces universal love and liberty.

While Christianity claims an entire and unconditional compliance with its requisitions, there is no evil which it does not alleviate, and there is no good which it hinders us from enjoying. A compliance with its principles is profitable unto all things; being accompanied with the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come. It tends to counteract, by the spirit which it forms in its disciples, the moral evils which naturally result from the diversity of rank and circumstances; by fixing our attention on the attainment of

* Mark xvi. 16.

† 2 Cor. v. 19.

holiness, which alone will avail us in eternity. It teaches us the insignificance of all earthly distinctions, and by placing the rich and poor on the same level in the worship of that God who is no respecter of persons, it cherishes that humility of mind which in his sight is of great value. Thus, while Christianity is favorable to the internal tranquillity of nations, by inculcating subordination to magistrates, and a becoming deference to superiors, it teaches those that are elevated, not to be elated, and those that are low, not to be depressed; but, if believers, to regard each other as members of the same family, and cherishing the same hopes of joining the society of glorified spirits in heaven. Thus the admirable adaptation of Christianity to the wants of man proves its divine origin.

II. In connection with Christianity it will not, we trust, be irrelevant here, briefly to treat on the nature of the Christian church, ordinances, and communion.

The Christian Church is the aggregate sum of those, who have been called out from the dimness of Judaism and the darkness of heathenism to constitute the body of Christ, in which he, by his Spirit, dwells and works. "He is the head over all things to the Church, which is his body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all."*

It is the temple which the Holy Spirit animates, the sacred sphere in which Jehovah manifests his presence. "It is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone."† In the Saviour's commission‡ to his disciples, he designed that they should constitute a distinct and organized community of men separated from the world. The Church is not a mere substitute framed to supply or repair the deficiencies of other social institutions and corporations, but is of itself a free, peculiar, independent corporation, pervading all states, and in its object exalted far above them.

The Church is called *the kingdom of God*, of which Christ is the Supreme Head and Ruler. It is an institution not confined to place or time. It is not of earthly origin. It is designed to knit man to man in fresh and universal relationship, by uniting him to God. It gathers together all who share in that nature which God has redeemed and sanctified and glorified. Within it, all those inequalities of life and circumstances which foster so largely the pride and discontent and envy and all the evil passions of the heart, are made to disappear; for human distinctions find no place in this spiritual kingdom, in which the weak things are chosen before the strong, where Christ is

* Eph. i. 22, 23.

† Eph. ii. 20.

‡ Matt. xxviii. 20.

all in all. The Head of the Church says, "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."*

In this Church the Lord has distinctly provided and enjoined specific, public, solemn *Ordinances*; the one of admission into fellowship with this community, by which the number of its members might be recruited and increased from time to time all over the world; and the other of social union and communion, by which the relation of those members to each other and to their invisible Head might be kept up. By participating in these ordinances with a lively faith, Christians are constituted a new nation of redeemed people, holy to the Lord.

The initiatory rite is Baptism, which, when connected with "the answer of a good conscience,"† is attended with saving benefit to the soul. The soul that is regenerated, is quickened from a state of death in trespasses and in sins, is introduced into the glorious liberty of the children of God, and is the subject of that illumination which gives the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in Jesus Christ.

The Lord's Supper admits Christians into a fellowship both with their common Lord and with each other, which is peculiarly sacred, intimate, and endearing. The Saviour's injunction, "Do this in remembrance of me," imposes on all his disciples the obligation and imparts to them the right to come to the Lord's table. Of all religious services there is none better adapted to nourish and express the brotherly affections of Christians than this ordinance, in which they are required to profess their attachment to all their fellow-disciples, as well as their gratitude to their common Redeemer and Lord.

In the Church there is a public union and communion of Christians, necessary not only for the perpetuation of the Church, but to promote personal and social religion. In this holy connection, "no man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself." "For as the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit; that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it."‡

* John xvii. 20, 21. † 1 Pet. iii. 21. ‡ 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13; 25, 26.

“By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.” This language of our Lord seems to require a *visible* union, which we cannot have without public intercourse of some kind. Under the disorganizing influence of sin the tendency of man is towards a universal misanthropy. The language of Cain, “Am I my brother’s keeper?” is the appropriate language of all false systems of religion. Human nature is like a mass of quicksilver which, when it falls on the floor, splits itself into a vast number of distinct globules; but when Christ gathers the scattered globules, and puts them together in his Church, they will coalesce into one as before. Even so the essence of the social life in the Christian Church is a feeling of the sense of brotherhood and union in Christ. It is a disposition to count as brethren in the Lord, and to unite with, all who have been consecrated to our heavenly Master. Whatever may be our individual distinctions, or varieties of character in the eyes of men, yet *in Christ* we all stand on the same footing, having no hope but in his blood and righteousness. The brethren are loved, because they are *holy*, on account of their relation to the Lord; on account of which relationship they are entitled to our Christian sympathy, fellowship and beneficence. All being descended from one common parent, redeemed by one Lord, sanctified by one Spirit, and animated by one hope, they form one compact and undivided family. Such was the nature of the early Christian Church. “They continued stedfastly in the apostles’ doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread and in prayers.” “Continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, they did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart.”*

III. We would affectionately invite the attention of those natives, who have been baptized into the name of Christ and profess to be his disciples, to a few words of exhortation.

Do you know how much you are indebted to the Missions with which you are connected, and how much you owe to the eminent men who have laboured for your welfare? Can you estimate the obligation in which you stand to your Redeemer who shed his heart’s blood for your salvation? If, after professing Christianity, you still maintain and adhere to the idolatrous distinctions of caste, you are not acting up to the requirements of Christianity. To attempt to retain caste under the gospel is as unlawful, as would be the attempt to introduce the Jewish notions of purity and impurity; for you call that com-

* Acts iv.

mon which God hath cleansed. Yea, such an attempt is even more unlawful; for the Jewish notions did originally come from God and were good and lawful for a time; but caste distinctions have no other origin and no other authority than heathenism. Recollect that caste distinctions are contrary to one of the great designs of redemption: "Christ has redeemed *you* from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers."* Do you believe this? Where then is the awe which trembles at his word? Do you consider that "a Christian is the highest style of man?" And yet would you despise the Christian who is not of your caste, and consider it pollution to eat and associate with him? Would you make it your duty to please your Lord and your fellow-Christians? Or would you endeavour to please your heathen neighbours, from whom you are commanded to separate and not to touch the unclean thing? "Ye have despised the poor. Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before judgment seats? Do not they blaspheme that worthy name by the which ye are called? If ye fulfil the royal law, according to the scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself, ye do well: but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors."† If the demon of caste be still lurking in your heart, and you secretly fall down and worship him, Christ will profit you nothing. He requires an entire and unconditional surrender of yourselves to him. He will suffer no rival on his throne. Should it be said that Christians are worse than the wise heathen who have renounced caste? Hear what one of them says: "What is the good of instruction, so long as you retain your caste? It is base, after embracing a creed, to hesitate about giving up caste."‡ Shall Satan triumph in the success of his schemes? Shall the infidel point with the finger of scorn at the Church of Christ, so divided by the spirit of caste? Know you not that we must cease to be slaves, before we can be children? and that we must be free from the dominion of fear, before we can be under the government of love? The Saviour says, "Them that honour me, I will honour." Do you honour him, and "count all things but loss for the excellency of his knowledge?" The Lord of life and glory is not ashamed to call you *brethren*; are you ashamed of him and his cross? Can you conscientiously say, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." The Saviour asks, "Lovest thou me?" and says, "If ye love me, keep my commandments." And if you love him, do you love his image, wherever it is re-

* 1 Pet. i. 18.

† James ii. 6—9.

‡ Vemana, 139.

flected? Do you believe in the Lord Jesus Christ? Of true believers it is declared: "Whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God: and every one that loveth him that begat, loveth him also that is begotten of him."*

Those of you who according to the false estimate of Hinduism are accounted low and mean, remember what Christianity has done to elevate your position, and be grateful. Be humble followers of the meek and lowly Saviour, and let your oppressors and despisers see your piety and consistency of conduct, and acknowledge "that God is no respecter of persons."

Those of you who have counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ, and have forsaken your caste as well as your idolatry and your sins, and glory in nothing else but the cross, your loss is not to be compared to your gain. You are witnesses for the living God, who is glorified by the light that shineth from your sincerity; and you are witnesses for that truth which purified your hearts. "Rejoice and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven."

Fellow-Christians! Do you "forbear one another in love?"—a precept which, if obeyed, will reduce all to order and harmony in the Christian Church. Where there is envying and strife and division, there is the *carnal* mind. If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another. Know ye not that "the secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will shew them his covenant? The meek will he guide in judgment, and the meek will he teach his way. Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." What then is your imperative duty in reference to your fellow-Christians, of whatever caste they may be? Let the prophet Malachi declare: "Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously, every man against his brother, by profaning the covenant of our fathers?"†

IV. India is in Britain's power, the hundred millions of Hindustán are under her controul and disposal. A sacred duty is committed to her charge. It is a fact felt and acknowledged that European conquests have tended to mitigate the calamities of India. In contrast with the tyranny and misery of the Hindu and Mahomedan dominations, the European conquest, and especially the power of the British Government, is held in the highest reputation. The security of person and property, with righteousness and benevolence of rule, and fidelity to treaties and engagements, has won for the British name an extensive fame. The benefits conferred on India by the abolition of suttee, infanticide, and other inhuman rites

* 1 John v. 1.

† Malachi ii. 10.

and usages, and the encouragement given to education, and a variety of improvements, will yet be universally hailed as British mercies for India. We trust the day of a temporizing and timid policy is gone by, when government could issue a regulation that "no one shall be authorized to officiate as District Moonsiff, unless he be of the *Hindu or Mahomedan persuasions*,"* and when a Naick in a native Regiment was dismissed from the army for having embraced Christianity.† A more righteous policy is now pursued. The late disconnection of Government from the support of idol temples, and the still more recent noble *Lex Loci*‡ Act, by which natives embracing the Christian religion are delivered from severe and ruinous disabilities, are worthy of a powerful, intelligent, and Christian government. We trust that reforms will yet go on, and that government will not be deaf to the voice of humanity, still groaning under the lash of superstition and idolatry. It is the duty of Britain to use every legitimate means for the gradual downfall of institutions, however ancient they may be, which are calculated to check the growth of the intellectual, moral, and social improvement of man. Let there be an impartial distribution of patronage and favour; let men of learning and talents and character be encouraged, of whatever caste they may be; and let it be seen that respectability is connected not only with birth, but with learning and virtue. May the British government in its policy and legislation for India ever remember the scriptural injunction: "As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith."§

V. We must now draw to a conclusion. From all that we have considered, let us view caste in the Christian Church in a proper light. We have seen that by encouraging it, we cherish an enemy in our own bosom. Some little reform has been effected in the southern churches by insisting on the annihilation of caste distinctions in the administrations of ordinances,—a rule, at first openly resisted, and even now in many places unwillingly obeyed. Caste has been known to dry up the life and fervour of Christian faith. We have had painful experience that there is worldliness about the caste Christian, a love of something earthly, which exceeds his love to the Saviour.

It must be recollected that caste sets up a tribunal in the Church of Christ which the Gospel does not recognize or allow. Caste is a combination to maintain certain arbitrary regulations with regard to conduct. Each member is obliged to act with the rest, or he will be excluded. These regulations take cog-

* Madras Government, 1816.

† Heber's Journal.

‡ See Appendix E.

§ Gal. vi. 10.

nizance of private and public conduct, extending even to the service of God in the sanctuary. No man is at liberty to act up to the convictions of his conscience. If he dares to do so, he is formally tried by the members and the rules of caste, and if found guilty, he is ejected and is deprived of family respect, comfort, and as far as caste can reach, of the means of subsistence. Here there is an independent tribunal for judging and punishing amongst members of a Christian congregation. Now whence does this tribunal derive its authority? Not from scripture certainly, which only acknowledges two powers, the ecclesiastical which regards religious and moral actions, and the civil or magisterial which regards state offences. Caste belongs to neither of these powers, for Christianity does not recognize it, and the state cannot interfere with it, being a voluntary association. What power then shall we call this? It is decidedly anti-christian; and if so, should it be permitted in the Christian Church?

The testimony of an eminent minister, whose praise is in all the churches, is worthy of our attention. Dr. Duff says: "Simultaneous with the destruction of idolatry and superstition will be the abolition of caste. Idolatry and superstition are like the stones and brick of a huge fabric, and caste is the cement which pervades and closely binds the whole. Let us then undermine the common foundation, and both tumble at once, and form a common ruin. Wisdom proclaims they must be destroyed together, or not at all. But destroyed together in many cases they have already been. The same cause inevitably proves the ruin of both. The cruel, anti-social, tyrannical dominion of caste is made to be known, abhorred and trampled under foot, with an indignation which is not lessened by the reflection, that over ages and generations without number it has already swayed undisturbed the sceptre of a ruthless despotism, which ground men down to the condition of irrationals; and strove to keep them there, with a rigour of a merciless necessity."*

In treating the subject, however, great care and discrimination are necessary. Zeal without knowledge and firmness without prudence will do little or do no good. We must endeavour to raise the tone of moral feeling by a thorough Christian education, and employ as mission agents none but men of decided piety and ability.

We do not blame those who establish schools exclusively for caste children of the heathen. Their object is good; they are letting in light to dissipate darkness. It is only by Christian education that the mass of the people can be taught to consi-

* Duff on India, 592.

der their deep-rooted prejudices as unreasonable ; and divine grace alone can enable them to renounce such prejudices. But whatever we do, we must never lose sight of the main point, and that is, we must not sacrifice principle to expediency ; for it must be remembered that no good can be gained, if it involve the sacrifice of any important principle. In matters essential there must be no compromise, and therefore it is necessary to maintain a firm attitude in respect to the spirit of caste, in connection with the services and ordinances of the Christian Church.

We trust that Christian ministers will view their awful responsibilities in connection with this subject in a proper light. The keys of the kingdom of heaven are entrusted to them. The sacred ordinances are committed to their hands. They must be faithful to their trust, and endeavour to preserve the purity of the Christian Church, by not admitting caste into the sanctuary and to the table of the Lord.

Caste must be opposed as a *sin*, a religious error ; and a simultaneous *union of effort* is required to put it down. Its abolition must be made a test of following Christ. A decisive and unanimous step must be taken ; for as converts increase, their prejudices may grow into a barrier too formidable to resist. The difficulty must be met in its incipient stage and destroyed.

“The heathenish usages connected with caste are unknown in the presidency of Bengal, and must become unknown in every other. And that at once, so far as religion and the service of God is concerned. An isthmus cast up between Christ and Belial—a bridge left standing for retreat to paganism—a citadel kept erect within the Christian enclosure for the great adversary’s occupation—is what the gospel cannot tolerate. The Jesuits’ proceedings in China are warning enough to us.”*

Caste in the Christian Church, and the disorders consequent upon it, are certainly subjects for deep humiliation and for *fervent prayer*. God often humbles that he may exalt in due time, and waits to be enquired of. His unerring purposes have decreed that *there shall be one fold, and one shepherd* ;—Let the Church then pray and exert herself with renewed fervour and energy for the welfare of man, and the glory of God.

* Bishop Wilson’s Charge, 42.

A P P E N D I X.

(A)

PETITION OF THE PANCHALARS.

To the Hon'ble the Board of Revenue, Madras.

WE the undersigned, descendants of Punjah Brahmá, residing at Salem, beg to inform your Hon'ble Board that in the five Vedas now extant among the Hindus of this country, viz. Rik, Yajúr, Sáma, Atharva, and Pranava, and also in our Śhástras, it is averred that Sanaga Rishí sprang from the *east side* face of the Punjamuga Brahmá, endowed with the capacity of working in iron; Sanathana Rishí from the *south side* face, with the capacity of working in wood; Abuvana Rishí from the *west side* face, with the capacity of working in brass; Prattana Rishí from the *north side* face, with the capacity of working in stone; and Subarna Rishí from the face towards the sky, with the capacity of working in gold; that it is manifestly clear that we, the ironsmiths, the carpenters, the brasiers, the masons, and the goldsmiths, are the descendants of the Brahmá Rishís, and that therefore we alone ought to be designated Bráhmans; that our five kinds of works (trades) are the acts of Brahmá; that thereby the three important works, viz. those of creating, saving and destroying, are continually carried on; and that our caste-men alone were the persons who exclusively officiated as priests (*purohitas*) to the Hindus from time immemorial, and continued so to officiate even in the reign of the Kshatriya kings.

It is also mentioned in our Upanishads and Vatcherá Sutchy and in the Puránas, that Vashishtha was born of Urvasí a prostitute, that Naratha was of the washerman caste, that Vyása was a fisherman, Valmeka a huntsman, that Sankia Rishí, Cabiler, and Parasa were Pariars, Tanka Rishí, a cobbler; that Karkayer was the son of an ass;—Sawnaga Rishí, the son of a dog;—Kandannia Rishí, the son of a widow woman;—Sambuga Rishí was the offspring of a jackal;—Goutama, of a hare;—Moudavia Rishí, of a frog;—Agastia, of a water-pot;—and Pattuvasanagar, of a bird;—that from these Rishís, who were a mixed tribe of the higher and lower castes, sprang the Bráhmans, who are also called village irrigators, and that therefore the Bráhmans are a mongrel tribe.

2. That these Bráhmans had by some means or other, about 500 or 600 years ago, insinuated themselves into the favour of the Carnatic Kings, an uneducated race, who then reigned in these countries, and

having also succeeded in making some ignorant men succumb to their authority, proceeded so far as to prejudice the minds of the king (Royar) and of his minister Appaji against us, and by their influence caused a separation between us and the Vellalers, &c. denominating us the *Edenkeyer* (*left hand caste*), and them the *Valankeyer* (*right-hand caste*), and thus created such a jealousy in the minds of the latter toward us, that even they have since become our enemies, and endeavour by every possible means to mar our prospects and lower us in the estimation of others, by excluding us from privileges which belong to us alone, and which when we attempt to claim, they illtreat and abuse us in various ways. Moreover, being well aware that all the Vedas and Shástras bear witness to our being both the descendants of Brahmá, as well as the sole agents ordained by him for the performance of his Punja acts; and fearing that if the people should read them, they would discover that they (the Bráhmans) are of a low caste and thus be led to despise them, and esteem us as the objects of their veneration, they have made various attempts to pervert the passages in these holy writings (which alone are our credentials), and have moreover prevented their being read by others: as a thief who steals a jewel from another, would try to deform it and keep it hid from public view, lest it should be detected by its owner. But as it is impossible for one to lop off even a single branch from that tree whose roots are in the depth of the earth, whose top reacheth to the very heavens, and whose stem filleth the whole earth; so likewise it is impossible for them to pervert even a single letter in the Vedas; in consequence of which they have adopted other measures, and have confined the study of them to themselves; and also have prevented the other castes from reading them, under a threat that if they should at any time read them or hear them read, their posterity would be utterly destroyed. They have allowed them to read only the Puránas, having, however, perverted some portions of them also, with a view that the readers may esteem them more than us, and have in addition appended many spurious fables which militate against our character. But we, on the contrary, have ever lived honestly, and consistently with our profession from the commencement, and have appointed *Purohitas* from our own caste, excluding the Bráhmans from having any thing to do with our ceremonies. This has excited the jealousy of the Bráhmans who have therefore stirred up the Valankey people to rise up against us; and the Bráhmans themselves who have influence with government, have caused us a great deal of annoyance and trouble, of which we have complained to the Zillah Judge, to the Collector, and other Magistrates, assuring them that we are in possession of proofs from the Shástras respecting our rights to the priesthood; but since those who hold public offices in the durbars are chiefly Bráhmans, they endeavour to defeat our purpose by misrepresenting our case and refusing to receive any further petitions from us. Thus does our case lie still unheard, uninvestigated and undecided. We have, therefore, now no other alternative but to send our case to Government for their consideration.

3. Though the Sircar have accepted our complaints, they have not given us an answer as yet. We in the mean while addressed a circular

to the chief merchants and inhabitants of this country, regarding the origin of the Bráhmans caste, according to the principles of our Vedas, and desired them to examine it; but they having been bribed by the Bráhmans, refused to do so, and advised us to appeal to Government. The Honorable Company are celebrated and greatly venerated for their rectitude, generosity, knowledge, and excellent moral character; and they moreover spend enormous sums of money on the College established at Madras for the benefit of the public, and many of these gentlemen have become scholars even in the Sanskrit language—and yet it is surprising that they have not been able to discover the cupidity of the Bráhmans, and to know that they are decidedly a mean set of people,—but have on the contrary supposed them to be the noblest caste in the world, and are thus deceived as the former Carnatic kings were.

There is not a line or a letter to be found in the Vedas, which will corroborate the claim of the Bráhmans, so as to entitle them to belong to either of the four castes, viz. Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaysia, or Sudra; but on the contrary it will be found that the Rishís who are the progenitors of the Bráhmans, were born long after the various descriptions of castes had been introduced into the world. It is therefore absurd on their part to claim to be the descendants of Brahmá, who is the prime progenitor or the first Creator. If they are, as they say, the posterity of the great Creator, they ought of necessity to possess at least a little (be it ever so little) of the capacity of creating, so as to resemble Brahmá; nor would they, if they were really his descendants, have been so destined as to go about begging for a livelihood or to work for their living. Moreover, an examination of their genealogies as well as of their tribe, which are to be found in their Sasanams, will at once prove that they are but a low caste.

4. Moreover, when people are called upon to swear in courts of justice, the Christians are required to have in their hands their Bible, and the Mahomedans their Koran; but in the case of a Hindu it is not so; they have none of their Vedas given to them to swear upon; and the Bráhmans make the Europeans believe that the Rámáyana is their true Veda, and have concealed the real Veda, for fear that the Europeans would thereby discover that the Bráhmans are a low caste, and that we are the high caste. This Rámáyana is nothing more than a narrative respecting a war which broke out between two persons, one of whom ran away with the wife of the other, and the whole work is full of fabulous stories. Such being the nature of the Rámáyana, the Bráhmans, it is evident, would not regard it with any religious reverence, but would without the least hesitation presume to take false oaths upon it, and to bear false witness in your courts of justice. Neither again would the Hindus be afraid in bearing false witness after drinking the *Tulasee* water. But let us assure your Hon'ble Board candidly that if our Veda be given into their hands on such an occasion, none of them would dare to bear false witness against his neighbour. It is therefore worthy of your equitable government to take into consideration the fraudulency which the Bráhmans are practising, and have been practising since the time of the Carnatic Rájás, in order that they may be considered as

high, and others as low caste people ; and it devolves upon your Hon'ble Board to determine to which of us the priesthood exclusively belongs, by examining their genealogies ; for which purpose we are prepared to furnish you with the requisite information from the Hindu Vedas.

5. Moreover, the Bráhmans persuaded the *Polygars* of old to believe that they themselves were a tribe equal to the gods, that any acts of benevolence shewn to them would be considered as virtuous by the gods, and that their blessing would be attended with, or secure, a long succession of power and prosperity in favour of the Polygar government. The Polygars therefore, without discretion, bestowed upon the Bráhmans (to the exclusion of all others) considerable gifts of land ; for which act of partiality, on the part of the Polygars, God having been displeased, he deprived them of the reins of government, and divested them of their former authority. The Bráhmans continued, however, in the subsequent reign of the Nabob, to remain in influential circumstances, having by some means or other retained the endowments of their *Servamanium* lands. But as that government also did not act according to the will of the Almighty, it pleased him to give over this country to the English, who are true and just in all their dealings and engagements. You, Sirs, have bound the country with laws and rules suited to every class, and govern them peaceably, so that no one can hurt or injure his neighbour. But it must be recollected that the Polygars had by a false credulity taken them to be Bráhmans, who were really not so, esteemed them as *gurus*, and in consequence granted them lands in abundance. But be it remembered that they are not *gurus* to the English, neither are they required to furnish the English with calendars—nor do the English owe the exercise of their authority in this country to any aid afforded them by the Bráhmans. Yea the Tamulians cultivate their lands and pay their tax to government, and even serve the Company in their armies, and give their lives for them ; but the Bráhmans render no benefit to the English : and yet the Government esteem them very highly, and grant them *Servamaniums*, *Arthamaniums*, &c. This partiality is surely contrary to your true religion and to the equity of your government, and tends greatly to encourage the Bráhmans, whereby they are enabled to hold situations in public offices, carry on merchandize, possess numerous lands, and grant them out on contract annually to cultivation for large sums ; thus do they distress the poorer classes as they please. It may perhaps appear just that the lands bestowed on the Bráhmans who live in *Akrarams* should be possessed and enjoyed by them so long as they live, but on the death of the land-holder and in the event of his leaving no issue, the land ought of necessity to be resumed by Government. On the contrary, these Bráhmans are wont to usurp the land on such occasions, by drawing up a false document and making it appear that the land in question had already been either disposed of by the proprietor when alive, or given away by him as *Dánam* (a gift) &c., &c.

6. The Bráhmans are not *gurus* to the English ; they ought therefore to be considered in the same light as others. It would therefore be just and agreeable both to God and man, if taxes for their land be exacted from them as from the Tamulians, or if the land be re-

sumed by Government ; such resumption would in no wise offend the other castes. Otherwise, if the Bráhmans seem to be more learned than the others, or if they differ from the rest in ability, form, &c. peculiar to themselves, they are at liberty not only to enjoy what they do now, but also to have more honour bestowed on them than on others. But when they are found to be no better than the others, it is surprising that their pretended character is left so unnoticed, especially at this time, when knowledge pervades the country. It is true that lands were formerly given to them on a belief of their being Bráhmans, but since they are now proved to be no better than the low caste, according to the Hindu Vedas, surely they can be no longer entitled to hold the lands as they have hitherto done.

7. While all sects of men expect an equal share of benevolence and patronage from a government so equitable as that of the English, and while the management of all civil matters &c. ought to be transacted in the vernacular languages of the country, the Bráhmans alone are allowed to hold all the respectable offices, from a *Gumastha* to a Head *Shereshtadar* in *Azoors*, and from the office of a writer to that of a *Tassildar* in *Talooks*. Since other caste men are not employed in such offices, they deceive the others by transacting affairs in the *Mahratta* language ; and they all being of one caste, it is not likely that one would betray the other, whereas, if some of the other castes be employed together with them, the case would be otherwise. They therefore, from the same motive, give no room to others, nor will they allow them to come nigh even to the door of their cutcherries, and as there exists such an ill-will between us and them, with respect to the right of the priesthood, they look upon us as their inveterate enemies, and try their utmost to degrade and injure us, and they are not in want of means for doing so, for they have every privilege they require granted to them in the cutcherries. They boast of being the only race fit for government situations ; which of itself is an absurdity, for even if a cow-boy be employed in a cutcherry, the Sircar work would be carried on as regularly as heretofore.

We therefore pray that the Government will be pleased to employ all classes of men without distinction in public offices, to appoint East-Indians and Mahomedans as *Tassildars*, as also to endeavour to discover the fraudulency of the Bráhmans in assuming the priesthood to themselves, which deceit the former Carnatic government was not capable of discovering. We also beg to bring to your notice that if the Bráhmans' blessings were really true in order to prolong the Polygar government, as they were made to believe, what is the reason that they suffer the loss of it now ? It is manifestly known that those Polygars and Princes, who granted them lands, never prospered. Should the Government wish to take away the lands from them which have been presented for the use of temples, it will perhaps be a cause of offence to the public ; we therefore pray that Government may allow the continuance of the enjoyment of the temple lands, and take away the *Maniums* of the Priesthood from them ; and that all the foregoing statements relating to our right to the priesthood be duly investigated into and decided.

Here follow the signatures of thirty-two individuals.

Salem, 17th February, 1840.

(B)

CASTE VIEWED AS THE RESULT OF CONQUEST.

It is supposed that the system of caste was gradually established, from the successive importation of conquerors, which is evident from the physical disparities which exist between the races. "The general theory is that the *Sudras* entering India from the north-west, about 3500 years ago, cleared the country of its forests and inhabitants, and settled down to the quiet and permanent occupation of the soil. The second race, the *Kshatriyas*, one of the great warrior tribes, another branch of whom had founded the empire of Darius, poured into India like a flood, and fertilized more than they destroyed. With the hereditary gregariousness, which they have displayed in every corner of the globe, they raised and beautified enormous cities; and the ruins of Kanouj and Magadha, and the lost Palibothra, attest the architectural genius of those, whose fore-fathers may have founded Babylon and Nineveh. The *Bráhmans*, or third family, brought with them a more northern blood, and a creed disfigured by all the wild extravagancies of northern imaginations. The struggle immediately commenced between the disciplined and civilized *Kshatriya*, and the more energetic *Bráhmans*; and its first development appears to have been made at Kanouj. At first, either the nature of the *Kshatriya* worship, or their superior learning, rendered them alike insensible to the reasoning and to the swords of their *Bráhmanical* enemies. The latter, however, found means to detach from them a portion of their number, whom they designated the sons of flame (*Agnikul*), and vanquished the warrior caste throughout Northern India; from whence they gradually spread southward, greatly assisted by the series of catastrophes, which form the subject of the *Rámáyana*."

The victorious *Bráhmans* conceded to the remains of *Kshatriyas* a place only second to their own. The *Sudras* still formed the bulk of the nation: and the more wealthy and powerful of their nation were raised from their fellows, invested with a divided poita and formed into a separate caste of *Vaisyas*, or merchants. Then the system began to roll itself up, and the *Bráhmans*, by constructing their genealogies, for ever shut out from themselves the moving power of most religions—the principle of propagandism.—*Calcutta Review*, No. 25, pp. 44—46.

(C)

EXTRACTS FROM BISHOP HEBER'S CORRESPONDENCE.

Bishop Heber's Letter to the Rev. Christian David.

"*Furreedpore*, July 26, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received a singular application, signed by eighty of the native Christians in and near Vepery, and complaining of the conduct of the Lutheran missionaries, as compelling them to associate, to sit promiscuously at church, and to send their children to

the same schools, with persons of the Pariar caste. They refer me to you for a further explanation of their grievances, some of which, indeed, are expressed very obscurely. Will you, therefore, have the goodness to inform me, whether they object to intercourse with the Pariars on any superstitious ground of *caste*, or simply because these last are mostly *poor*, and belonging to the *meaner rank of society*? Whether they object to sitting in the *same church*, or merely to sitting *promiscuously* in the same part of a church with them? Whether, supposing a Christian Pariar, by industry and good fortune, to elevate himself above the rank which (according to these remonstrants) they now generally hold, of horse-keepers, scavengers, &c., to decent and affluent circumstances, they would still object to associate with him or his children? And lastly, what are the peculiarities, if any, in the conduct and language of these poor Pariars, from which they profess to apprehend pollution and infection to themselves and their children? Are there any practices, though indifferent in themselves, yet offensive to the persons of high caste, which the Pariars practice? And, if so, may they not be induced to abandon them?

I must say, there is much in the letter of these Christians which I have read with great pain. They seem puffed up above their brethren, and disposed to regard those for whom Christ died as well as for themselves, as if they were of a different species. Their letter, too, contains a sort of threat, that if their wishes are not complied with, they will forsake the Church. Alas! do they not perceive that this is not the way to gain any thing from me? That if, on such grounds, they leave the Church, they leave it to the danger of their own souls? And what other Christian society will they find who can dare receive them, while claiming an inequality so decidedly contrary to Scripture and to the declared will of that God, with whom is no respect of persons, and who, of one blood, hath made all the nations of the earth?

Still, I am ready and anxious to make every allowance to ancient and deeply-rooted prejudice, which the Gospel authorizes me to do; and I, therefore, my worthy friend, shall be much obliged to you to inform me what was the practice of Mr. Swartz's congregation in these respects? Whether Bishop Middleton made any order in the business? And, above all, what is, in your own conscientious opinion, the best remedy for the difficulty?

Believe me, my dear Sir, your sincere friend,
(Signed) R. CALCUTTA.

*Rev. Christian David's Reply.**

Bishop's College, August 5th, 1824.

MY LORD,—I have been truly gratified by the very kind and interesting letter of the 26th ultimo, with which your Lordship has been pleased to honor me, and which was immediately forwarded by the Rev.

* We give insertion to this letter just as we found it in the Tanjore Mission Records. It is the production of a native minister, originally of Tanjore, but subsequently in Ceylon.

Principal Mill to Serampore, where I was at the time attending my son, who was afflicted with fever and liver complaint.

I have shewn your Lordship's letter to the Rev. the Principal, and have communicated to him verbally, from my own knowledge and observation, the answer to the several questions by your Lordship, which, partly by his advice, I now thus fully detail as follows.

Question 1st: Your Lordship's first question was, "whether the native Christians in the South object to intercourse with the Pariars on any superstitious ground of *caste*, or simply because these last are mostly rude and belonging to the *meaner* ranks of society."

Observation. The two ideas are, in the minds of these people, merely the same,—i. e. their idea of rank is only that of *caste*. It is altogether distinct from the consideration of *poverty* or low circumstances in the world. It is necessary to observe also that theirs is purely a *worldly idea*; it is not connected in their minds with any notion of either true or false *religion*, nor is there, to my knowledge, any superstition connected with it by the native Christians; consequently I would *answer the question thus* :

Answer. They object on the ground of *caste*, though not as a superstitious ground, but as being the only rule by which they are accustomed to measure men's rank in society, i. e. on the ground of *worldly pride*, only joined to the worldly fear of degradation in the eyes of their own people, Christians as well as Heathens. (The third question will illustrate this.)

Q. 2nd. Whether, supposing a Christian Pariar, by industry and good fortune, to elevate himself above the rank which (according to those remonstrants) they now generally hold, of horse-keepers, scavenger, &c., to decent and affluent circumstances, they would still object to associate with him and his *children*?

Answer. If the person merely became rich, and so independent of menial occupations, it would make no *difference whatever* in their judgment of him; but if, even without becoming rich, he should yet become *well learned* in phisic, in astronomy, or (such is the present course of their thoughts) in the doctrines of Christianity, he will then be called Shastree or Pundit, and be respected in that character. They will sit with him and admit him to their circles, even to sharing the betel-nut, *still they will not eat food* out of the same dish with him, through the *worldly pride or fear* above mentioned; as there are several Pariar catechists in our congregations so situated, and some of yet lower caste, Pallars and Troombars, who are listened to with deference and attention even by the most prejudiced of the high caste converts.

Q. 3rd. What are the peculiarities, if any, in the conduct and language of those poor Pariars, from which they profess to apprehend pollution and infection to themselves, and their children? Are there among the Pariars any practices, though indifferent in themselves, yet offensive to persons of higher *caste*? And if so, may they not be induced to abandon them?

Answer. There are certain vulgar, and occasionally, as in jest or anger, certain indecent expressions, from which no son of a Pariar,

though a Christian, can well escape, except such as receive the learned education above mentioned,—these expressions not being reckoned at all shameful among heathen Pariars, but extremely abominable to all others, Heathens as well as Christians. Not only *language*, though this is a great point, but many practices allowed and even enjoined, by custom, on the Pariars general, make the idea of their *society* to be feared as a source of contamination even by the Christian Native of *India*. Such is their custom of eating animals that have died a natural death ; that of men, women and children drinking toddy and arrack together in the open streets, &c., &c. These, though not common among the Christian Pariars, are yet not so completely obliterated, but that they are yet feared as belonging to the caste, except, again, in the case of the educated *Pariars* above mentioned.

Q. 4th. What was the practice of Mr. Swartz's congregation in these respects ?

Answer. From the days of Ziegenbalg downwards, a period of nearly 100 years, the practice, as I have learned from my predecessors and as I have myself seen, was as follows. That the native converts should sit at church in two separate divisions—those of high, respectable caste in one ; the Pariars and those of castes still lower, in the other ; yet in such a manner, that a stranger's eye would not discover the distinction, but only the Missionaries or those acquainted with the feelings and ways of the native Christians. (To prove this, it is only necessary to observe that the unconverted natives, Hindus, Musalmáns, constantly conceive and speak of the Christians as being all of *one caste*.)

They also drink out of the same cup at the communion ; yet in such a manner, that those of the first division never drink after those of the other. For this purpose, they always go first to the rail—the men and women also separately. The two divisions have a common burial-ground, and in the funeral rites they walk promiscuously, as if with the consciousness, contrary to the heathen notion, that death entirely dissolves these distinctions. The old Missionaries, from the venerable Ziegenbalg to the present survivors, Drs. Rottler and Cämmerer, the former of Madras, the latter of Tranquebar, and the Rev. Mr. Kohlhoff of Tanjore, always lamented those feelings in their *converts*, which they felt themselves nevertheless obliged to consult in the above regulations of proceeding in church and communion. They made it a constant subject of prayer, both among themselves and with their native preachers and catechists, that these feelings of distinction might become extinct ; justifying their own practice in this respect by the accommodating (though undissembling) practice of St Paul and the other Apostles. And under this mild system, especially under the most venerable Swartz, the feelings in question, with the practices resulting from them, were visibly losing ground. A change of this mild practice was for the first time introduced by Mr. Rhenius of the Church Missionary Society, and by him recommended to various other Missionaries recently arrived, as well as of the sectarian denominations, as of those in connexion with our Church,—including Mr. Haubroe (not Mr. Falcke) of the S. P. K. These junior Missionaries agreed

among themselves to make immediate abolition of every shade of these distinctions an indispensable condition of Christian communion with the existing native *converts*. And in their mode of conducting this, they not only opposed, in the most marked manner, the senior surviving Missionaries above mentioned, but spoke both from the pulpit and in private of them and their venerable predecessors, Swartz, Gerické, Pohle, &c. as having done great mischief to the cause of Christianity. To the native Christians, who hold the memories of these illustrious men in the highest esteem and affectionate veneration, these young men were not content to speak of them as having *permitted* such and such things "because of the hardness of their hearts" (which supposing them *right*, they ought to have said, after our Lord's example speaking of Moses,) but denounced them, in the offensive manner above mentioned, as corrupters of the Gospel. The consequence of this harsh procedure, and of the innovations in the translation of the scriptures, as well as of the most known and familiar symbols, the Lord's Prayer, Decalogue, &c. of which they obtained fresh translations, were greatly disliked by the old converts, (i. e. as we may truly say, by all the native Christians now in being) as the heart-burning of which your Lordship has seen one species, shows.

Q. 5th. Whether Bishop Middleton made any order in the business?

Answer. I have heard, though I cannot trust my memory for the particulars, that a contest of this nature, in the Vepery congregation, was once submitted to the late Bishop, and that by his Lordship's intercession with both parties, greater forbearance was obtained, and harmony was for the time restored. The annual report of the P. C. K. Society for 1821, contains, I believe, a letter of Bishop Middleton alluding to this subject.

Q. 6th. What is, in your conscientious opinion, the best remedy for the difficulty?

Answer. I would humbly beg to suggest a means which must have a good effect. A word of advice, in private only (for the contest with the congregation will not admit of any other) from your Lordship to the junior Missionaries, (1) on the necessity for prudence and tenderness with respect to their flocks; (2) of unity and co-operation with their Missionary brethren of the same communion; and (3) of reverential esteem of those who have preceded them in this great work, with a zeal and success which they cannot pretend to have themselves equalled. I would venture to suggest also a pastoral letter from your Lordship to these *converts*, enjoining them at the same time to obedience to their pastors and Christian estimation of all their fellow-Christians,—explaining to them, from scripture, the utter opposition of all proud notions of *caste* to the *Gospel*, and intimating the earnest wish of their European instructors to remove this, with as little offence as possible to any of their national feelings or prejudices, without touching any just and proper distinction of rank, education, or degree in society. This would certainly have very great weight with them. And it might, in my humble opinion, be made still more useful to them, if a special address were made to the Pariahs and those of lower

caste,—reminding them that as Christianity^{*} had an evident proper tendency to elevate them with respect to themselves and their countrymen, they should carefully abstain from every expression or habit (however supposed essential to their condition in life) which might have a tendency to excite disgust and dislike in their higher brethren ; reminding them also of that necessary regard and deference which Christianity not only allows, but *commands* to be paid to our *superiors* in knowledge or worldly respectability, and of the special directions of St. Paul addressed to Christian slaves against the contempt of their Christian masters. I should not have presumed to offer these suggestions, My Lord, had not your Lordship so condescendingly invited me to do so. I beg leave to inclose, for your Lordship's perusal, the copy of my letter to Dr. Rottler, as it bears on the subject in question, and may throw further light upon the state of things at Vepery ; reserving to another opportunity to express myself on one or two further points in your Lordship's letter, irrelevant to the preceding enquiries, having already, perhaps, too greatly extended this letter, for which I beg your Lordship's indulgence, and remain, with a strong and lasting sense of the great condescension and kindness I have experienced from your Lordship, and with ardent wishes for your continued health and happiness and long usefulness in the Church,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's very obedient and faithful Servant,
(Signed) C. DAVID.

Bishop Heber's Letter to the Rev. Mr. Schreyvogel.

Chillumbrum, 21st March, 1826.

“REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I wrote yesterday to Dr.—, to express my regret at not being able to visit you at—. Since that time having again looked over your letter to me, as well as that which you sent on the subject of distinctions of caste, and of other customs yet remaining among the native Christians, which you reprobate as heathenish and improper, I have been led to wish for some explanation of those customs, and of your reasons for objecting to them, of which the latter, as expressed in those papers, (to deal freely with you) do not seem to me satisfactory. With regard to the distinctions of caste, as yet maintained by professing Christians, it appears that they are manifested, (a) in desiring separate seats in church, (b) in going up at different times to receive the holy communion, (c) in insisting on their children having different sides of the school, (d) in refusing to eat, drink or associate with those of a different caste.

Now it is desirable to know whether these are insisted on as religious, or as merely civil distinctions ; whether as arising from a greater supposed purity and blessedness in the Sudras over the Pariars, or whether they are not badges of nobility and ancient pedigree, such as those which in Spain, even among the poorest classes, divide the old Spaniards and Castilians from persons of mixed blood,—and in the United States of North America entirely exclude Negroes and Mu-

lattos, however free and wealthy, from familiar intercourse with the whites; also whether the Christians of high caste adhere to these distinctions as supposing that there is any real value in them, or merely out of fear to lose the society and respect of their neighbours and relations? If these questions are answered in the affirmative (as they have been very solemnly by the Rev. —, in answer to my repeated inquiries), I confess that I do not think the evil so great as to be insufferable, or to justify the ministers of Christ in repelling from the communion those who adhere to them,—though it may be that the spirit of pride, (from which they flow) should, by gentle means, be corrected as far as possible. We all know that in Europe persons of noble birth or great fortune claim and possess precedence in our churches, and I have already observed that the whites take the same priority to themselves in America. But there is no reason for this but custom, inasmuch as a gentleman and a beggar are as much equals in God's sight as a Sudra and a Pariar. The reason why a Christian gentleman conforms to these rules is, because by acting differently he would lose influence with those of his own degree in society, and a Sudra may say the same thing, and does say it. It seems, then, to me, that these distinctions of castes in church may still be allowed to continue, provided due care is taken to teach our congregations that they are all naturally equal.

With regard to their private meals and social intercourse, it seems to me, that we have still less business to interfere, "For meat and drink destroy not him for whom Christ died." In the schools, indeed, and among the children,—taking places, &c. must be arranged, as it appears to me, without regard to caste, but even here caution should be observed to disgust no man needlessly.

I perceive you object very strongly to certain ceremonies usual in marriages, such as going in procession through the streets, with music, erecting a pandal, &c. On what grounds of reason or scripture do you object to these? Are they idolatrous? Are they necessarily or usually attended with uncleanness or indecency? In what respect do they essentially differ from those ancient ceremonies which are known on the like occasions to have been practised among the Jews, to which both the prophets and our Saviour make repeated allusions, without ever naming them, and which, judging from analogy, must have been practised at that very marriage of Cana, which our Lord sanctioned by His presence?

Again, it appears that one of your principal causes of complaint against the — has been, that they would not sanction the sentence of excommunication pronounced against a person who had dancing girls in his house, and another who had acted some theatrical part. Now here, too, I much want information. Were the dances indecent in themselves? Were the performers persons of notoriously indecent character, prostitutes or servants of some heathen temple? Or did you object to the dancing itself as unchristian and a fit ground for excommunication? In like manner, was the acting on a public stage and for money? Was the drama indecent or immoral? Or was it (as from the little which I yet know of Indian customs, I am led to suspect) one of those masqued fooleries in which the common people of Germany and

England often indulge at Christmas and harvest home, and which, though they may sometimes be abused, are not regarded as in themselves criminal, or worthy of ecclesiastical censure?

My reasons for asking information on these subjects will be plain, when I mention, that the question of caste and of such practices as these has been referred to my consideration both by the Christians and Missionaries of Vepery, and that in order to gain more light on the subject, a select Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has been at my desire appointed. In the mean time, I am most anxious to learn from every quarter, especially from a Christian minister of your experience and high character, the real truth of the case. God forbid that we should encourage or suffer any of our converts to go on in practices either antichristian or immoral, but (I will speak plainly with you, as one brother in Christ should with another) I have also some fears that recent Missionaries have been more scrupulous in these matters than need requires, and than was thought fit by Swartz and his companions. God forbid that we should wink at sin,—but God forbid also that we should make the narrow gate of life narrower than Christ has made it, or deal less favorably with the prejudices of this people, than St. Paul and the primitive Church dealt with the almost similar prejudices of the Jewish converts.

It has occurred to me that if either you or —, (to whom pray offer my best wishes and respects) could find time on Easter Monday to come over to meet me at Tanjore,—my doubts might be the better cleared one way or the other, and other matters might be discussed in a few words, of much advantage to the cause of Missions in this country.

I remain,

Rev. and dear Sir,

Your faithful and Obedient Servant,

(Signed) REGINALD CALCUTTA.

Bishop Heber's Articles of Enquiry on the Question of Caste.

I. *General.*

1. Is the distinction of castes observed among the Christians of your Mission?

2. If not, has the neglect of it been recently introduced? or has it been always so since the first establishment of the Mission?

3. Be pleased to distinguish accurately,—1. Such observances of caste among Native Christians as are purely civil; 2. Such as are purely heathenish and idolatrous; 3. Such as are of a mixed nature.

4. Do such observances arise from supposing a greater degree of inherent purity or blessedness in the higher classes above the lower?—or are they simply insisted on, as badges of nobility and ancient privilege?

5. Do Christians of high caste, who adhere to them, attach any real value to them *per se*? or do they retain them only as a means of influence among their heathen neighbours and relations, and from a fear of losing their respect in society?

6. Do the heathens regard those Christian converts who adhere to their former distinctions of caste with any greater respect than they do those who violate them? and to what extent is any such respect carried? and for what purposes is it really valuable?

7. Is the profession of Christianity, as it is a new law and condition of life, considered by the heathens in the light of a caste, conveying to the converts new privileges of a social as well as of a religious nature?

8. If your own experience does not enable you to answer the last question fully, can you throw any light on it from the analogy of converts to Mahomedanism from Hinduism? Are such converts, though they abandon their former caste entirely, looked upon as transferred to a new caste, in itself respectable and privileged?

II.—*Church.*

1. Are separate places appropriated in your churches to the several castes? Is a separate chalice and paten ever suffered for separate castes in the administration of the Lord's Supper? Do they go up at different times to the holy table?

2. Do you consider such appropriation desirable or necessary? Does it seem to rest on the same grounds of the proper gradation in the different orders of society, in the point of wealth or official station, as obtains throughout Christendom? or does it rather lead to confound those natural distinctions of rank and order, introducing others more inconvenient and mischievous?

III.—*School.*

Is any objection evinced by native Christians to send their children for instruction to a school which is open to all castes? or do they express a wish to have a different school for the higher and lower castes?

2. Supposing the Native Christians of all castes are willing to send their children to one common school, do the parents of higher caste shew any objection to their children mingling in the same class at school with children of lower caste, and taking places with them?

3. Do the children of Christian converts observe any holidays but those which are of Christian origin? And if so, be pleased to co-enumerate them and to state their nature;—and also whether observances of these holidays affect the attendance of the children at school.

IV.—*Social Intercourse.*

1. Supposing Natives of different castes to become converts to Christianity, do they object to eat and drink together of the same provisions? and if the objection is made, is it on the side of the higher or lower caste?

2. Are any distinctions observed among Christian converts in contracting and forming marriages? And if so, are those distinctions merely of their trade and calling, or of a religious nature?

3. In addition to the ceremonies of the Church in solemnizing marriages, do the Christian converts observe any other ceremonies? And if so, enumerate them, stating whether they are observed in the procession to and from church, or in the domestic festivities consequent on the marriage.

4. Are there any such observances in the case of funerals, either at the time of the service, or at any subsequent period?

V.

Be pleased to add such other points of information on the subject as you consider important in order to a clear judgment of the question.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—The special Committee of the Madras District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, appointed by the late Bishop Heber for the purpose of collecting information on the subject of caste in the native churches of the south, beg to forward to you the accompanying articles of enquiry, and earnestly request your attention to the important subject. In order to ensure distinctness as much as possible in the valuable materials which they thus hope to collect, they will be obliged to you to return answer to each question as concisely as possible, and to favor them, under the last number, with such further information for the guidance of their judgment as the preceding articles may not embrace.

I have the pleasure to enclose a copy of Bishop Heber's letter, addressed to one of your body, when the subject was proposed to his Lordship, and upon which the Committee have endeavoured to ground their present enquiries.

I remain,

Rev. and dear Sir,

Your faithful Servant,

(Signed) THOMAS ROBINSON,
President M. D. C.

Madras, 27th October, 1828.

Statements relative to the Articles of Enquiry on the Question of Caste, by the Tanjore Missionaries.

I.—General.

1 and 2. The distinction of caste, though not in its full extent, has been observed among the Christians of Tanjore since the establishment of this Mission by the late Rev. Mr. Schwartz, soon after the year 1762. Mr. Schwartz in permitting, with some restrictions, a custom apparently so opposite and prejudicial to the spirit of the Gospel, to remain in the new congregations, was guided by his own discretion as well as by the example of the Tranquebar Missionaries before him, and

that both they and himself were actuated herein by motives of prudence and caution, is plain from several of their letters still extant.

In the course of administration of the Mission affairs since the death of Mr. Schwartz, myself and several of my colleagues successively have endeavoured to act with similar caution and forbearance, at the same time seizing every opportunity to soften the mutual prejudices arising from distinction of caste, and to bring our Christians by degrees into closer union with each other as brethren in one Lord and Master, Christ. And we have had the satisfaction to observe, that distinction of caste has, until of late, been seldom the object of controversy among Christians, and has gradually lost a great deal of its importance.

3. It is usually thought that distinction of caste originated from and was founded upon the Bráhmancial system and was one of the chief auxiliaries in its support and defence. The latter may be true as far it relates to heathens, but is certainly not the case in reference to Christians; for they, by embracing Christianity, renounce all idolatrous practices connected with the religion of Bráhmans, and particularly with the observance of caste. But as for the distinction of the several castes itself, it is by no means certain that it originated from the Bráhmancial system. The more probable opinion—of course not among Bráhmans, but among intelligent natives of other castes—is that the several castes existed distinct one from another, long before the Bráhmans came to this country; that it was merely of a civil or political nature, and that the Bráhmans only blended it with their idolatry, by persuading the original inhabitants of this country to believe that the four principal castes of mankind, viz. Bráhmaṇ, Kshatriya (Chattriar), Vaisya, and Sudra, owed their origin to Brahmá, who produced the first class from his head, the second from his shoulders, the third from his thigh, and the fourth from his feet, and distinguished each of them by a higher or lower degree of moral purity and blessedness in this world as well as in a future state. As nearly all the historical documents relative to former ages were destroyed by the Bráhmans on their arrival in this part of India, it is difficult to discern the small remains of truth among the vast mass of imposture. Otherwise it might most likely be discovered that the abject state in which some of the lower castes are at present, originated from political causes, as conquests, conspiracies, treasons, &c. One instance of this nature is, indeed, handed down by tradition and recorded by Bráhmancial writers, viz., that the Kamaller, a higher caste than that of Pariars, on account of a conspiracy raised by them, were deprived of several privileges, which even Pariars enjoy, as riding a white horse, using a white umbrella, and going in a páłki, &c.

If, therefore, the Bráhmancial story concerning the origin of caste be false, heathens, who embrace Christianity, return back, in point of caste, from error to original truth; they make caste again, what it had been before, a civil distinction. And supposing even the Bráhmancial account to be correct, then, too, such of the heathens as become Christians and renounce every thing connected with the superstition and idolatry of the Bráhmancial system, can of necessity retain nothing in the distinction of caste but what is merely of a civil nature; none of

their observances in this respect can, properly speaking, be of an idolatrous or even mixed nature, as among heathens, nor have such ever been permitted to be practised in their Mission, for the same reason.

4. The higher classes, at least the more intelligent and better informed individuals among the Christians, do not, in the observance of such distinction, act from a supposition that they are morally better than those of a lower class, or entitled to greater spiritual privileges; but they insist on it merely as a badge of superior rank in society, as an ancient civil prerogative.

5. They neither adhere to such distinction, because they attach any real value to it *per se*, but because by neglecting it they would give offence to high and low among heathens and Christians, lose not only their respect in society, but likewise all their influence among their heathen neighbours and relations.

6. The more bigoted heathens consider every Christian convert, of whatever caste he may be, as degraded, and in former times he was in their opinion undeserving of the rights of social intercourse; but one who violates or entirely gives up his caste, is treated as an outcast. Every heathen will avoid him more carefully than he would even Pariahs, Pallars, and Sackliars.

At present high caste Christians meet with more respect from heathens than formerly, owing partly to their own personal character and conduct, partly to the high stations to which some of them have been advanced. And though the circumstance does not immediately contribute to the furtherance of the Gospel, yet it serves greatly to make Christianity in general more and more respected among the neighbouring heathens. In regard to native priests and high caste catechists this respect is of still greater importance. They gain easier admittance among respectable natives of high caste, and meet with more frequent and favorable opportunities to converse with them freely on religious subjects, privileges which no Pariah can look for. This respect, however, and all the advantages derived from it, is forfeited for ever, as soon as they violate the observance of caste; native priests and catechists will thereby render themselves entirely useless to the Mission.

7 and 8. The heathens, who consider the different castes among themselves as religious distinctions, connected with greater or less privileges, look undoubtedly also upon the profession of Christianity as such a distinction, but as one of the very lowest degree, and which degrades below all the castes of Hinduism. As for new privileges of a social as well as of a religious nature, they can scarcely be said to allow it any, for in their estimate the loss of those privileges which Christian converts enjoyed while heathens, can never be compensated by any thing. If they respect, therefore, in some measure, Christians of high caste, as stated above; it is merely on account of superior personal qualities, rank and conduct; but upon the Christian religion itself they will always look as unworthy of comparison with their own.

They would treat Mahomedanism with no less contempt, had not the respect which they at present show to it, been formerly forced from them by the sword, and did not Mahomedans still form so numerous and powerful a body in the Indian community.

II.—*Church.*

1. At church the Christians of the high caste, both men and women, sit on the right, and those of the low caste on the left side of the pulpit, but without any intermediate space between them.

There has never been used a separate chalice and paten for separate castes in the administration of the Lord's Supper. But they go up at different times to the holy table.

2. The appropriation of separate places to the several castes (chiefly two, high and low caste) though not desirable, will be necessary as long as the distinction of caste itself remains; for any interference in this respect would at present be looked upon by all of them as an encroachment upon their civil rights. It rests on their own estimate of a proper gradation in the different orders of society, and as both sit according to their rank and station on their respective sides—though they are not so very anxious about it—the natural steps of rank and order are always conspicuous.

III.—*School.*

1. No objection has ever been made by native Christians to send their children for instruction to the Mission schools, because they are open to all castes; nor have they at any time expressed a wish to have different schools for the higher or lower castes. It ought to be remarked particularly that the teachers are very often of the low caste; but this too has never been objected to.

2. The children of one class sit indiscriminately, and take their places only according to their attainments and diligence in their respective lessons. This order has always been willingly submitted to by parents of high caste children.

3. Children of Christian converts do not observe, nor would they be permitted, if they wished to do so, any holidays but those which are of Christian origin. There are four principal heathenish festivals, connected with more or less outward show, which children are fond to look at; but this is merely curiosity, and is never allowed to interfere with their attendance in the school. The festivals are the following:

a, *Pongal*, (middle of January.) The heathens worship the sun as the author of all good, by boiling rice, offering it to the sun, and then worshipping it. The next day they repeat the same offering to cattle as a secondary source of good, and pay them also divine adoration.

b, *Kaumen*, or *Karnadahanam* (beginning of March). This they celebrate in honor of Siva, who burnt and consumed *Manmada* by the eye of his forehead.

c, *Dusara*, (middle of October.) The heathens perform religious ceremonies to Saraspathy, the goddess of Wisdom; during this festival they perform the *Aitha Pujá*, i. e. they wash the particular implements of their respective trades and worship them.

d, *Dipavaly*, (beginning of November.) This festival is celebrated in commemoration of the death of a *Rauchuden* (giant), *Naragasuren* by name, who in ancient times had committed a great deal of mischief in the world. The people rejoice, visit and congratulate each other.

IV.—*Social Intercourse.*

1. Converts of Christianity from different castes will, in separate places, eat and drink of the same provisions, if they be prepared by a high caste person, but not, if prepared by one of the low caste. The objection is always made on the side of the higher caste, not by Sudras only, but by all successively, who have or think to have one caste below them. Thus the Sudra will not eat the meal of a Kammalen, the Kammalen not that of a Parian, the Parian not that of a Pallen, the Pallen not that of a Sacklien, &c. and the two latter, thinking themselves higher or cleverer than the Pariar, will not eat any thing prepared by them. But all will eat what is prepared by a Sudra.

2. No marriage is contracted between parties belonging to two different castes. This custom is strictly observed, not from a religious view of distinction of caste, but principally with the intention of preserving their family interests undivided, and of keeping up their particular trade and calling.

3. The ceremonies in solemnizing marriages are the following : According to the custom of the country the nearest relations of the bride and bridegroom erect a pandal in or near the house, as neat as their circumstances will enable them, in order to accommodate their relations and friends. There the *Parisam* (dowry) is given to the bride before the people assembled ; from thence they proceed to church, sometimes singing divine hymns, accompanied by soft music. After the marriage ceremony is over, they return home in the same manner as they came, join in prayer, distribute betel and nut to every one, and then separate. The following day they give an entertainment to the relations, and carry the bride and bridegroom, accompanied by music, in procession to visit their friends at their houses.

4. At funerals they observe the following customs : After the corpse has been buried, the relations bathe. The chief mourner shuts himself up at home for about a week or ten days ; he then receives the condolence of his friends, and gives them an entertainment ; he puts on a new turban given him by one of the nearest relations, and thus the mourning ends.

V.

Distinction of caste in its full extent, as it prevails among heathens, is certainly a great hindrance to the propagation of Christianity ; for it is so closely interwoven with the Bráhmancial system, that while it receives from thence its principal strength, it again becomes one powerful bulwark of Bráhmancial imposition ; and in its nature and tendency it opposes the very first principles of the Gospel, humility and love.

That such a barrier, therefore, should be abolished, must be the wish of every one who is desirous of the success of the Gospel in this country. The experience, however, of more than a century has proved, that it is not at once and by force, that this obstacle is to be removed, but by gentle means and by degrees. Compulsion, as in many other cases, would particularly here greatly increase the evil. Difficulties in bringing Gentiles within the pale of Christianity, already great, would

become nearly insurmountable, while the Christian congregations already collected would fall a prey to confusion and contention.

A great point is gained, when through the influence of the gospel distinction of caste becomes divested of all its reference to and connection with idolatry, and is thus reduced to its original shape as a civil distinction in the community. And what more may be done, in order to overcome some remaining prejudices, to which particularly new converts are liable, by a cautious and conciliating proceeding, Mr. Schwartz and other excellent Missionaries have sufficiently shown by their example. Christians who have been carefully instructed and who have been imbibing the spirit of the Gospel, will, though different in caste, always consider and esteem each other as members of one body in Christ, and as joint-heirs with him, they will exercise the Christian law of love, and never refuse their assistance, if they have it in their power, to one, because he belongs to a lower caste.

That the high caste Christians do not intermarry nor eat with those of the low caste, is owing to the different occupation and way of living peculiar to the several castes. The labors in the field, the employment of undertaker, and all the other mean occupations necessary in a community, are according to the ancient *Mammul* (custom) exclusively the duty of low caste people, whether heathen or Christian; nor would they allow any one of another caste to intrude on their trade. This, of course, has a great influence on their way of living.

To oblige, therefore, a man of a higher caste and accustomed to a genteeler way of living, to eat with them, is doing force to common delicacy and to the natural feelings of sense, and may be sometimes of serious consequences to bodily health. Some of the ancient Missionaries once persuaded a Siva convert (who according to the custom of his caste lived only on vegetable food) to eat meat, in order to show that he did not abstain from it on account of superstition and pride. He complied, but nearly died by making the trial!

There is every reason to hope that the more native Christians grow in the knowledge and practice of the truth, the weaker will become their prejudices of every kind; they will more and more approach each other, and by degrees become accustomed to put little or no value on their distinction of caste. But if compulsion of any kind be resorted to, in order to abolish their distinction, the majority will immediately consider it as a privilege in danger, and attach an importance to it which it never had before. Jealousy will engender discord, and social intercourse, such as it has been, will cease. In short, a breach will be made, which it will be difficult, if possible, to fill up again.

BISHOP WILSON'S CIRCULAR.

To the Rev. Brethren the Missionaries in the Diocese of Calcutta, and the flocks gathered by their labors or entrusted to their care.

Palace, Calcutta, July 5th, 1833.

REV. AND DEAR BRETHREN,—Having heard that some usages of an unfavorable nature prevail in certain of the Native churches, and

more particularly in the southern parts of the Peninsula, I am led by the obligations of my sacred office to deliver to you this my paternal opinion and advice. My honoured and revered predecessors in this See, now with God, laboured to abate the inconveniences to which I allude ; and I am much relieved in discharging my own share in this duty by the memorials of their previous admonitions, which I have had the opportunity of consulting. Their abstinence from any official interference ought to have commended their advice to your cheerful acquiescence, and to have superseded the necessity of my now entering upon the subject. But as their forbearance and kindness have failed to produce the desired effect, you will not be surprised, if I feel compelled, as the Pastor and Bishop of Souls, under Christ our Lord, in this Diocese, to prescribe to you what seems to me essential to the preservation of the purity of the Christian faith amongst you.

The unfavourable usages to which I refer, arise, as I understand, from the distinctions of castes. These castes are still retained ; customs in the public worship of Almighty God, and even in the approach to the altar of the Lord, are derived from them ; the refusal of acts of common humanity often follows,—processions at marriages and other rites of heathenism are at times preserved ; marks on the countenance are sometimes borne ; envy, hatred, pride, alienation of heart are too much engendered ; the discipline and subjection of the flock to its shepherd are frequently violated ; combinations to oppose the lawful and devout directions of the Missionaries are formed—in short, under the name of Christianity, half of the evils of paganism are retained.

These various instances of the effect of the one false principle, the retention of caste, might be multiplied. They differ no doubt in different places ; in some stations they are slight and few, in others numerous and dangerous,—many native congregations are, as I trust, free from them altogether, many have nearly accomplished their removal. I speak, therefore, only generally, as the reports have reached me. I throw no blame on individuals, whether ministers or people ; it is to the system that my present remarks apply, and it is in love I proceed to give my decision.

The distinction of castes then must be abandoned, decidedly, immediately, finally ; and those who profess to belong to Christ, must give this proof of their having really put off concerning the former conversation the old, and having put on the new man in Christ Jesus. The Gospel recognizes no distinctions, such as those of caste, imposed by a heathen usage, bearing in some respects a supposed religious obligation, condemning those in the lower ranks to perpetual abasement, placing an immoveable barrier against all general advance and improvement in society, cutting asunder the bonds of humane fellowship on the one hand, and preventing those of Christian love on the other—such distinctions, I say, the Gospel does not recognize ; on the contrary, it teaches us that God “hath made of one blood all the nations” of men ; it teaches us that “whilst the princes of the gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great, exercise authority upon them, it must not be so amongst the followers of Christ, but that whosoever will be great amongst them, is to be their minister, and

whosoever will be chief among them, is to be their servant, even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give his life a ransom for many."

The decision of the apostle is, accordingly, most express. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for we are all one in Christ Jesus." For if the strong separation between the holy nation and the gentiles, which was imposed by God himself, and had subsisted from the first legislation of Moses, was abolished, and the wall of division dug down, and all the world placed on one common footing under the Gospel, how much more are heathen subdivisions, arising from the darkness of an unconverted and idolatrous state, and connected in so many ways with the memorials of polytheism, to be abolished.

Yet more conclusive, if possible, is the holy apostle's language in another epistle,—“Seeing ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him, where (in which transition, when this mighty change has taken place) there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all, and in all.” So overwhelming is the flood by which all petty distinctions of nation, caste, privilege, rank, climate, position in civilization are effaced, and one grand distinction substituted, that between those who are renewed after the image of God, and those who remain in the state of fallen nature.

Imagine only the blessed apostle to visit your churches. Suppose him to follow you in your distinctions of caste, to go with you to the table of the Lord, to observe your domestic and social alienations, to see your funeral and marriage ceremonies, to notice these and other mummeries of heathenism hanging upon you and infecting even what you hold of Christianity, to hear your contemptuous language towards those of inferior castes to yourselves,—to witness your insubordination to your pastors and your divisions and disorders. Imagine the holy apostle, or the blessed and divine Saviour himself, to be personally present and to mark all this commixture of gentile abominations with the doctrine of the Gospel, what would they say? Would not the apostle repeat his language to the Corinthians, “Therefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty?” And would not the adorable Redeemer say again, what he pronounced when on earth, “He that loveth father and mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.”

There are two objections, dearly beloved, which may be raised against this statement. The one, that St. Paul became all things to all men, “that by all means he might save some.” The other, that civil distinctions are recognized in the New Testament and prevail in all Christian nations.

To the first I answer that the apostle did indeed, for a time, tolerate

the Jewish prejudices in favour of the Mosaical law, which had been itself of divine institution, and was not wholly abolished till the destruction of Jerusalem and the dissolution of the Jewish polity; but that this lends no support to a distinction, heathenish in its origin, and inconsistent with the equal privileges to which all are under the gospel admitted. A divine law introductory to Christianity, though at length superseded by it,—and a cruel institution which sprung at first from idolatry, and is opposed to the whole spirit of Christianity, are totally different things. Nor are we to forget that even during the brief period that the Jewish law was permitted to retain any force, the apostle denounced in the strongest manner and directed the whole epistle to the Galatians against the fatal error of trusting to it before God. All the mildness and gentleness of the apostle, therefore, we desire to imitate in the wise and gradual instruction of the new convert; but an inveterate evil, spread through large bodies of professed Christians, and going on to evaporate the whole force of the gospel, we must carefully eradicate.

The other objection is answered in a word. The civil distinctions of rank amongst Christians form no hindrance to the intercourse and offices of charity: there is no impassable barrier. The first noble in the land will enter the abode and administer to the wants of the poorest cottager. There is nothing to hinder any one from rising, by industry and good conduct, to the loftiest elevations of society. The shades and gradations of rank are shifting perpetually. Birth condemns no class of men from generation to generation to inevitable contempt, debasement and servitude. The grace of Christ, charity, the church, the public worship of God, the holy communion, various circumstances of life and occasions of emergency unite all as in one common fold, under one common Shepherd. The rich and the poor under the gospel meet together, the Lord is the Maker of them all. Distinctions in civil society the gospel acknowledges and retains only when they are the natural result of difference of talents, industry, piety, station and success.

The decision, therefore, remains untouched by these objections, in the necessity of making which I am confirmed by two circumstances, the one, that in Bengal no distinction of castes is known amongst the converts—it is renounced in the very first instance; the other, that apostacies to heathenism have been of late but too frequent in the congregations where the distinction is permitted to remain.

In the practical execution, however, of the present award, dear Brethren, much wisdom and charity, united with firmness, will be requisite.

1. The catechumens preparing for baptism must be informed by you of the Bishop's decision, and must be gently and tenderly advised to submit to it. Of course the minister informs the bishop or arch-deacon a week previously to the intended baptism of each convert, agreeably to the directions given by my honored predecessor in his charge delivered at Madras in November, 1830, and this will afford opportunity for each particular case being well considered.

2. The children of native Christians will, in the next place, not be admitted to the holy communion without this renunciation of caste,

—their previous education being directed duly to this amongst other duties of the Christian religion, no material difficulties will as I trust arise here.

3. With respect to the adult Christians already admitted to the holy communion, I should recommend that their prejudices and habits be so far consulted as not to insist on an open direct renunciation of caste. The execution of the award, in the case of all new converts and communicants, will speedily wear out the practice.

4. In the mean time it may suffice that overt acts, which spring from the distinction of castes, be at once and finally discontinued in the church—whether places in the church be concerned, or the manner of approach to the Lord's table, or processions in marriages, or marks on the forehead made with paint or other mixtures, or differences of food or dress—whatever be the overt acts, they must, in the church and so far as the influence of ministers goes, be at once abandoned.

5. Subjection, in all lawful things, to the ministers and pastors set over them must further accompany this obedience to the gospel. The resistance to due discipline, the tumults, the slanders, the spirit of insubordination, the discontent, of which I hear such painful tidings, must be renounced, and the temper of evangelical piety and obedience, according to the word of Christ, must be cultivated.

6. The only effectual means, dear Brethren, missionaries and pastors of the native congregations, of restoring the simplicity and purity of the gospel, is to preach and live yourselves more fully according to the grace of the New Testament. The union of spiritual doctrine with holy consistency of conduct, is the secret of all revivals of the decayed piety of churches. You will observe that when the apostles depress and condemn inferior and petty distinctions and grounds of separation, they do it by exalting the gigantic blessings of Salvation, by declaring 'that they who have been baptized into Jesus Christ, have put on Christ,' by asserting 'that if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature,' by pronouncing that 'Christ is all and in all' those who believe in his name.

7. Let us do the same. The holiness of God's law, the evil of sin, the fall of man, his responsibility, his helplessness, his state of condemnation before God—these are the topics which prepare for the gospel of Christ. Repentance is thus wrought by the grace of the Holy Spirit in the heart. Then the glory of Christ begins to break out upon the awakened and contrite soul. The sun shines not with more clearness, when the whole heaven is illuminated and gilded with his beams, than the Sun of Righteousness pours his bright light upon the unveiled mind. This leads to pardon, justification, acceptance, adoption, peace of conscience, hope of heaven. Then regeneration and progressive sanctification have their due course. Holiness is the fruit of faith, and follows after justification. The inhabitation of the Spirit consecrates every Christian a temple of God. Good works, in all the branches of newness of life, are thus produced, even as the rich fruit by the tree, enabling us to discern its real nature and value. Prayer, the worship of God, the divine authority of the sabbath, the sacraments, the apostolical order and discipline of the church, the obedi-

ence due to pastors, the general duties springing from the communion of saints, with preparations for death, judgment and eternity, close the main topics of evangelical doctrine.

8. When these are enforced with the tenderness and boldness which become the minister of Christ, when they are accompanied with private visits, exhortations and prayers, and are bound upon the conscience by the consistent walk of him who delivers them, the blessing of the Holy Spirit gives efficacy to the instructions. Men are awakened, born anew, roused, brought from the darkness of heathenism into the light of the gospel, and from the power of Satan unto God. They burst the thralldom of a natural state. Friends, family ties, privileges, caste distinctions fall like Dagon before the truth, of which the ark of old was the symbol; the convert rejoices 'to count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus his Lord.' He crucifies the whole body of sin; he 'presents his body a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is his reasonable service.'

In this way, beloved Brethren, will the God of all grace recover your decayed churches. Thus will the power of godliness revisit you. Thus will apostacies cease, and the weak be confirmed and built up on their most holy faith.

Full of love to you all is the heart which dictates these lines—I long to be able myself to visit you, and see the effects of this my paternal letter upon you. Think me not harsh, severe, too rigid. God knows the tenderness with which I would direct you, as a nurse cherisheth her children. It is that very tenderness which induces me to grieve you for a moment, that you may attain everlasting consolation. Faithless is the shepherd who sees the wolf coming, and fleeth and leaveth the sheep. So would be the bishop who hearing of the enemy of souls ravaging amongst you, shunned, from a false delicacy, to warn you of the danger. Rather, Brethren, both ministers and people, I trust that my God will give an entrance to His word, by however weak and unworthy an instrument, into your hearts. Rather, I trust, you will 'suffer the word of exhortation.' Rather, I hope, you will be ready, before you read these lines, to put away from you these practices which weaken your strength, and dishonor the holy name wherewith you are called. Yes, let each one say, it is the voice of the good shepherd that we hear, we will follow the call,—we will rejoice to renounce for Christ's sake our dearest objects of affection, we will offer our heart upon the altar, we will give up ourselves without reserve, not only in these instances, but in every other, to Him who hath lived and died and revived, that 'He might be Lord both of the dead and living.'

To the grace of this adorable Saviour I commend you, and am,

Your faithful Brother,

(Signed) DANIEL CALCUTTA.

(D)

REPORT OF THE MADRAS COMMISSIONERS.

To the right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Madras.

May it please your Lordship,

1. Having, as your lordship's commissioners, inquired as fully as lay in our power into the matter submitted to us in your Lordship's letter, dated July 21, 1845, we have the honour to submit to your Lordship the result of our examination of various individuals connected with the Vepery mission, and to add the following notes on the subject.

2. The matter proposed for inquiry is twofold.

3. First, the 'sense' in which caste is held by the native Christians of the Vepery mission; and

4. Second, the 'extent' to which they hold it.

5. First, as regards the 'sense' in which caste is held by the native Christians, we are of opinion, from the examination of the various witnesses who have appeared before us, that it differs in no respect from that in which it is held by the heathen natives around them. The principles of it are the same in both, and the practices arising out of it are precisely similar; and although it appears that some of their customs, of a public ceremonial nature, have, of late years, been gradually relinquished, those which are still retained tend, in our opinion, to point to this identity of the principle from which they spring.

6. Caste, an institution peculiar, we believe, in the present day to the natives of India, appears, as amongst the ancient Egyptians,* Medes,† Persians,‡ Athenians,§ and Peruvians,|| (if we are right in supposing the classifications of those nations to have been analogous to Hindu caste,) to have originated in priestcraft and superstition, in ages of intellectual darkness. Whatever may have been its political advantages, and whatever the ambitious aims of its inventors, nothing but a subjection to a truly slavish superstition could have induced the lower ranks especially to submit, for so many generations, and under so many insulting provocations, to so debasing and despotic a tyranny. The distinctions are, unquestionably, religious distinctions, originating in, and maintained by, the operation of Hindu idolatry. The tyranny of the institution is such, as to be perfectly unaccountable on any other supposition, and it is freely acknowledged to owe its dominion to this cause by the Hindus themselves. It was long since observed by Europeans, that 'the influence of priestcraft over superstition is nowhere so visible as in India. All the commerces of life have a strict analogy with the ceremonies of religion.'¶ The laws of Manu,

* Herodotus, lib. ii. cap. 164.

† Ib. lib. i. cap. 101.

‡ Malcolm's History of Persia, i. 205.

§ Plato's Timæus.

|| Carli, Lettres sur l'Amérique, letter 13, as quoted by Mill.

¶ Orme on the Government, &c. of Indostan.

and Halhed's Gentoo code, supply complete foundation for all that might be said of the close connexion existing between caste and the idolatrous superstitions of the Hindus. It is by no means analogous, as is sometimes erroneously supposed, to the distinction of ranks amongst Europeans: it is clearly a religious as well as a social distinction; and under no circumstances, in our opinion, can caste exist, without some bond, however imperceptible to ordinary observation, which connects it with the national superstitions.

7. But it may be objected, that however true this may be when predicated of caste amongst the heathen Hindus, a doubt may arise as to this 'sense' of it, as prevalent amongst the native Christians. In charity, we will avoid the positive assertion of their habitual consciousness of its genuine character; but the facts elicited, even in this inquiry, do not admit of our acquitting them of being perfectly sensible of its utter incompatibility with the very principles of Christian morals. This conviction is evinced by Pariars and caste-men alike; they seem to be well aware of its heathen origin, and are not blind to its unchristian character. Amongst them, as amongst the heathen Hindus, caste is lost by defilement, and retained by purity, as those qualities are conceived of, not by the Christian, but by the Hindu religion. Contact with an outcast or Pariar, admission of such a person into their houses, eating food with him, or eating food prepared by his hands: these and similar sources of defilement, as amongst the heathen Hindus, constitute pollution, and subject the parties affected to loss of caste. In one instance, it appears that a Christian native of the Telirgu Indra caste was considered to have finally lost caste by assuming, not the European custom generally, but the hat in particular, the lining of which is formed of leather, the skin of a dead animal, a thing unclean in the superstitions of the Hindus. The intercourse still kept up between native Christians and heathens of the same caste, while both alike shun all familiarity with Christian and heathen Pariars, seems to afford additional evidence of the identity of the tie which still binds them together. If, therefore, caste is a superstitious distinction with the one, and we cannot doubt it, then may we reasonably suspect it to be the same with the other. It is one of the evils of heathenism, which has unwarily and most unfortunately been allowed to accompany the native convert in his passage to Christianity.

8. That superstitious influences should retain a secret hold on the mind, after all open subjection to the gross idolatries from which they spring has been professedly disavowed and discarded, is by no means inconsistent with the infirmities of human nature. The converts at Corinth, in the days of St. Paul, were, probably, more intellectually endowed and equally civilized with our Hindu converts at present. The general character of the Greek nation forbids the supposition, that the immediate neighbours of the Athenians were inferior in such respects to the natives of Hindustan. Yet we know that their lingering dread of their national gods caused the holy Apostle much solicitude, and gave occasion for his reproving those stronger-minded persons, who inconsiderately exposed their weaker brethren to the temptations connected with it. Now is it impossible that similar remains of idolatrous

superstition may secretly influence the native Hindu Christians in their retention of caste, with all its idolatrously-conceived ceremonial pollutions and perverted notions of purity? May we not apprehend that a more searching inquiry by the missionaries themselves might, perchance, elicit much to confirm the suspicion that a secret dread, perhaps a modified secret worship, of their false national gods may still lurk amongst the professedly Christian observers of caste?

9. With regard to the second branch of this inquiry, the 'extent' to which caste is held by the native Christians of the Vepery mission, we regret to say, that in every instance the parties who appeared before us, Pariars and Tamulians, seemed to be in some sense or some degree tinged with it. However deeply the former were sensible of its degrading influence, when operating against them, they were all conscious of precisely similar feelings and practices, arising apparently from similar principles, towards those unfortunates, who, in the scale of Hindu castes, are lower than themselves. The adherence of these prejudices, even to the Pariar Christians, is a remarkable evidence of the nature and extent of the evil. But its mode of operation in separating the nearest and dearest relations, even against the will of the parties themselves; its unseemly contempt of what is due to the ministers of Christ; its creation of artificial barriers against the communion in Christian charity between the members of the church; its unhallowed intrusion into the temple, and even to the table of the Lord; all and each mark it as one of those spirits of antichrist, which, we think, God's ministers cannot tolerate without sin, cannot encourage without impiety.

10. Under these convictions, we cannot but believe that those worthy men, who, like Swartz and Gerické, at the outset of our Protestant missions to the Hindus, unwarily submitted to the continuance of caste amongst their converts, were deceived as to its necessary character. Had it appeared to them as we view it now, it seems impossible that they should for one moment have permitted any false ideas of expediency to have betrayed them into so fatal a step as its open acknowledgment. In their day, our acquaintance with the science, religion, languages, customs, and national character of the Hindus, was comparatively in its infancy. They were themselves men of holy simplicity, and of the most zealous Christian charity; of that charity which, under no suspicion of imposition or of duplicity, 'thinketh no evil,' 'beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.' We venerate these pious men too well, to believe them capable of consciously tolerating idolatrous practices amongst their converts. Had they viewed caste as we view it, no temporizing policy would have withheld them from urging its downfall. They knew that the convert who was not prepared to give up all for Christ, was not worthy of Him.

11. In conclusion, we desire to record our deep concern at the lamentable fate of young Christian widows. We fear this is in some degree connected, indirectly perhaps, with caste prejudices. Left in utter desolation, without protectors or advisers, frequently at an age which we should deem that of simplest childhood, they are allowed to

grow up in a humiliating sense of degradation. Debarred by the criminal customs of their people from all hope of honourable marriage, and without adequate restraints of a moral or religious nature, they too often become unhappy victims of irregular indulgence of passion. Even if innocent of this, they are scarcely free from the imputation of guilt ; and under the most favourable circumstances, they are in danger of becoming objects of suspicion, contempt, and obloquy. Any immediate remedy for this evil seems scarcely to be hoped for ; but we do entertain a strong trust, that the total abolition of caste might in time favourably affect the unhappy prejudices of the native converts on this important subject.

12. We are aware that this examination may appear to have elicited fewer striking or novel revelations of the evils of caste, than might have been anticipated by persons unacquainted with the native character. Such persons can have little notion of the wariness and astuteness with which the natives evade impalatable inquiry into their practices and prejudices. It was often only by repeating the same question in various forms, and admonishing them against deceit, that definite answers were finally obtained ; and in one instance, we were obliged to relinquish our examination in absolute despair. Enough, however, we think, has been here recorded to warrant our impression of the real character and extent of this evil, and to suggest the propriety of the general adoption by our Church societies of some definite plan for resolutely discountenancing or suppressing the continuance of it.

We have the honour to be, my Lord Bishop,
Your Lordship's faithful servants,
(Signed) G. W. MAHON,
" A. R. SYMONDS.

*Fort St. George, Madras,
October 29, 1845.*

MINUTE OF THE MADRAS MISSIONARY CONFERENCE ON THE SUBJECT OF CASTE.

Caste is one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of the gospel in India. It meets and thwarts the Missionary, not only in bearing the unsearchable riches of Christ to the unconverted Hindus, but in building up the Native Church in faith and love. This has been painfully felt in Southern India, wherever Natives, at their baptism, have been permitted to retain it. In such cases experience has shown, for more than a century, that this evil, so far from melting away under the genial influences of the Gospel, possesses the most inveterate tendency to perpetuate itself ; thereby stunting the growth of congregations, and enfeebling the aggressive energies of the Native Church.

Of late years, the evils of caste have been better understood than formerly, and largely exposed. The eyes of Christians in India have been opened to discern much of its true nature ; and the conviction is constantly deepening in their minds, that to tolerate it, in any form, is to oppose the law of Christ. Practical cases, of a very painful nature, have arisen at Madras and in the South—cases which have constrained the Madras Missionary Conference to turn their attention to the consideration of this subject : and so fully has this Conference been impressed by the developments of the system, that they feel it to be their duty to lift up their united testimony against it. In doing this, they desire with devout gratitude to praise the great Head of the Church for the unanimity of sentiment on this subject, which He has been pleased to give to his servants of so many different denominations as are represented in this Conference. They feel encouraged to hope that the time is not far distant, when every Missionary of the Gospel will become so impressed with the heathenish nature of the evil, as no longer to give the least toleration to it.

I. With the views and feelings which have now been expressed, the Madras Missionary Conference, after mature and prayerful deliberation, have unanimously resolved to publish the following document, as an expression of their united sentiments on this subject.

1. *Caste, which is a distinction among the Hindus, founded upon supposed BIRTH-PURITY or IMPURITY, is in its nature essentially a religious institution and not a mere civil distinction.*

The Institutes of Manu and other Shástras regard the division of this people into four castes as of divine appointment. We find also stringent laws enacted for upholding this important part of the Hindu religion. Future rewards are decreed to those who retain it ; and future punishments to those who violate it. The Hindus of the present day believe that the preservation or loss of caste deeply affects their future destiny. In the Madras Memorial to the Supreme Government, dated April 2nd, 1845, they declare, "That the loss of caste is connected with the vitality of the Hindu religion."

On the scale of caste, wealth, talents, industry and moral character, confer no elevation ; and the absence of these imposes no degradation. It is ceremonial pollution alone, which destroys it. This may be conveyed to a person of high caste, through the sight, the taste, or the touch, of one of an inferior grade. Such an institution, therefore, can never be called *a mere civil distinction* ; for, whatever it may have been in its origin, it is now adopted as an essential part of the Hindu religion.

2. *Caste is directly opposed to the word of God.*

This will appear from the following quotations :—

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth." Acts xvii. 26.

"Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me." Psalm li. 5.

"I know and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself." Rom. xiv. 14.

The idea of *birth-purity*, which caste distinctions uphold, proclaims a difference, which the passages now quoted expressly deny. When

Cornelius and his Gentile friends were admitted to equal privileges with the Jews in the primitive Church, Peter was moved by the Spirit of God, to condemn all false notions about birth-purity or national pollution, in these remarkable words, "Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company or come unto one of another nation; but God hath showed me that I should not call any man common or unclean."—Acts x. 28. If the ceremonial distinctions of the Jewish law—distinctions which separated man from man, though originally appointed by God—were done away at the introduction of the Christian dispensation, how diametrically opposed to the spirit of the New Testament must be the unnatural and anti-social usages of caste!

Numerous usages, arising out of caste notions of *birth-purity* or *impurity*, have been retained in native Christian churches. A member, for example, will refuse to admit a fellow-member of a lower caste into his house, or to eat with him; and some will even refuse to drink promiscuously with those of lower grades from the same cup at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. As these and similar usages are, in their nature and origin, heathenish, they must be discountenanced and abandoned by every follower of the Redeemer.

While this Conference are thus free in giving expression to their sentiments, they desire to state, that they have no wish to dictate to Native Christians, regarding what they shall eat, what they shall wear, with whom they shall habitually associate, or whom they shall make their chosen friends. At the same time, however, they feel it to be their duty to state, that a Christian refusing to receive a brother Christian into his house—especially to receive a catechist or preacher,—to eat with him—to listen to his instructions—to join with him in prayer, or to receive the Lord's Supper from a native minister on account of caste,—can proceed only from the heathenish idea of *birth-purity* or *pollution*, and ought not to be tolerated in the Church of Christ. "In Christ Jesus, there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision, nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond, nor free." How utterly inconsistent, then, to recognise caste distinctions in that body of which Christ is the Head, and where all are members one of another!

To uphold caste, is to foster the pride of the human heart—to despise, insult, and dishonour those whom God has honored, by making them his children, and to grieve the Holy Spirit who dwells in them: it honors heathenish distinctions more than the image of Christ. The institution is pre-eminently anti-christian. It breaks "the unity of the Spirit," deadens the energy of divine love in the souls of believers, preys on the *vitals* of Christianity, and dries up the streams of affection in every native church, where it is allowed to exist.

Again. The retention of caste tends to keep up an intercourse with the heathen, which is contrary to the plain apostolic command, "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord; and touch not the unclean thing." 2 Cor. vi. 17. A worldly spirit is thus gratified; dissimulation is practically promoted, and the road to apostasy is kept open. The dissimulation now alluded to, has been marked among caste-keeping Christians, by their observance of this

usage in their intercourse with the heathen, at the very time when they declared to their pastors, that they had renounced it.

II. Such being the sentiments of the Madras Missionary Conference on the subject of caste, they would proceed to state, what measures ought, in their view, to be adopted to keep this evil out of the Christian Church.

1. Candidates for baptism, from the heathen, should be well instructed regarding the sinful nature and subtrefuges of caste; and, before receiving this ordinance, should be required to declare that they renounce caste usages for ever, both in principle and practice.

2. The renunciation of caste ought also to be demanded of all Native Christians, before their coming, for the first time, to the communion; and this occasion ought to be improved, with a special view to the rooting out of caste feelings and habits from the whole church.

3. While habitual efforts ought to be put forth to cultivate among native Christians mutual kindness and brotherly love, constant vigilance should be exercised, and in some cases, special means employed, to see that the professions respecting the renunciation of caste, made at baptism and on other occasions, are fully and faithfully carried into practice. Among the special means now alluded to, one which the Conference would recommend, is a "love feast," at which all the members of the church, including their pastor and teachers, shall partake of a simple and suitable repast. To secure the same end, native Christians should not in any case, on the ground of caste, be allowed to reject the ministrations or visits of any catechist appointed by their own pastor. There ought also to be a friendly interchange of visits in cases of sickness and distress. When invited, they ought not to refuse to give their attendance at the marriages and funerals connected with the members of their own church, on the ground of caste.

The expressions of Christian kindness now alluded to, are required by the precepts of Christianity. "Be ye kindly affectionate one to another with brotherly love; in honor preferring one another." Rom. xii. 10. "My brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons." James ii. 1. "Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant." Matt. xx. 26, 27. The example of our blessed Lord, who ate with publicans and sinners, and washed his disciples' feet, bears most forcibly also on this point.

4. Missionaries and Evangelists, together with the faithful preaching of man's corruption, the unspeakable condescension and love of Christ, and the necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit, should seek to exemplify in themselves those graces of the Spirit, to which caste is directly opposed, namely, humility and love; for without much lowliness and affection, as well as faithfulness, this deep-seated evil can never be removed from the Native Church.

III. The Madras Missionary Conference would most gladly dismiss the subject which has now been before them, were it not for the painful circumstance, that some, even of their Missionary brethren, in India, are to be found, still tolerating caste in their churches. To these brethren, they feel it to be their solemn duty, in faithfulness and

love, to declare their entire disapproval of such a course of procedure, and that for the following reasons :

1. Because, by the toleration of caste in their churches, they are openly upholding the system, and building up a caste-keeping Church.

2. Because their position directly supports caste in the eyes of native Christians of other denominations (thus strengthening what other Protestant Missionaries are labouring to destroy) ; and promotes insubordination ; and leads those who are dissatisfied on account of caste, to forsake their own pastors, and unite with caste churches, to the great injury of scriptural discipline and of Christian principle and affection.

3. Because the members of such churches practically hold in contempt those native Christians who have openly abandoned all caste usages,—this contempt showing itself, *generally*, by their unwillingness to tender to them those civilities which the gospel requires ; and *practically*, by their refusing to admit into their houses and to listen to the preaching of those, who have been set apart as Christian catechists and evangelists.

4. Because it is the deliberate opinion of the most experienced Missionaries in the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies, that those great and good men, Ziegenbalg, Swartz and their coadjutors and successors, in allowing caste (however much they may have been opposed to it in theory) to enter the Native Church and continue in it, committed a fatal mistake, and unwittingly tolerated half the evils of Hinduism.

5. Because they deem it to be unwise in those Missionaries who uphold caste, to disregard and set aside the judgment of their brethren of the many different branches of the Christian Church who are endeavouring to destroy it,—experience having shown that caste painfully embarrasses Missionary operations, and retards the overthrow of Satan's kingdom in India.

6. Because, however strongly some Missionaries may condemn caste in theory, and whatever profession of its renunciation some native Christians may make, the Conference are bound to judge of both parties, by their position and conduct, according to our Lord's infallible rule,—“ By their fruits ye shall know them.”—Matt. vi. 20.

Madras, Feb. 1850.

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LEX LOCI ACT, PASSED APRIL 11th, 1850.

So much of any law or usage now in force within the territories subject to the Government of the East India Company, as inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights or property, or may be held in any way to impair or affect any right of inheritance, by reason of his or her renouncing, or having been excluded from the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in the courts of the East India Company, and in the courts established by Royal Charter within the said territories.

AN ESSAY ON HINDU CASTE.

SECTION I.—ON THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF CASTE IN INDIA.

*“To gather life’s roses, unscathed by the briar,
Is granted alone to the barefooted Friar.”*

THE permanent division of the community into classes, with hereditary professions assigned to each, is certainly, as has been correctly observed by Mr. Colebrooke, one of the most remarkable institutions of Hindustán. In the earlier ages of society the system seems to have prevailed extensively throughout the world. Amongst the Egyptians—in the Assyrian empire—in Greece, in the days of Cecrops and Theseus—in Crete, while the laws of Minos continued in authority—in Iberia—in Persia—even among the Anglo-Saxons and the ancient inhabitants of Mexico and Peru, it existed, accommodating itself in some slight respects to the most notable peculiarities of each respective people, but always preserving a degree of uniformity sufficient to certify its sameness. In some countries the military class, in others that of the priests, held the most prominent post of honor, just as superstition or warlike enthusiasm predominated in the character of the inhabitants; and there were some little dissimilarities also with respect to the details of the duties allotted to the different orders, and the restrictions with which they were respectively guarded in different lands. But the scope, nature and tendency of the institution appear everywhere to have been the same. In the course of events, however, all other countries have one after another disclaimed the system, and rent its disgusting fetters asunder; and its only

stronghold at the present moment is this unhappy country, where hitherto age, far from enfeebling its powers, seems only to have contributed to strengthen its foundations.

The origin of Caste in India seems immemorial, the Hindu Shástras declaring that it commenced with the creation of the world ; and the nature of it is set down by the same texts which allude to its origin. “ That the human race might be multiplied,” says the 31st verse of the first chapter, of the Institutes of Manu, “ the Supreme Ruler caused the Bráhmaṇ, the Kshetriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra—so named from the scripture, protection, wealth and labour—to proceed from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot.” And to these he allotted separate duties, according to the 88th, 89th, 90th and 91st verses of the same chapter, assigning the study of religion and the cultivation of letters and the sciences, which are made a part of religion, to the first ; government and the defence of the state, to the second ; commerce and agriculture, to the third ; and servitude to the last. The employments chalked out to each division were thus made to bear the stamp of divine authority, the station of every individual was unalterably fixed, and insurmountable barriers were set up by subsequent provisions, to withhold the different tribes from social intercourse with each other. The 13th verse of the 3rd chapter, give indeed the higher classes the privilege of marrying women of the lower orders, but this was evidently permitted only with a view to legitimatise the issue, without authorising any intermixture. Even this license was probably enjoyed for a short while only. In the present age such marriages are considered illegal, and every individual is bound to marry in his tribe.

The degree of elevation, which one tribe usurped over the others, was also defined by the laws. The 93d verse of the 1st chapter, of the code I have quoted, declares the Bráhmaṇ to be the chief of the whole creation. “ The very birth of Bráhmans,” says the 98th verse, “ is a constant incarnation of Dharma ;” and the 100th verse declares that all things exist-

ing in the universe belong to them. The most remarkable advantages are awarded to them over the other classes of the community. Their lives and persons are protected by the severest regulations in this world, and the most tremendous denunciations for the next. They are secured even from most of the punishments of the law. For no offence are they to forfeit their lives or properties, and even their liberties are not to be encroached upon, for "a Bráhmaṇ can never be a slave." He pays a small fine where the Kshetriya pays a heavy one ; he is mulcted for what the Sudra forfeits his life. "A man of the servile class," says Manu, "who commits adultery with the wife of a priest, ought to suffer death." But a Bráhmaṇ, who carnally knows the wife of another, even if it be without her free will, escapes on payment of a fine. If he commits robbery worthy of death, but has been accustomed to offer a burnt-sacrifice daily, it is a sufficient punishment to shave his head ! and so on. The King is not to provoke the anger of a Bráhmaṇ, for the meanest of the order is much superior to the greatest sovereign. The magistrates are not to imagine evil in their hearts against him, and the public at large have but one duty, which is to minister to the pampered appetites of their sacred superiors. Towards the subordinate classes, the Bráhmaṇs are enjoined to keep the same distance as the gods are supposed to keep to them, and for the slightest disrespect or insubordination the Sudra is amenable to the severest vengeance ; for "irreverence to a Bráhmaṇ is irreverence to the gods." Discussion with a Bráhmaṇ is prohibited by law, and overpowering him in argument is declared to be a crime. In every respect he is peculiarly privileged. A priest alone, according to the Shástras, can represent his sovereign on the bench, and exercise his juridical authority ; he alone can interpret the laws, he alone is declared worthy of expounding the sacred books, which the highest of the other classes is barely tolerated to read ; and for divine mercy and favor, the rest of mankind are enjoined to propitiate his intercession. Through him only are offerings

to be rendered unto Heaven, and unless so rendered, they shall not be acceptable. Religion, with all its rites and ceremonies, and the concerns of life, from the minutest accidents to the most important casualties, he is ordained to preside over. Birth, marriage, sickness, death, the soul's eventual deliverance from purgatory, are all subjects on which he must be consulted. Cato is recorded to have expressed his surprise that one augur could meet another without exchanging a wicked smile. How much more would he have been astonished at the brass with which the hierarchy of this country practise in concert the grossest impositions on the easy credulity of an ignorant public. Stories the most absurd remain on record, to show how far they have ventured on such impositions. In one page we read of a Bráhmán having abused two of the gods of the triad, and struck the third with his foot ; in another, a second arrests the course of the sun to complete his devotions ; and again, in another, a third consumes a whole race of enemies by flames exhaled from his mouth. On such idle tales they have built their power, and so exalted it, that in no part of the world, however barbarous, does one class of men appear ever to have exercised a more baneful superiority over another, than they have all along exercised on the bulk of their countrymen. Some idea may be formed by foreigners of priestly influence, as still existing in Hindu society, from the scenes yet observable daily in the streets, of orthodox believers of all classes eagerly prostrating themselves before the Bráhmans, as they pass, for their benedictions, receiving their feet on their heads, or scraping the dust therefrom with earnest devotion. A more repulsive feature of slavery is perhaps nowhere to be found, and the strict exaction of such respect by the priests to this day, after ages of humiliation, furnishes perhaps the strongest proof of the rubric of the Shástras having been most unrelentingly acted upon in former times.

Thus elevated above the rest of their species by the words of the scriptures, the Bráhmans engross the devotion of the other

tribes in the same proportion as they are said to engross the regard and favour of the deity. They occupy the place of God, and receive all the homage, all the fear, all the service, and all the honors which He is entitled to ; and to this devotion the most ignorant has a right, as well as the most learned amongst them ; for, saith the text, “ he (a Bráhmaṇ) is a powerful divinity, even as fire is a powerful divinity, whether consecrated or popular.” The laws condemn in strong terms ignorance or crime in them, but for no crime and no ignorance are they to forfeit the respect of the lower classes. They are, according to the Shástras, something transcendently divine, and even though they employ themselves in all sorts of mean occupations, must invariably be honored.

At first sight it would seem as if the Bráhmans, satisfied with their spiritual elevation, entertained no longings for the vanities of the world. The code of Manu prescribes to them a life of study, retirement and austerity, such as leave no leisure for the pursuit of ambition. Even for daily food and raiment they seem to be left dependent on the attachment and veneration of the lower classes. This, perhaps, led St. Ambrose, in open terms, to prefer their manners to those of the Christians of his time. But here he was certainly mistaken. The Bráhmans, as a class, do not seem ever to have shown very great disregard for wealth and worldly advantages ; and the same code, which enjoins on them a life of severity, also makes “ liberality to Bráhmans ” incumbent on every virtuous man, and an especial duty of kings. All the ceremonies of religion, too, involve feasts and presents to the sacred order ; and fines in commutation of penances leave to them an inexhaustible resource. They are, further, declared exempt from taxation and similar contributions, and entitled to a moiety in all treasure-troves forfeited to the government. We should not be right in supposing that the income realized from so many sources was inconsiderable. I think it could not have been less than what was acquired by the Sudra by the sweat of his brow.

Ward goes further, for he makes it greater than the revenues of the monarch. But this is a glaring exaggeration.

Next in importance to the Bráhmans are the Kshetriyas, ordained to protect the earth, the cattle, and the clergy. Though looked down upon by the Bráhmans, they are looked up to by the other classes. Even over the Bráhmans they take their places on certain occasions. At the Rájsooya sacrifice for instance, they have the most prominent post assigned them, and are served by the Bráhmans. They are permitted by the Shástras to read the Veds, and to perform their religious ceremonies without the intervention of priests. "But," says Krishna, addressing Arjun in the Bhágavat Gítá, "a Kshetriya has no duty superior to fighting. * * * If thou art slain, thou wilt obtain Heaven ; and if thou art victorious, thou wilt enjoy a world." The command of armies, and all situations of authority belong to this order. Of this body were the ancient kings of Hindustán, both of the families of the sun and the moon ; but now it is said to have merged into the lowest class, though many in upper Hindustán still claim the distinction of belonging to it, and a few in Bengal also, mostly of little note or name.

The Vaisyas, occupying the third place in society, are, if possible, still less numerous. Most authorities allow them the privileges enjoyed by the warrior-caste, of reading the Scriptures, and of worshipping their guardian deities without the assistance of the Bráhmans. But others, again, deny that they are in any important respect superior to the Sudras, maintaining that servitude is the birth-right of both classes alike.

No benevolent person can read the rules regarding the Sudras without indignation and abhorrence. The text assigns to the once-born servitude to their higher classes, and especially to the first of them, as his only duty on earth ; and thus places him in the most humiliating position in life. The Bráhman, Kshetriya, and Vaisya, whatever may be their relative position towards each other, enjoy certain honors and privileges in common, from which the Sudra alone is excluded. These are

the sacred title of the “twice-born,” the investiture with the holy thread, which is a badge of regeneration, and the privilege of reading the Veds. The Sudra has no pretensions to any of them—in fact no rights save what his superiors choose to concede to him—no honors but what emanate from their compassion. Liberty he must not aspire to, for “whether bought or unbought,” says the 413th verse of the 8th chapter of Manu, “a Bráhmán may compel him to perform menial duty, because he was created by the Self-Existent for the purpose of serving Bráhmans.” The law excludes him also from the benefits of property, the 129th verse of the 10th chapter declaring that, “no collection of wealth must be made by a Sudra, even though he has power; since a servile man who has amassed riches, gives pain to Bráhmans;” and the 417th verse of the 8th chapter gives authority to a Bráhmán to seize without hesitation the goods of his Sudra slave, and appropriate them to his own use. Interest from a Bráhmán is legal at ten per cent.; from a Kshetriya at fifteen, twenty from a Vaisya, and from a Sudra fifty!

The criminal laws also are far severer against the Sudras, than against the other orders. Injuries done to the higher classes are directed to be visited with the most rigid punishments; but wrongs done to the Sudras, by their privileged superiors, lose, as if by touch of magic, a great part of their heinousness in the eye of the law, and are provided for with leniency. The bloodiest principles of the code of Draco are attempted to be equalled, if not surpassed, in visiting the offences of the first; while the reprehensible mildness with which the iniquities of the latter are met, remains perhaps unparalleled in the legislation of both ancient and modern times. Nay, the tyranny over the Sudras extends further, even to religion and the prospects of future bliss. Halhed, in his code of *Gentoo Laws*, enumerates the punishments that await the Sudra, if he reads, hears or gets by heart any part of the scriptures. The orifices of his ears should be stopped with molten wax, if he hears;

heated oil poured down his throat, if he reads ; and the punishment of death executed on him, if he learns by rote the Veds. Nor does this severity stop here. The 80th and 81st verses, of the 4th chapter of Manu, declare, “ Let not a Bráhmán give advice to a Sudra, nor what remains from his platter, nor clarified butter of which part has been offered to the gods, nor spiritual counsel, nor instructions for the expiation of his sins. He who declares the law to a servile man, or instructs him in the mode of expiating sin, surely sinks with that very man to the hell named Asamverta.” Thus is the Sudra not only disallowed to read the Scriptures, but is also peremptorily precluded from obtaining instruction from those who alone are assumed to be competent to impart it. The higher orders of Bráhmans despise those who become priests to the Sudras. A joiner’s or a washerman’s Bráhmán can neither eat with his prouder brethren, nor even approach them except as an inferior. His bráhmánhood is considered polluted by the meanness of his vocation, the Sudra for whose spiritual well-being he concerns himself, being so low in the eye of the Shástras, that his touch, like the touch of a dog, or a *Mlechha*, is sufficient to render a twice-born man unclean. So far is this prejudice against the Sudra drawn out, that the religious penance for killing him is declared to be the same as that for killing a cat, a dog, a frog, a lizard, and so on.

Such is the classification of the community, according to the Hindu Shástras ; thus are the separate classes distinctly defined ; and thus their separate duties assigned them. But the rigid laws, which assign several duties and employments to the several orders, are, in seasons of distress, entitled to a further latitude of meaning. Then each of the classes may subsist by the occupations allotted to those beneath it, ranging at liberty from one profession to another, so long as it does not encroach on the employments of those above. But the purest virtue and the most conspicuous merit may not elevate a single individual above the grade assigned to him. The Bráhmán, unable to sub-

sist by his sacerdotal duties, is permitted to lay aside his beads, and gird on the sword ; and, should he fail to thrive in war, he may yet resort to merchandise and agriculture, to repair his shattered fortune. The Kshetriya, in like circumstances, may descend to the duties of a Vaisya, and the Vaisya to the servile acts of a Sudra. But for the Sudra there is no choice, except that he can follow the unclean trades and mechanical employments, in common with the impurer castes. In this arrangement, as usual, the advantages are all on the stronger side. The higher orders can overload the lower ones with additional labourers in seasons of distress, while exempt from their encroachment in return ; and the unfortunate Sudra may thus be driven out, at any time, from the field of his labours by his privileged superiors.

But there was a race in the eye of the law still lower than the unfortunate Sudra—beneath the lowest depth a lower still. In spite of all restrictions, irregularities had crept in within the social circle, and children were born who belonged to no caste, the unwelcome progeny of unholy alliances. In the age of Bhṛigu, by whom the sacred institutes are said to have been compiled, this confusion of classes had most wofully increased. The Varna-sankars, or the casteless, were become a numerous body, and the legislator found it necessary to regulate their employments. Thirty-six branches are generally mentioned in the sacred books, but there are texts which give a different number.*

* According to the *Jatimálá*, or the *Garland of Classes*, an extract from the *Rudramálá Tantra*, the chief of the mixed classes are :

1st. *Murdhabhishikta*, born of a Bráhmaṇ and a daughter of the Kshetriya class, whose duty is limited to the teaching of military exercises. 2nd. *Vaidya*, or doctor, sprung from a Vaisya woman by a Bráhmaṇ. 3rd. *Naishada* or fisherman, born of a female Sudra by a priest. 4th. *Mahishya*, whose profession is declared to be music, astronomy and cattle herding ! sprung from a Kshetriya and a girl of the Vaisya tribe. 5th. *Agra*, condemned by Manu to the unaccountable species of degradation of killing and confining such animals as live in holes, but according to the *Tantra* gifted with the sacred inspiration of poetry, born of a Sudra woman by a man of the warrior tribe. 6th. *Karana* or *Káyasth*, professionally a courtier and a scribe.

The highest is that sprung from a Kshetriya girl by a Bráhmaṇ father, and known by the name of Murdhabhishikta. The second is the Vaidya, born of a Vaisya woman by a man of the sacerdotal order. Then rank the Káyasth, sprung from a female Sudra by a father of the Vaisya class ;* and so on. From a Bráhmaṇ beauty by a Sudra father sprung the Chandál, the “lowest of mortals.” All the occupations, which the sagacity of the Shástras had not previously provided for, are distributed amongst these mixed tribes. From the abhorrence with which they are named in our books, we are led to believe that they must have remained in great isolation for a long while. Eventually, however, the whole body got mixed with the Su-

born of a Vaisya and a Sudráni. 7th. Suta, or ostler and charioteer, begotten by a Kshetriya on a woman of the priestly order. 8th. Magadha or itinerant trader, born of a daughter of the military class by a Vaisya. 9th. Vaideha, sprung from the intercourse of a woman of the Bráhmaṇ class with a man of the merchant tribe, degraded to wait on women. 10th. Ayogava, born of a Vaisya woman by a Sudra, having the profession of a carpenter assigned to him ; and so on, till we come to the Chandál sprung from a Sudra by a girl of the Bráhmaṇ class, whom all authorities concur in placing at the bottom of the list. In this arrangement, from the different ranks assigned to the spurious offsprings above noticed respectively, it will be perceived that Bráhmaṇical ingenuity has attached to female infidelity different shades of guilt, varying, not according to the circumstances of their temptation, but according to the rank of the parties with whom they had unhappily connected themselves !

Manu makes several distinctions amongst the mixed classes. The sons of women only one degree lower than their lovers—the Murdhabhishikta, the Mahishya, and the Karana or Káyasth—he places in the first grade. In a lower grade he ranks the sons of women two or three degrees below their lovers, and, placing the Vaidyas at their head, mentions the Naishada, Agra, Suta, Magadha, Vaideha, Ayogava, and Chandál in succession. He then goes on enumerating minor subdivisions sprung from the intercourse of these abject tribes.

* The Káyasths of Bengal claim a nobler pedigree, which the Játimálá seems to authorise, their origin being there mentioned, before the subject of the mixed tribes is introduced.

dras, with whom they had an affinity, that powerful affinity which unites the oppressed against the oppressors. It is also contended by those, who consider themselves qualified to offer an opinion on the subject, that the Kshetriyas and Vaisyas likewise no longer exist in their purity. All the lower classes have been mixed up into one body, and though there are minor sub-divisions in that body, which are separated by effectual barricades from intercourse with each other, there are at present only two grand divisions of the community, the Bráhmans and the Varna-sankars. The barriers, which hedged in the four original divisions of the Shástras, have long been broken through, and, though a Vaidya and Káyasth regard a barber and washerman with greater abhorrence, than is shewn by a Bráhman towards either of them, in the strict eye of the law they are themselves as impure as those whom they condemn.

In Bengal, where the trammels of caste are, at the present moment, infinitely stronger and more oppressive than in any other part of India, and where the injunctions of the Shástras, and the bye-laws of the institution, are still upheld by the orthodox Hindus, as strictly as they can be under a foreign government, the Bráhmans are divided into three classes, distinguished by the designations of Kulíns, Srutriyas, and Bangshajas, a division that was founded on a difference of talents and sanctity, and never intended to be perpetuated by descent. It has now, however, like all other distinctions in the country, become hereditary. The intrinsic superiority of one body over another with which it originated has at present no existence; and the son of a Kulín lays claim to the honors enjoyed by his father, only by virtue of his birth. Next to the Bráhmans rank the Vaidyas, and the Káyasths, each, like the priests, sub-divided into sections, and having its order of Kulíns. These three primary classes amongst us are now perhaps the only staunch supporters of old beliefs and institutions. They comprehend almost all of the community who are in easy circumstances, and who, being less actively engaged in life than the rest of their coun-

trymen, are in a manner compelled to employ themselves, for want of worthier occupation, in soldering the broken links of superstition. The lower tribes are mere cyphers in society, professionally merchants, agriculturists, traders or artizans, as their circumstances permit them to be. They are not much interested in the preservation of the distinctions of caste, but are in too humble a sphere to think of striking into any new path. Some deviations they have made from the established rules. The trades, for instance, are now promiscuously followed by all classes. But more than this has not yet been attempted, nor can more be reasonably expected from men, who must, naturally enough, in all their actions wish to avoid offending the higher orders.

The nature of the institution of Castes, I presume, has now been sufficiently explained. Its origin, I stated at the outset, is immemorial. Leaving aside its claims to divine parentage as an assumption which bears internal evidence of being altogether fictitious, it is at the present day impossible correctly to determine the time when, or the circumstances under which it first came into operation in this country. Many conjectures have been hazarded on this point, most of them based on supposed foreign conquests. According to one, the warlike habits and superstitions of the ancient Kshetriyas being considered uncongenial to the burning plains of Hindustán, the origin of the military race has been traced so far as the banks of the Jaxartes—to the homes of the Getes, the Ciarrii, the Takshacs, the Catti and the Huns. Certain strange customs, such as the marriage of one woman with several brothers, certain peculiar rites, such as the *Ashwamedh Jagya*, and the discovery of certain ancient undecyphered characters in places where the Kurus, the Urus, and the Yadus have reigned, have been regarded as positive proofs of the Scythic origin of those races; and to the question, “why under such circumstances the Bráhmans have been permitted to form themselves into a class superior to the conquerors of the land?” an answer has been ingeniously

given to the effect, that, Bráhmahood was only a subsequent extraction from that body of conquerors, and owed its superiority to peculiar circumstances. The priestly office, it has been urged, was in the earlier ages only a profession, and not a hereditary distinction. It was often combined with the kingly power, oftener still assumed by princes of the royal blood; but when the *Súrya bangsa*, or descendants of the sun, found themselves unable to keep up an unequal contest with the more prolific race of the moon, they began to assume, under the humble veil of religion, greater prerogatives than they were obliged to give up.

Another hypothesis gives to the Bráhmans the credit of having been the first conquerors of the land, and attempts to trace the progress of their conquests in the pages of the first law-giver himself. The tract which lies between the Caggar and the Sarwaswati, is stated in the sacred institutes to be frequented by gods, and termed Brahnavarta. This has been considered clear enough to mean that it was the first land occupied by the conquerors. A larger space, called Brahmarshi in the text, and comprehending nearly the whole country generally known by the designation of Hindustán Proper, is set down by a similar hypothesis as the region over which the progressive spirit of Bráhmanism next extended its dominion. The whole space between the Himálaya and the Vindhya mountains being also pronounced sacred—Aryavarta, or fit for respectable men to reside in—it has been presumed to mean that the tide of conquest was yet flowing on. Nay, it being laid down that every place, where the antelope grazes in natural freedom, is fit for sacrifice, it has been understood, that the Bráhmans were at that moment contemplating the subjugation of the whole peninsula.

A third theory makes the Sudras the first conquerors of India. They came, it is supposed, from the north-west, at some very remote period, and, clearing the country of its forests, and of its original races, whom they drove to the

mountains, quietly settled down as permanent occupants of the soil. Next came the Kshetriyas, a different race from the Sudras, but who followed them by the same route, and from the same direction. Last came the Bráhmans, bringing with them a more northern blood than both the races by whom they had been preceded, and also more nerve and energy of character. With fire and sword they established their supremacy in the land, but dreading a renewal of bloody contests, they conceded to the Kshetriyas, by whom perhaps they had been most violently opposed, a place only lower than their own. From the Sudras they had probably met no hindrance and had nothing to fear, and they reduced them, therefore, to a state of vassalage from which the nobility of the tribe only were exempted, these forming a separate class under the name of Vaisyas.

If any one of the above conjectures be correct, it will give to the institution of castes an historical origin. But we have no certain light on such a view of the subject, and it is clearly contrary to the spirit of the Shástras. Further, neither in the code of Manu, nor in any other work of equal authority and age, is there any allusion to a prior residence of the Hindus in a different country, or any mention of their migration hither; and there is no reason whatever for thinking that they came from Scythia. If it had been maintained that they were sprung from the same root with the Scythians, the assumption might have been allowed on all hands, as less open to objection, because referring to a time earlier than the historic period. But when it is urged that they were themselves a body of Scythians, who poured into India and conquered it, and who to secure the pre-eminence thus acquired, established the institution of castes, a chain of evidence at once becomes necessary to support the hypothesis, and this the ingenuity of the learned has not yet been able to supply.

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not deny the probability of India, at least a part of it, having been overrun in the

general inundations of the barbarians from the great Scythian hive—inundations which have been felt, at some time or other, in almost all the countries of Europe and Asia. All that I contend for is, that the origin of caste in India is of remoter antiquity than those irruptions. The testimony of Arrian proves that the institution existed prior to the time of Alexander's expedition, or more than three hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era.* That there were Scythian inroads into India of still earlier date, we have no evidence to prove. After the retreat of the Macedonian we read that an independent kingdom was founded by the Greeks in Bactria, and that this kingdom was overturned by the Sacas or Scythians, when it was only one hundred and thirty years old. We may be satisfied with the proofs afforded to us, that, on this occasion India, west of the river Scinde, was also overrun by the barbarians. But this was too late in the day to establish the point contended for, and, moreover, east of the Indus was the powerful empire where Bráhmaism has always existed in its glory. Col. Tod, if I remember aright, mentions Scythian emigrations in India occurring in the sixth century before Christ, and one even earlier, but these are mere unsupported assumptions, and even if admitted, evidence will still be wanting to show that any permanent establishment of their power was then effected by the barbarians. Above all, we must remember that the age of the code of Mann has been allowed, by those least favorable to its pretensions to great antiquity, to be about nine hundred years earlier than that of Christ, and that the date of the origin of caste must be at least as remote, if not much remoter, than the age of the Institutes. If any of the Scythic

* It is true that Arrian mentions seven classes instead of four, but that has been explained to be owing to his having confounded civil employments with the divisions of caste. Due allowance must also be made for his incorrectness about particulars, when we remember that Alexander barely touched the outskirts of India, and that his followers had no opportunity of inquiring minutely into the state of things in the heart of the country.

tribes, therefore, in any of their great migrations, conquered India, they must have got possession of it at a time when the system of caste had already attained its matured perfection, and it appears but reasonable to suppose, in the absence of positive proof to the contrary, that, like all the subsequent conquerors of the country, they effected no change in the manners, customs, and institutions of its original inhabitants, but settled in it, if they settled at all, as a separate and distinct race. There have always been many races amongst us, living in this isolated condition, claiming only the name of Hindus, but denying the authority of the Veds and the Puráns, disregarding the institution of castes, and differing widely in most respects from the great bulk of the people.

With reference to the first hypothesis I would also observe, that, if there be any real similarity of customs and religious observances between the Kshetriyas and the Scythians, we may, on the testimony of Manu, assume that the latter were only an alien branch of the former race. Says the legislator, “Many families of the military class having gradually abandoned the ordinances of the Veds and the company of the Bráhmans, lived in a state of degradation, as the people of Pandraka, and Adra, those of Dravira and Camboja, the Yavanas and *Sakas*, (understood to mean Scythians) the Paradas and the Pahlavas, the Chinas and some other nations.” I should here further mention that the peculiarities in the Kshetriya character, generally selected as specimens of Scythian manners, are for the most part the general peculiarities of all rude nations. If, leaving these minute points of resemblance, we compare the general character of the two nations, we shall find that white and black are not more dissimilar, than the Scythian and the Kshetriya characters. If, therefore, the Kshetriyas (and this will apply also to the Bráhmans, with respect to the second and third hypothesis) are of Scythic descent, their character must have undergone a great change, and that at a very early age of society, so early as the date of the earliest Hindu records. Is this

possible? Can it be believed that immediately after their migration they at once found themselves completely changed, when we see, that, since then, their manners have remained for ages as unaltered as the laws of the Medes and the Persians?

The second and third theories, exclusive of the general argument advanced against them, are open to another objection. They both refer to a theocracy, the actual existence of which remains to be proved. The *Mánava Dharma* allows the *Bráhmans* no interference with the executive government. How is this to be reconciled with the hypothesis that makes them conquerors of the land? Nor does it appear probable that the warlike over-runners of a country, flushed with success, should voluntarily betake themselves to the counting of beads, in preference to martial avocations.

That caste originated in India, as it must have originated in all other countries where it had also prevailed, in the necessities of an early stage of society, appears to me to be the most reasonable hypothesis. In rude ages, while men continue in the condition of hunters and shepherds, the division of labour is unknown, because people do not then yet want a multiplicity of blessings. Every family is then itself the author of its simple accommodations. But as population multiplies, the wants of society increase, and the inconveniences arising from the absence of the division of labour, begin to become oppressively palpable. Society thus gets gradually prepared to welcome a change, and any plausible scheme to relieve its necessities, offered at such a juncture, is sure to receive a hearty welcome. Mr. Mill supposes, that, when society was in this state in India, some Hindu philosopher, perceiving the advantages which would accrue to his countrymen from a division of employments, conceived the design of classifying the community, and, placed perhaps in circumstances which enabled him to clothe himself with divine authority, found it not difficult to divide them into classes, and to assign to them separate offices and occupations. As fear is the most paramount passion, while the human mind

is weak and timid, and as, in the earlier ages of society, God is regarded more as the God of vengeance than of love, the priests, or men who had more sagacity than their neighbours, were permitted to form a separate class, and to arrogate to themselves the place of highest distinction. Next to the fear of God, is the fear of evil men ; and the soldier therefore necessarily became a character of importance, and ranked next, and next only, to him who professed to keep the keys of heaven. The fear of starvation gave the husbandman the third rank in society. But luxury was then a thing not cared for, and the arts were yet in too simple a state to attract attention ; the supply of all other demands and the performance of all other services were, therefore, left to a separate class of men, who, as they could not harp on the fears of the community, were esteemed of less account. The studied hatred with which they have since been regarded, must have been of tardier growth, originating undoubtedly in the natural proneness of human nature to abuse extensive authority.

So far as the simple division of the community goes, the aim of the legislator appears unexceptionable. It is certainly politic in a social system, in its infancy, to secure the order and integrity of all its parts by having separate and distinct offices and employments for each. It is evidently the most natural and the most obvious step for a primitive people, and one which has been adopted by most nations in their first start for improvement. But not content with having effected the separation of the body into classes, our philosophers imagined that it would be wise to take care of its permanence through all ages ; and, with this view, thought it necessary to promulgate, still under the veil of divine authority, those strict regulations which compel the son to tread in the footsteps of his father, bar merit from promotion, and denounce the intermarriage and confusion of castes. This was an unusual course—the first important deviation from the ordinary route. It is impossible now to conjecture what sug-

gested to our legislators the necessity of so strictly preserving the purity of the different sections. Perhaps it originated only in feelings of pride, which revolted at every idea of degradation. The end, however, was not fully attained. The castes got confused, in spite of all edicts to the contrary. Fortune and beauty held out many temptations, which religion was not strong enough to resist. An unhallowed union of the sexes took place in spite of the anathemas of the law, and the necessities of society having meanwhile extended beyond the narrow limits within which they had been formerly confined, the Barnasankars, instead of being the pests of society, were soon converted to its service, and the lower duties assigned to them. Here, however, was a dead halt. When the institution had reached this stage, it admitted of no further improvement. The wants of society multiplied, and the narrowness of the policy, which had bound succeeding ages to the conveniences of a barbarous era, began daily to be more and more apparent. But the girths of that policy were too strongly knit to be easily broken. The evil continued to fester. No exertions were made to qualify its virulence, and the effect has been, what might naturally have been expected, that a fertile soil and a genial climate is teeming with a population in want of all the decencies, and of most of what are elsewhere considered the necessities of life.

The nature, origin, and distinguishing usages of Caste therefore, though professing according to the shāstras to be divinely ordained and essentially religious, seem most likely to belong to a civil institution, perhaps originally founded on the primitive inequality of talents, and on the same principle as Rank in Europe. But the difference between Rank in Europe and Caste in India, is too palpable now for them to admit of much affinity with each other. Even though the strict discipline of the code of Manu is no longer regarded, and the Bráhmaṇ far from receiving honors invariably, is often a beggar and oftener a

cook,* still no merit and no virtue can pass the barriers of the law, and the Sudra can never become a Bráhmaṇ. Rank is accessible to all. It is the distinction arrogated by, or rather conferred upon, worth or greatness, civic merit or learning. It debars none from advancement, fetters no one's intellect. The weaver and the ploughman in England have worked their way to the station of peers, the day-labourers of Spitalfields and Coventry have risen to honor and distinction. The ascent may not be easy, but there are no impassible barriers to oppose the aspiring; no recorded text, nor venerated tradition to gainsay their right. Complete and absolute equality nowhere exists. It is said that even the brute creation have all an idea of precedence; and it is undoubtedly certain that the human race, in all its diversities, has it. My next door neighbour, if some undefinable circumstance places him a little ahead of me, will look down on me with something like contempt. The shopkeeper curls up his nose at the sight of a pedlar; the merchant shrugs his shoulders at a shopkeeper, and the remnants of the old school of gentility look down with ill-suppressed scorn on that upstart race, which is quietly elbowing them out of their place. But here the line of separation is too subtle and too fleeting to be injurious. The inferior pays but a reluctant homage to him who thinks himself his superior, and struggles might and main to outstrip him in the long run. The itinerant pedlar in time becomes a shopkeeper, the shopkeeper a merchant, the merchant a gentleman. Even in Russia, where despotism is said to have fixed bounds to human ambition, a serf can be raised to a bourgeois, and a bourgeois to a peer; but Caste admits of no such promotions. Independent of merit or demerit, it dooms the great mass of the people to a state of servitude, ignorance, and degradation from which nothing can

* The profession of a cook, however, is not so low in India, as in most other countries. Men of the higher castes only are suffered to follow it, for nobody will partake of food prepared by a person of an inferior order

ever elevate them. "Pure in body and mind, humbly serving the three higher classes, mild in speech, never arrogant, ever seeking refuge in Bráhmans principally, the Sudra," says Manu, "many attain the most eminent class," "But"—adds his quiet unostentatious commentator, the learned Culluca,—“in another transmigration” only. Such is the law!

SECTION II.—ON THE EFFECTS OF CASTE ON THE HINDU CHARACTER.

“Abominable, unutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feigned—”

In the preceding section, I have attempted only to dissect the mechanism of the institution of Caste, to depict its nature, and to trace its origin. I now come to the second division of my subject, or to the consideration of the effects of caste on the mental, moral, social and national character of the Hindus, and its consequent injurious influence in retarding the progress of improvement amongst them. Ward has very correctly and pithily observed, that caste, like the national shoe of China, has rendered the whole population of India cripples. There is no gainsaying this. That the Hindus are as imbecile as cripples, is not to be denied, and that this imbecility has chiefly resulted from the operation of ill-judged social divisions, is as little to be doubted. Man is a progressive being. In a savage state he is hardly superior in his condition to the other animals of the creation. But he is susceptible of rapid improvement. He ascends from one stage to another in a continued line that seems to have no termination, and proceeds farther and farther at every step from the rest of animated nature. Even the knowledge of the nineteenth century has assigned no limits to his prospects of advancement. There are circumstances, however, under which the human mind, though so beneficently endowed by Providence, will not proceed, or will

proceed only in a contrary direction, towards the great goal of brutish intellect. Caste placed the Hindu mind under such peculiarly unfavourable circumstances. Though not ill-adapted to a primitive state of society, its principles were totally opposed to every spirit of progression; in fact, were too contracted and illiberal to suit any period beyond that of actual barbarism. It is true that the occupations it assigned to the Bráhmans, Kshetriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras respectively, are essentially connected with social order in all stages of civilization, since no society can be preserved without religion, government, commerce and mechanical labour; but so are not the restrictions by which they were confined to the separate classes, restrictions which have all along, since they began to be enforced, served only as a bar to the advancement of piety, enterprise and diligence, and an ægis of protection to idleness and iniquity. To award to the learned, the pious, and the good the highest rank in that society, of which they were the best ornaments, was but an act of justice which no one will undertake to dispute. But to say that none shall be entitled to the same distinction, but such as were lineally descended from those who were originally selected for it, was in fact to subvert those principles, and defeat those intentions on which it was founded; and when, in addition to this, it was prescribed that the descendants of those ancient sages alone, out of the whole body of the people, were to have an exclusive monopoly of letters and religion, the system at once became too monstrous and irrational to answer any end calculated to extend the operations of the human mind.

None but a Bráhman, declared the Shástras, should read the Veds, or impart religious instruction; and as the Veds and their Angas included all the literature and sciences of the country—grammar, versification, arithmetic and the mathematics—the law thus effectually enjoined ignorance to the rest of mankind. The favored class alone were permitted to read and write, and this privilege they enjoyed undisturbed for ages. The conse-

quence has been a total prostration of intellect and of mental energy, not only in the general mass of the community, but even among that favoured class itself. Learning has dwindled down to childish frivolity, and religion to ceremonial purity, and a Bráhmaṇ who can read and explain what his forefathers wrote, is seldom to be met with in the land. Our Pandits of the present day are a set of lazy, superstitious, weak-minded men, living mostly on the community, without contributing at all to its welfare ; having, some of them, a little dexterity in threading the dreams of metaphysics, and the unenviable ability of framing specious arguments for perplexing the plainest truths ; or, as is more generally the case, making up for the want of even these little qualifications by an affectation of austerity and mystery, which are at all times sufficient to make the vulgar regard them with admiration. The cause of so much deterioration is easily explained. When literature and the sciences were ensured in perpetuity to the Bráhmaṇs,* it became no longer their interest to acquire real knowledge, and the means of making themselves and their brethren wiser and happier. The arts of imposture held out to them more lucrative employment. To cheat and delude the mass, whom the laws had consigned to ignorance and misery promised them palpable advantages ; and they possessed by birth-right the means of deceiving with impunity. They were the accredited oracles of heaven ; religion with all its profits and advantages was exclusively within their grasp ; they held a monopoly of spiritual and legal interpretations ; the sacred books, and the lips of myriads, who had not the courage to consult either their own reason or their own feelings, vied to do them honor ; eternal beatitude was promised to them whether they did or did not perform acts to merit it. Wherever their vision extended they perceived nothing but their own adoration. The temptation was too great for human nature to resist, and it was not resisted. Religion and knowledge were unhesitatingly sacrificed at the altar of avarice, and so completely that it

will be difficult now to find out a single man of the sacred order in all India, whose duplicity does not far exceed his learning. Such are now the descendants of the ancient Bráhmans whom antiquity never spoke of but with praise. Such are the grave instructors of our youth. And what do they teach ? Assuredly all they can. But Q ! how insufficient is that all to answer any purpose of a sound education ! A Hindu school is a school but in name, where a few trite common-place acquirements only are picked up, together with absurd lessons of an extravagant theology, disfigured with metaphysical errors and logical subtlety ; a medley perhaps more baneful in its consequences than absolute ignorance itself. The improvement and amelioration of the mind is never thought of ; there is not a single book calculated to enlighten it ; the tutor does not even profess to impart what he never acquired himself ; and the student is thrown upon the world, stocked with odd notions, and a narrow-minded and illiberal study, which never rises to the idea of practical utility. Even this little ill-founded education is confined to the Bráhmans alone. To the other classes, which constitute the multitude, literature holds out neither its honors, nor its emoluments. On the contrary, the interdictions and anathemas of the scriptures repel them from the pale of enlightenment, while the hereditary nature of their duties takes away from them the power and even the inclination to swerve from the beaten path. Hopes and fears, even the worst evils of life, will often call forth the most latent talents of the human mind. But even in his hopes, and in his fears, and in his ills too, a Hindu is not his own master. He dares not think, he dares not put his own shoulder to the wheel in any difficulty. The Bráhman with his prayers and his rites must come to help him at every emergency. Among the lower classes therefore, among men who dare not exercise their own natural judgment, education has achieved no triumphs worth telling. In other countries the walls of separation, which divide the learned from the unlearned, are never so strictly guarded but that the knowledge of the few finds out a vent to

spread itself, by slow and imperceptible degrees, among the many. But in India liberal ideas, like a plague or other dangerous epidemy, have been more carefully watched over. A flexible and living language was left uncultivated, lest it should serve as a channel of communication between the belligerent powers. The learned wrote and spoke in Sanskrit, and the object of the designing few thus remained secure ; for what the learned wrote, the learned alone could read. Sanskrit was not a language for all classes, all ages, and all sexes. It did not open the stores entrusted to it to general discussion in closets, in camps, and in taverns. And the vulgar idiom was a jargon.

Even to the arts, perfection, or any thing approaching it is denied by that very institution which was originally, according to the most reasonable hypothesis, ordained to secure their improvement. That a man will do any thing better than another man, because his fathers did it before him, is a sorry conjecture ; and all the arguments which the looms of Dacca or the brocades of Benares can marshal in its favor, are nothing to the fact, that no improvements of any utility were known to the country similar to those now being made under European superintendence. The acquirements of one generation are not best transmitted to another, when transmitted from father to son. Nor is a father necessarily the best of tutors, nor a son the aptest of pupils. On the contrary, the strict confinement of artizans to a tribe is calculated to create the unfortunate habit of being mechanically persuaded, that, “ whatever is, is right,” a habit decidedly inimical to innovations and, therefore, diametrically opposed to improvement. We accordingly find, that, while in other lands, where no such provision ever existed, or if existing, was early done away with, the arts are now in such a state as would almost justify us in supposing that they have there attained their final perfection, in India they retain almost the same simple condition in which they were known to the ancient worthies of the land. Is this a gratuitous assumption that will not bear the test of proof ? Far from

it. There is no test which will not prove its accuracy. Here we have the Vaidyas, a separate class, for administering medicine, and yet the whole country will hardly yield a dozen regular physicians. The rest are all mere quacks, illiterate as the community in general, and sporting with the lives and health of their fellow-men, only by virtue of their birth.* We have the Kánsharis, a separate class, for founding brass and preparing brazen utensils, and yet the sort of utensils in use amongst us are very poor and few, and the methods of fluxing and compounding metals far from being, what they have long been regarded, perfect. Apart from the Vaisyas, who are now extinct, we have the Águris and the Kaibartas, separate classes for agriculture, and yet we look in vain for a contented and independent peasantry, or for a solid and rational system of the art founded upon clear and intelligible principles. The Bengal farmer is more indebted to nature for a crop, than to his own industry or management, and has neither the skill nor the diligence with which an English farmer cultivates a waste or a fen. A country plough is one of the rudest instruments imaginable, and all the other implements of the trade are of equally clumsy construction, while miserable mud cottages, rudely thatched over, testify in characters too plain to be mistaken, the wretched condition of the agriculturists themselves. We have a separate class of potters in the Kumbhakárs, and yet the pots in use here are of the most miserable sort, and there is nothing resembling porcelain or Queen's-ware in the country. We have a separate class of weavers, and in the manufacture of cotton and the labours of the loom, the Hindus do surpass a great many nations, but for all that, it is not the less a fact that cheap clothing, I mean of course cheapness combined with decency, was unknown here, till exports from England supplied the Indian

* To convey perhaps an idea of this scarcity of medical skill in the country, it is stated in our ancient books, that one of the fourteen *Ratnas*, or precious things, which the gods churned out of the ocean, was a learned physician.

market. The Karmakárs or blacksmiths form a separate sect, and yet their work, except what is now being performed under the superintendence of foreigners, is generally very clumsy and ill-finished. The joiners too are a separate class, but till recently "they had neither rule, compass, nor even a gimblet" to work with. The Rajakas, or washermen, have made so little progress in their art, that to this day the wash is generally made of the urine of cows and the ashes of the plantain. Soap has only recently come into use, and so also have ironing, clear-starching, and calendering. The Swarnakárs or goldsmiths, are very imperfect artizans; those only excepted, who have profited by the instruction, or served under the superintendence, of European tradesmen. The manufacture of fireworks, paper-making, book-binding, book-selling, &c. were trades unknown among the ancient Hindus. Nay, there were no tailors in India previous to the Muhammadan conquest, the garments formerly worn by the natives consisting simply of one or more sheets of muslin folded round the body. In truth, none of the conveniences of life ever existed in this country in that state of improvement in which they are to be found in Europe. Almost all our exports to this day consist of raw materials. Nothing is sent out that has either taste or elegance, while our imports clearly show that our trades-people in no respect rival those of the western world. We are yet too rude and ignorant to make any refined use of the inexhaustible natural resources of our own country, and even now, as has been the case from age to age, those resources are freely yielded up to other nations to work with and profit by.

It has been argued that the hereditariness of professions is to be met with in all countries. It is not uncommon even in England for a clergyman, a lawyer, or a soldier to educate his sons for his own profession. True. But neither the clergyman, nor the lawyer, nor the soldier, do any such thing under the conviction of a moral obligation. They are only actuated by a feeling of partiality for what long acquaintance has ren-

dered dear to each. But if any of the sons happens to find no inclination to the occupation of his father, there is neither hesitation nor difficulty in transferring him to a business more consonant to his taste. It is not so in India. Whether he likes it or not, the Hindu youth must follow the business bequeathed to him, or sink in the regard and estimation of the community. It is an obligation enjoined by the Shástras, which allow him no other alternative, and which thus tacitly deprive him of a natural privilege, enjoyed by his brethren in all other parts of the world.

But to return to the effects of caste. The fine arts, generally reach the summit of perfection in those countries, where religion consists in the worship of idols and images, and where magnificent temples and imposing decorations are considered essential to such worship. We see accordingly that triumphal arches, towers, and pyramids, statues and pictures, the speaking canvas and the breathing marble, are glories that have belonged almost exclusively to heathen lands, and which modern art, in spite of her most strenuous efforts, has only succeeded to imitate partially, and at a servile distance. But even these poor substitutes for religion have left no trace in India. Sunk in greater vice and impiety than Greece, or Rome, or Egypt in their worst of days, she has no exquisite remains of art like any of them, to astonish the world with, and plead for her guilt. Of painting, her specimens are as rare as they are wretched; her sculptures, though more numerous, display only a total ignorance of anatomy, and an inexcusable disregard of proportions; and even her celebrated cave-temples refuse to testify that she ever made any extraordinary progress in architecture. Is not this too an effect of the hereditary division of employments?

But these are slight evils compared to the moral turpitude it has occasioned. The superabundance of men in the respective professions to which they are assigned not having been provided for by the laws, the supernumerary hands, for want

of better occupation, have taken to all sorts of crimes to obtain subsistence. Historians mention that there are castes for thieves, and that men are systematically brought up to consider robbery as their hereditary occupation. This at least is certain that there are outcasts, who, driven from the pale of society by oppression, have adopted vagrant and murderous habits, and live in the perpetual performance of the most inhuman and immoral deeds. There are also sharpers and thieves by profession, to whom no ray of instruction has revealed the iniquity of their career, and in whom the feeble stirrings of conscience are smothered under the hardness of their lot. The great mass of society, also, being destitute of education, and in want of all the principles of morality, herd together simply to corrupt each other, and eke out for themselves those courses only, which lead to mere carnal gratifications. At an early age they enter the broad road of iniquity, crimes are committed which, in the language of the Apostle, "it is a shame to speak of;" and receiving no check either from education, example, or the state of public morals, these unfortunate young men hurry recklessly onwards to destruction. Religion is a by-word in the land, and has been so corrupted, that it has become a prolific source of hatred, cruelty and crime. The ritual is a collection of superstitious ceremonies which will make all laugh who can laugh at the follies of men, and bring tears into the eyes of those who cannot regard the progress of human depravity without emotion. The doctrines of the Vedas, however imperfect, when compared with the light which has since been afforded to the world, contain a great degree of morality, to which the belief now in force amongst us has no pretension. The reading of those doctrines is confined to one isolated class, while the great bulk of the people have embraced every fantastic opinion which their designing superiors have thrown in their way. They have deified their heroes, their legislators, and their priests; nay, unsatisfied even with so much impiety, they have in their utter ignorance, ranked stocks, and stones, and creeping

things with God. Thus has the dignity of religion been insulted, and human intellect reduced to a level with brutishness. Nor could this state of things have by any means been avoided in a country, where to become a religious guide, it is merely necessary to be born a Bráhmaṇ. The priests, in almost all other countries the most moral section of the community, are here busy, not only in deceiving, but in setting evil examples of all hues and descriptions; and the rest, enjoined by the Shástras to look up to them as to gods, think it no harm to imitate their superiors. Not a sin is there which one, tempted to commit it, may not find a sanction for in the conduct of the clergy. Far from spending their days in religious austerity, as they are required to do in the Shástras, they squander their time in the most shameful practices of irreligion. Some efforts have been made from time to time to reform this crying abuse. But the system admitting of no improvement, such efforts have never been crowned with success. On the contrary, they have often served only to aggravate that depravity which it was their object to cure.* The poor Sudra is, perhaps, in point of morality, a little better than the Bráhmaṇ, being by the very circumstance of his degradation, withheld from many abominations which Bráhmaṇs alone, habituated as they have been to regard themselves placed above all temporal jurisdiction, may commit with impunity. Cicero, speaking of the Roman senate of his time, says, that “a more scandalous company of sharpers never sat at a gaming table,” a compliment which can be applied, with perhaps even greater felicity, to our clergy, only that their right to pre-eminence extends to every sort of guilt, and is not circumscribed to thieving alone. There is no crime, that has a name in the dark records of human frailty, which they are incapable of perpetrating. Says Governor Holwell, “never

* In Bengal Bullál Sen created an order of merit (Kulinhood) to encourage learning and religious sanctity, but this, without at all answering his object, has since been perverted into a most shameful and revolting system of debauchery.

any murder or atrocious crime came before us, but it was proved in the end a Bráhmaṇ was at the bottom of it ;” and, according to Ward, Kulin Bráhmaṇs have lately been found “to a most extraordinary extent, among the most notorious and dangerous dacoits.” In the golden age of Hinduism we are assured that the priests were habitually employed in austere devotion. But now, alas for human nature ! they are otherwise. ‘The innocent sheep have turned into ravening wolves—habitual devotees into graceless sinners.

Nor has the social and national character of the community suffered less from this baneful institution. Instead of four divisions, we have now more than forty ; and all of them, for all social purposes, as distinct from each other as the French are from the Hottentots. They have no fraternal feelings in common, and are to each other little less than utter strangers. So far as the rules of caste will allow, the Hindus are assuredly as hospitable as most other nations, but it is a sufficient excuse for not extending their hospitality further, that the object belongs to a lower class, or to a class unknown. The following extracts from Bishop Heber’s correspondence will justify this observation.

“A traveller falls down sick in the streets of a village, (I am mentioning a fact which happened ten days ago,) nobody knows what caste he is of, therefore nobody goes near him, lest they should become polluted ; he wastes to death before the eyes of a whole community, unless the jackals take courage from his helpless state to finish him a little sooner, and, perhaps, as happened in the case to which I alluded, the children are allowed to pelt him with stones and mud.”

Again :—

“A friend of mine, some months ago, found a miserable wretch, a groom out of employ, who had crept, sick of the dysentery, into his courtyard. He had there remained in a corner on the pavement two days and nights. Perhaps twenty servants had been eating their meals daily within six yards of him, yet none had relieved him, none had so much as carried him into the shelter of one of the out-houses, nor had taken the trouble to tell their master. When reproved for this, their answer was, ‘he was not our kins-

man ;' ' whose business was it ?' ' How did we know that the Sâhib would like to be troubled ?' "

Alms to a large amount are given to religious mendicants, and instances of the most amiable benevolence towards the brute creation are also to be seen. There are those who think it a virtue to feed even the most venomous reptiles on earth ; and, though the cases are rare, men have been known to tend serpents with milk and bread ; but a man will turn away with calm indifference from a perishing brother, if he belongs to a lower class than himself. No misfortune and no affliction will entitle the Chandâl to the pity and relieving sympathy of the Brâhman, nor will any necessity or national danger yoke them side by side in one common cause. Caste has dismembered society into the most heterogeneous portions, and woven out distinctions into such endless variety as defy all soldering. There are orders, for instance, into whose houses no Brâhmans will enter ; others into whose houses they will enter, but partake of no food therein ; others, again, in whose houses they will eat fruit, but nothing more substantial. The Brâhman soldier will not eat what has been defiled by the touch of his Kurmi associate, and if he enters his cook-room, will throw away his untasted meal and his cooking utensils. Nay, it is well known, that soldiers, when about to suffer capital punishment on the gallows, have often applied for permission to adjust the cords with their own hands, rather than be polluted by the touch of a man of an inferior order in the last moments of their existence. A hearty national union of a people so constituted can never be hoped for, prior to the complete and utter annihilation of those evil institutions which have given birth to such unfortunate prejudices. In most of the Hindu cities the towns were formerly divided into parts, where the different classes took up their distinct quarters, and, though such divisions are not very nicely observed now, still traces of them are to be met with everywhere. In some districts the orders considered most impure were not permitted to venture on the public roads, lest these should be

defiled.* It is but too true that these wretched people have, in consequence of the utter hopelessness of their condition, contracted many abominable and disgusting habits, almost justifying the abhorrence with which they are regarded ; but no one will find any difficulty in determining whether their loathsome propensities are the cause, or the consequence, of the scorn in which they are held.

Some well-disposed authors have given the Hindus a character for benevolence. Others, however, have strongly disputed this indulgent award ; and, in spite of a natural wish to coincide in opinion with the former, I must admit that the latter have the best of the argument. I have said that large sums are expended in India in religious charity ; they admit as much, but urge that ostentatious alms-giving is not benevolence. In Christian lands the poignancy of diseases and distempers loses a great deal of its keenness from the kindly feeling with which it is tended ; for poverty there is a provision in every parish to afford relief ; and for “ those outcasts of human society, who infest populous cities,” there are refuges to afford shelter, when, loathed and detested by men, they return to God. Human misery has not yet assumed a form so repulsive as to disarm the pious solicitude of the genuine Christian. It is by this test that they desire to examine the native character. If it has really so much of benevolence, as some have allowed to it, where are the memorials of its works of love, asylums for the blind and the insane, hospitals for the sick, and refuges for the unfortunate and the poor ? Ruins of big temples, the records of an abominable superstition, are to be seen in different parts of India ; but where shall we seek for even the ruin of an hospital or an asylum ?

The cowardice and baseness of the Hindu character are, also, in some measure, attributable to caste. Those to whom the Shástras have assigned more peaceful occupations will on no account engage in war. The fighting classes, descendants of

* Such was the condition of the Pallis in Madura.

the original Kshethriya race, are well known to be exceedingly valiant, and pertinaciously stubborn. They will resist aggression, nay, often, will resent the slightest affront, with their lives. Hence the Moguls, after the conquest of nearly the whole of Hindustán, met with violent opposition in subjugating such a little tract of country as Rájasthán. But there are whole districts where the descendants of the Kshethriyas do not dwell, and in such places the people will not fight even for their lives and their homes, nor do they consider it a disgrace to seek safety in flight.

There are those who impute to misgovernment most of the evils to which I have alluded, and to a certain extent they are undoubtedly right. The oppression and fanaticism of most of the Muhammadan rulers were of a nature too violent and illiberal not to have affected the national character of the conquered, and their cruelty and caprice must certainly have generated in their Hindu subjects the vices of slavery. But the experiment of misgovernment has been tried in other lands, as well as in India, and its outturn precisely ascertained. It gives birth to a great many evils, but not to all the evils which obtain amongst us. Thus, for instance, it may make a conquered people the slaves of their conquerors, but it will not make them the less brothers to each other. It must also be remembered, that foreign rule and misgovernment are themselves but the natural effects of a more potent antecedent cause, and that false religion, with its brood of evil laws and customs, must take the odium of having brought them down upon the country.

The debasing and demoralizing effects of caste on the mental, moral, social and national character of the Hindus, which I have adverted to, have not been unattended by the most injurious influence in retarding the progress of improvement in the land. Civilization has been brought to a stand still, or rather has been compelled to retrograde from the little advancement she is said to have made in the earlier ages, when Hinduism was either not of so debasing a nature as it now is, or the rules of

caste not so perniciously strict—habits of indolence, to which the inhabitants of tropical climates have such a physical tendency, have become confirmed—reason, for want of exercise, has been weakened and paralyzed—repugnance to investigation, strictly enforced by the Shástras, has deprived the mind of its natural energy, and, all causes conspiring, India which imparted to Tyre and Palmyra their ancient magnificence, gave Venice her tiara'd battlements and exhaustless wealth, and accelerated the march of civilization throughout the world, has suffered herself to be outstripped by all her admirers. It is a vulgar proverb, but generally not the less a true one, that, when things are at their worst, they mend. In India, however, things have been at their worst for many centuries, without a change. More than two thousand years have past since the time of Alexander's expedition. Within that period how many fluctuations have occurred in the world, how many mighty revolutions for good and for evil! Empires have risen, flourished, and declined. Rome was founded, and rose to the summit of her imperial splendour. From that height she was hurled down again, and the descendants of those barbarians, who trampled upon and crushed her greatness, have in their turn risen to the highest state of civilization. But India has been sleeping in her semi-barbarism through all this weary while. In other respects she, too, has felt many changes. Oppressor after oppressor has trampled upon her destinies, dynasties have displaced dynasties, tyrants have succeeded to tyrants, vallies have been filled up, rivers have changed their courses, but the state of civilization, which the Greek historians have described, continues, or at least has hitherto continued, unaltered and unimproved. It is only recently that encroachments have been attempted on time-hallowed prejudices, and such as have succeeded, however partially, have not succeeded without encountering the most violent opposition. Even Christianity, so remarkable for its easy triumphs in all other parts of the world, has here met with nothing but impediments; and this while its worth is freely admitted by the in-

tellectual section of the community. The good sense of that section has not failed to appreciate its greater simplicity and superior rationality, as compared with the absurd polytheism of their countrymen; and most of them, I believe, will be found prepared to admit that Christ's gospel of salvation holds out the only adequate remedy for the multifarious complaints of their country. But, however willing such minds may be to embrace a religion, which not only has nothing revolting in its nature, but, on the contrary, has many ineffable charms to entice the heart, Caste sets an almost insuperable barrier between them and all radical changes. The open avowal of a new doctrine, or the open assumption of new customs, banishes the daring offender from the bosom of his family, without giving him a sufficient estimation in a new community to counterbalance his loss; and no one, who is not prepared to relinquish almost his all on earth, can embrace a new religion or be a candid reformer.

SECTION III.—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE SUBJECT.

“The loftiness of man shall be bowed down, and the haughtiness of man shall be brought low, and the Lord alone shall be exalted.”

From what has already been said on the subject, the reader will have perceived, I presume, that both the restrictions of Caste, and the solemn religious obligations by which they are enforced, if they betray not the most morbid political corruption in the government, testify at least to an unpardonable inattention on the part of our legislators to the real interests of their country. If the original founders of the institution had other views than those of raising themselves above the rest of the community, their successors too early succeeded to alter their design, whatever it might have been, and to pervert it into a disgusting and almost impious arrogation of undeserved supremacy. The effects of that perversion have been

told at length. Knowledge was discouraged for its palpable hostility to this arrogation of pre-eminence, and the exercise of the right of private judgment for the same reason strictly prohibited. To doubt its authority was to remove it altogether, to probe its foundations was to sap them. The power to doubt and to examine was therefore wisely withheld. The designing few knew well wherein lay their security, and they bound with double care and strictness such as they feared might rebel. It was impossible, as I have shewn already, for prosperity or advancement to find a place under such restrictions. Nowhere has any nation ever risen to distinction under similar difficulties. We shudder even to anticipate what the state of enlightened Europe would have been, at this moment, if the minds of her children had been held in such thralldom for so many successive ages. The Copernican mysteries had then to this day remained unrevealed, Bacon and Descartes had not explored the priceless mines of philosophy, Columbus and Gama had not extended the limits of discovery, the mariner's compass and the steam-engine had remained unneeded and unknown, and the Reformation of Religion itself had continued unattempted. India would not then have been so far behind her in the orbit of civilization; for the condition of the sisters, or, as the Athenian poet, with a slight degree of excusable partiality, has designated them, the mistress and the hand-maid, had nearly been alike. Revert the picture for a moment, unbind the shakles which fetter this unhappy country. Shall we not straight see her shake off her long sleep, or rather, the stupefaction of ages, and, flinging far the swaddling clothes which embarrass her, begin to develop her hidden powers? Shall we not see the learning of Europe find a ready response in the East, and, by the tacit harmony which governs all reformatations, the condition of the latter rise, in sure and rapid gradations, to a level with that of the former. The backwardness of things would instantly begin to depart, and the Hindu would cease to be miserable and poor amidst the unmeasured

riches of his native land. The inventions of art and the researches of science would no longer be despised, nor confined to the lower castes alone; nor would the greatest of the land consider it a shame "to be discovered in his laboratory smutted with charcoal, or in the midst of his tools covered with shavings." Rich, invaluable discoveries, which the Bráhmans are doubtless entitled to the honor of having kept back from the people, and from themselves, would then see the light; men would dare to think, to reason, to examine those things which now require only a blind belief; the casuistic morality, in which the duties of man towards God and towards his fellows, are wholly reduced to his duties to a certain order of men, would give place to higher principles; and a light would be kindled in the bosom of error which would shine on all objects around it. And why should not this come to pass? Why should the advancement of a whole nation, towards the great object pointed out by reason, be for ever impeded? Why should the development of the human powers, and nature's longing for a state of equilibrium continue to be thwarted?—and all for perpetuating the pre-eminence of a class now despicable in literary attainments, contemptible in manners, and disgusting in morality? Reason allows no distinctions between man and man, but such as answer important ends in the social union; and those are confined to merit, or to office, the one to foster a generous emulation, and the other to secure order in the union itself. We accordingly see that the original principles of equality are everywhere modified, either by the shades of intellectual superiority which diversify the human race, or by the proportions of power meted out to individuals by the general suffrage, or supposed general suffrage, of society. But distinctions confined to classes, and to which the only entry is by birth, can answer no useful purpose, and have therefore no theory to stand upon; and one in reading of them is compelled to exclaim with the dramatist—"Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affec-

tions, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is?"

Nor has experience proved the practical usefulness of the institution of castes. If it originated with an idea of securing improvement to the arts and sciences, to learning, philosophy, and morality, it has lasted too long. None of the arts and sciences ever reached to any extraordinary degree of perfection in India; and the history of the Hindus bears testimony to but a very ordinary degree of education, and a very low degree of morality. It is true that the Greeks before the time of Pythagoras used to travel into India for instruction, but that, I believe, proves nothing more than what requires no proof, that the Hindus were a much older people, and had attained, even at that age, a certain degree of improvement. But that their learning, even when it thus stood as a model to foreign admirers, had anything solid or remarkable in it except its subtlety, we must be permitted to doubt; and that the national character, on the other hand, was ever a depraved one, is borne out by the testimony of the code of Manu itself, wherein are mentioned penances and punishments, under the criminal law, for pollutions which must remain unnamed. Naturally the Hindu mind is assuredly as capable of intellectual and moral improvement as that of any other race, and it has exhibited too, in diverse cases, surprising abilities, so far as they have been developed now, or in remote antiquity. But, never coming into collision with other geniuses, or with the whole of even his own community, never associating with foreigners, never availing himself of the great advantages derivable from voyages and travels, and ever shut out from the adoption of every thing foreign by his laws, the Hindu has not profited by the revolution of ages, and is still walking in the midst of comparative darkness, while his brethren of the western world, who were sunk in primeval gloom when he saw the light, are basking in the blaze of enlighten-

ment. He is absolutely forbidden to pass beyond the limits of his native country, and is therefore prevented from exercising that spirit of investigation and research which is the only fabricator of greatness. He is forbidden to borrow ideas of religion, and even maxims of policy, from other nations, and is necessarily left far behind by them all. And, from immemorial custom he is strictly enjoined never, and on no account, to deviate; and we see him, therefore, at the present moment, a victim to the prejudices of auld lang syne. The shockingly corrupt manners of the Bráhmans, the gross ignorance of all classes, their general apathy to strike into any new path, their proverbial incompetency to form any bold design, and the complete disruption of those bands of society which bind men into a brotherhood, these are the only consequences which caste has given birth to; and, so apparent have become its misdoings, that, even the most bigoted Hindu, with all his prejudices for the good old times, will now hardly venture to affirm, that, if the past could be recalled, and the arrangement of society entrusted to him, he would re-propose the system at present in operation. Why is it then allowed to obtain longer in the land? The time is come when, like a hardened felon, it ought at once to be arraigned before the tribunal of public opinion, its hoary villanies exposed, and the verdict of perpetual expatriation passed on it.

Though not myself a Christian, in marshalling arguments against the institution of castes, I cannot well overlook the beautiful doctrines of that revelation, which makes no distinction but between the virtuous and the vicious, recognises no uncleanness but that of the heart, and invites the poorest and the proudest to one common heaven. The heaven of the Hindus, like their earth, is made for the Bráhmans alone, and, before the soul can wing its flight thither, it must, as a general rule, have passed its Bráhmanical birth. But the religion of the gospel inculcates doctrines of a different character. Is thy soul athirst for God? Dost thou pant after him as the

hart panteth after the water brooks? Have the words of the law been a lamp unto thy feet, and a light unto thy path? If so, be of good cheer, whoever thou art—it matters not if thou art Jew or Gentile—the gates of heaven shall open to let thee in. Christianity everywhere recognizes the equality of mankind. The rich and the poor meet together, it says, for the Lord is the maker of them all; and it tells us to be as brothers to each other, to love our neighbours as we love ourselves, and to do to others as we would be done by. How does all this contrast with the injunctions of caste, which declare to the Bráhmaṇ that he is God's vicegerent upon earth, and that he must not pollute himself by coming into too close contact with his neighbours; and to the Sudra that servitude is his portion through life, and that he must invariably look up to the higher classes with reverence and fear!

There is yet another reason why the system of castes should immediately be brought to an end. The higher classes are bound down to preserve their orthodoxy only by the restrictions and terrors of the law, the pride of their positions being considered a sufficient pledge for their good faith. But the case is different—very different with the lower orders. Each of these divisions has a class of men called parámániks, members of which exercise the most unlimited inquisitorial powers, each within his own jurisdiction of one or more villages, prying even into the minutest circumstances of life, and interfering with every domestic incident, unless bought off with a bribe. A son or a daughter cannot be given away in marriage, friends cannot be entertained, ceremonies cannot be performed, without feeding these social harpies; and if a wife or daughter is suspected of frailty, or a son or brother accused of apostasy, the unfortunate family is infallibly shorn to the quick and reduced to beggary, with not even the privilege of complaining left to them, when their caste is spared. Thus domestic happiness, the dearest of all dear things on earth, is subjected to the vulgar intrusion and despotic interference of

men who make ~~their~~ inquisitiveness the source of their wealth. If there had been no other arguments against caste, this alone were sufficient to cry shame upon it; for who can regard an inquisition like this without horror?

The contradictory statements of the Hindu Shástras, also, suggest arguments inimicable to the perpetuation of the system. Says the 168th verse of the second chapter of the Institutes of Manu, The Bráhmaṇ, who, not having studied the Veds, applies diligent attention to a different and worldly study, soon falls to the condition of a Sudra, and his descendants after him; and we read also, that Vashishta cursed his hundred sons, and degraded them to the rank of Chandáls. On the other hand the 42nd verse of the 7th chapter of Manu mentions, that Viswamitra, the son of Gadhi, acquired the rank of a priest, though born in the military class. Vyása, says also a very venerated tradition, raised a Sudra to bráhmaṇhood. The descendants of that convert are still to be found in Bengal. The other Bráhmaṇs, it is true, despise them, but that does not overthrow the fact. Nay, Vyása himself, divested of his sacred legendary character, legitimately belongs but to one of the mixed classes, being the issue of a rape committed by an ascetic on the daughter of a fisherman; yet he was the great compiler of the Veds and, of course, a Bráhmaṇ. Achala Muni, it is mentioned in the Smriti, was born of an elephant, Kesa Pingala of an owl, Agastya Muni from an Agasti flower, Kausika from the kusa grass, Kapila from a monkey, Gautáma from a creeper, Drona Áchárya from an earthen pot, Taittrii Rishi from a partridge, Paraswa Rám from dust, Sringa Rishi from a deer, Vashishta from a courtesan, and Nárad Muni from a female spirit-seller. It is difficult, indeed, clearly to understand the allegorical meaning of an elephant, an owl, a flower, a blade of grass, a monkey, a creeper, a pot, a bird, dust, and a deer, in connection with the birth of some of the above-named sages. But it is clear that these oriental metaphors are only meant to conceal their low

origin. Yet all these individuals were Bráhmans. It were vain to urge that the defect of their birth was probably only on the mothers' side, and that they derived their bráhmanhood from their fathers. Such an assertion would be contrary to the spirit of the Shástras, else, wherefore are the Vaidyas, the Nishadas, and the Murdhabhisiktas classed with the impurer tribes? Nay, it is clearly mentioned in Manu, verse 5th, chapter 10th, that "they only who are born in a direct order of wives, equal in class, and virgins at the time of marriage, are to be considered as the same in class with their fathers." The ascetics above named, it may therefore be presumed, became Bráhmans solely by the force of their piety. Valmiki, too, the great epic poet of India, was by birth a Sudra, and raised himself, no doubt by the force of his talents, to the highest order. We read, also, that there have been Bráhmans of the Kaibarta Kul, the Rajaka Kul, and the Chandál Kul, all conspiring to suggest that there was a time when bráhmanhood was nothing more than a mere order of merit, to which the good and the virtuous, whatever might have been their position in life, were admitted. Divers passages will be found in almost all the Shástras, corroborating this hypothesis. It is written in many places, that the signs of bráhmanhood are the possession of truth, mercy, and benevolence, and the unflinching practice of the strictest asceticism. Sukra Achárjya, also says, in explanation of the sacred texts, that the gods take no heed of castes, but deem him to be a Bráhman who is a good man, although he belongs to the vilest order. Says also Baisham Payani Rishi, addressing Yudhisthira, the son of Pándu, The qualifications of a Bráhman are patience in suffering, guiltlessness of violence and wrong, not eating flesh and not hurting sentient things, not taking that which belongs to another, mastering covetous affections and sensual desires, and having an absolute indifference to the world; these, says he, with the possession of truth, mercy, benevolence, and contrition, constitute bráhmanhood. Again, says he, bráhmanhood depends neither

on race, nor on birth, nor on the performance of ceremonies. If a Chandál is virtuous, he becomes a Bráhmaṇ. Whoever in this life ever does well, and is ever ready to benefit others, spending his days and nights in good acts, is a Bráhmaṇ. What then should prevent these doctrines from being carried out now, not partially, as they seem to have been in the mythological periods, but sweepingly, so as to reduce caste to a mere civic distinction? In the Yajur Ved, as quoted by Voltaire, it is stated, that the inequality of the divisions of caste was originally founded only on the primitive inequality of talents. Why should not the same rational criterion be still observed, and a distinction established only between the deserving and the undeserving members of society? "When the first man came from the hand of God," says the extract above alluded to, "he said to him, there will be different occupations on the earth, every one will not be fit to exercise all: how then are we to distinguish such as are proper for each? God answered him, they who are born with more genius and a greater inclination for virtue than the rest, shall be Bráhmaṇs. They who partake most of *Rasagun*, or ambition, shall be warriors; they who partake most of *Tamogun*, or avarice, shall be merchants; and they who partake most of *Karmagun*, that is, who are robust and of a limited understanding, shall be employed in servile labors." There is nothing monstrous or irrational in this theory, if we only divest it of its religious character. It is the basis on which all the civic systems of Europe are founded.

I may also here observe, with reference to the monastic orders in India, that the rules which regulate their establishment and preservation are contrary to the spirit and principles of caste. All distinctions are levelled, on admission into most of these bodies. The twice-born classes rend their sacred threads, and all renounce on oath their rank and place in society. The secret observances of the Bámácháris, also, (authorised, it is said, by the Tantras) permit the votaries, how-

ever diversified their castes may be, to eat together the offerings of the ritual; but the circumstances of their worship are of too diabolical a nature for a place in this essay. Vaishnavas, likewise, of different classes associate at their meals; and there seems to be no prohibition whatever in the code of Manu against eating together, except with women and the Sudras, which, if done, is still declared expiable, as provided for in chapter 11th, verse 153, by living on barley gruel for a week—a punishment so lenient, judging from the usual stern principles laid down by the legislator, as might justify us in presuming that he did not regard the fault in the same heinous light in which it is now regarded by my orthodox countrymen.

The great strictness with which the regulations of caste were formerly regarded, exists no longer. Hinduism, hitherto unchanged, has since shewn itself to be by no means altogether unchangeable. Men have become lax in their adherence, and in their faith, and many violations of its rules are daily committed with impunity. The unnatural efforts of man to bind down his brother, cannot prevail for ever. Laws essentially partial and absurd, and at the same time intricate and severe, can never have eternal influence over the human mind. Even good and evil passions, though by nature opposed to each other, coalesce, at the most partial dawn of knowledge and civilization, to upset their authority, and to deride their restrictions. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that from the bosom of the country itself have arisen insidious opponents to its orthodox doctrines; nor is it to be regretted that such is the case. It is to be regretted, only, that our reformers are generally men of licentious habits and dissipated character, and that a love for food proscribed by the Shástras, and a morbid anxiety for promiscuous intercourse with females of all orders, are the chief causes of their liberalism. It is to be regretted that bad husbands and bad fathers, the lovers of beef and the victims of burgundy, men who have been outlawed from the pale of their own fraternity, and have no alternative but to

kick against it, have taken the lead. It is this that to a good cause has brought a bad name, and deterred healthier minds from marshalling under the same banner. The best of the community have thus been thrown into the rear, and, if the truth must be told, preferring to be called bigots rather than drunkards, they have lent the weight of their character, talents, and importance to a cause which they earnestly and heartily despise. But this state of things cannot last long. Nor would it be a compliment to the national character, if it did. To break the chains imposed on the human mind, to overthrow the barriers which oppose the free intercourse of thought, is a glorious enterprise. It is such an undertaking as has immortalized in other lands the names of a Luther and a Calvin, a Huss and an Erasmus. Now is the time for effecting a revolution in this country, such as they did in Europe. Now is the time for all to co-operate for its success. The school-master is abroad. Hinduism has received a shock to its very foundations. Its authority is questioned, its doctrines derided. Idolatry has no doubt still its votaries, and the institution of castes its admirers; but the sincere devotion and unfeigned admiration, with which they were respectively regarded in former ages, have now declined to a shaken belief, and an unsteady attachment. The Bráhmans, no longer the immaculate body of the Shástras, and drudging for their livelihood in almost all trades and professions, have lost much of their religious influence; while the Sudras, however willing still to observe an outward show of veneration towards the clergy, and to shape their opinions and manners according to their fiat, in all matters of petty importance, are compelled, by their position in life, to feel that they are now far from being the powerless serfs they have hitherto been. Now, therefore, is the time to strike for the complete annihilation of Bráhmanism. Apathy at such a crisis must assuredly be criminal, as it will serve to give health and strength to a decaying evil, which, though a living and operative reality at the present moment, wants but one powerful

throttling to strangle it for ever. And there is no plea that will justify it. What, if the profligate and the licentious to serve their own ends have set us the way? Must we therefore fall back from the breach which they have made, and turn traitors to our principles? or shall we dare to question the power of the Omnipotent to bring forth good out of evil, beauty out of deformity, and harmony out of confusion? Now is the time for all to co-operate. It is not a private or personal struggle which we are summoned to support. It is a contest of principle and opinion, a contest between the genius of civilization and the evil angel of ignorance. In such an encounter it is almost impious to doubt where success must eventually settle. Let all, then, gird up their loins who profess to reverence reason, and aspire for intellectual freedom; let us do it under a conviction that no power on earth can help us, if we do not help ourselves. The British Government has done much to allay our sufferings and elevate our national character. It may yet do more, for much remains undone. But all the laws that ever were enacted will not render a vicious, ignorant and superstitious people intelligent, virtuous and happy. The deadly Upas, whose noxious exhalations have made us what we are, must first be uprooted, ere we can reasonably expect to reap any solid advantages from even the most enlightened administration on the face of the earth.

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HINDU CASTE.

1. *The Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad, with the commentary of Sankara Achárya, and the gloss of Anand Giri.—Bibliotheca Indica. Nos. 5—13, 16 and 18. Calcutta.*
2. *The Institutes of Menu. Serampore.*

CASTE, as upheld at present by the followers of Brahminism, bears but little resemblance to the classification which prevailed in the days of Menu; still less to that which is sanctioned in the Vedas. The subjective theology of the early Rishis, (if we may so designate the hymnology, or, as it is technically called, the *Sanhitas* of the Rich, Yajush, Saman, and Atharvan,) which appears to have been the first efforts of Brahminical genius, and which, without a formal and dogmatic declaration of faith, exhibited the devotional sentiments of the writers, and, in most instances, the manners and customs of the age, contains scarcely any distinct intimation even of the four original races supposed to have sprung from Brahma,*—whilst it decidedly ignores the *mixed* classes, which now form the great bulk of Hindu society. The *Brahmanas*, or the objective theosophy of the Vedas, speak positively of the four primitive orders, but are equally silent on the others.† As to the countless divisions of caste, which prevail in the present day, many of them have no countenance either in the *Sruti* or the *Smriti*.

The mean offices, which are assigned to the last order, and the wide gap, which is interposed between it and the first three orders, impart great probability to the supposition that the Súdras are the aboriginal natives of the soil, and that the *twice-born* are the three-fold ramifications of a conquering race. The Brahmins, on settling on the fruitful plains of Hindustan, showed no greater generosity to the earth-born Sudras, than the Normans did to their Saxon serfs in England, or than the Americans still do to the Indians.

It is singular that the most stringent rules against the Súdras are those contained in the Purámas and the Institutes of Menu. The Vedas are not so severe. The Vedas speak of the Súdras as the lowest class, but do not assign to them such servile duties as were afterwards imposed. Perhaps the Rishis had not fully organized their aristocracy, or fenced it with severe enactments

* Professor Wilson doubts whether even the Brahmins were recognized as a caste, when the first Astaka of the Sanhita of the Rig-veda was composed. That they were so recognized in the age of the Sanhita of the Sama Veda will appear presently in this very article.

† Chandálas and Paúlkasas are mentioned as specimens of the lowest and basest of mankind.

against the aborigines, when they began to chant the Sanhitas, or speculate in the Bráhmaṇas. Time enabled them afterwards to consolidate their power, and to define the position they desired to allot to Súdras.

The Súdras had, however, occasionally risen to power and eminence, even during the political ascendancy of the Brahmins. The honour conferred upon the shepherds of Brindaban by Krishna's acknowledgment of them as relatives and playmates, must have been appreciated by his followers. Súdra dynasties are sometimes mentioned as dominant in certain parts of Hindustan. The Brahma Vaibarta makes mention of Drumila, king of Kānyakubja, who was a cowherd and a serf. The Rāmāyana speaks of Guha, king of Srīngabera, a Chandāla by caste, but honored with the friendship of the heroic son of Dasaratha. Some of the Purānas also speak prophetically of certain *Abhiras*, or peasant-kings, whose caste of course is low.

The Súdra, or the fourth order, is, perhaps, no longer in existence. That appellation, with the disgrace attached to it in the Shastras, is now shared by multitudes of classes, which are all equally excluded from the privileges of the *twice-born*. These classes, though all ranking as Súdras, keep themselves aloof from one another, and live entirely isolated as distinct orders. The four-fold division of the Vedas has accordingly spun out to several scores of castes, of many of which no traces are found in the Shastras.

That the countless ramifications of the servile classes are monstrous corruptions of the original division, can admit of no doubt. But there was something in the Hindu institution of caste, which was naturally liable to corruption. It was fit for no other than *monstrous* growth. Extravagant as the present ramifications may appear, in comparison with the fundamental classification, they are the genuine developments of the original principle. The caste of the Sruti is to that of the Smriti, and both are to that in actual existence in the nineteenth century, as the acorn is to the oak.

The Hindu institution of caste was, in this respect, different from that of any other country. The Egyptians had castes not wholly unlike those of this country, but they do not seem to have established them on so grossly invidious a principle as the Brahmins. The wise men of Egypt were no doubt equally jealous with those of India of the least departures from the laws they had laid down, but the authors of the hieroglyphics seem to have enforced them more as civil and political, and less as religious and moral, institutions, than the authors of the Vedas. Both had probably the same ends in view; both aimed at the per-

petual maintenance of the same professions in the same families; both were probably equally desirous of placing their own dignities and privileges above the competition of the lower classes; both had perhaps reasoned that those, who were rude and vulgar in their manners, should not be confounded with the learned and the polished; both had probably been guided by the mistaken idea, that the arts and sciences would thrive best by being confided to particular families, responsible for, and interested in, their cultivation and development; both perhaps thought, that, in the rude and infantine state of society in which they lived, the people would not make a judicious division of labour without the intervention of the legislature; but the Egyptian, in carrying out his principles, was satisfied with making a positive classification, and pronouncing it unalterable. The Brahmin went a step further, and based his division on an invidious representation of the creation itself. The Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaishya, and the Súdra were of different orders, not because they were so classed politically by the civil power, which was theocratic, but because they were of *different races* from the beginning. The Brahminical division was therefore a *moral* and *religious*, no less than a *political*, institution.

This was a baneful principle in the Hindu institutes. It denied in effect the common origin of our species. It was calculated to extinguish all fellow feeling in human beings of different classes, who were brethren in no other sense than that in which men and quadrupeds might be called brethren—owing to their creation by the same Almighty Power.

The Brahmins fortified their system of caste by discouraging intermarriages between the several orders. Intermarriages were not so rigorously forbidden in the beginning as they are now; but they were considered, if not absolutely disreputable, at least improper and unworthy matches. The marriage of a female of a superior order with a male of an inferior class was especially discouraged.

But human passions are not easily restrained. The heart stops not to inquire whether the object of its affections sprang from the mouth or the arm of Brahma. Since intermarriages were not absolutely prohibited, men were not wanting to avail themselves of the liberty reluctantly given. Mixed marriages were contracted in the course of time; and that even in cases where the husband was of an inferior class to the wife. The *Gandharva* rule, which allowed the union of male and female from mere animal impulse, without waiting for form or ceremony, and the *Rakshasa* ordinance, which gave liberty to a soldier to capture the females of vanquished foes, contributed,

perhaps more than any other circumstance, to multiply the number of mixed marriages.

These marriages necessarily caused minuter sub-divisions of the four primitive orders. If the Brahmin and Kshetriya were of different races, their union must produce an intermediate race*—a half-caste, which was neither Brahmin nor Kshetriya. Similar consequences would follow from the union of the other orders. The four orders might thus soon give rise to twelve mixed classes, or *Sankara Varnas*, which, with the original pure castes, would extend to *sixteen* races. This may be illustrated by the following tabular formula:—

1.	Brahmin male,	with Brahmin female,	producing pure Brahmin.	
2.	—	with Kshetriya	—	an impure race.
3.	—	with Vaishya	—	an impure race... { The Vaidya or
4.	—	with Sûdra	—	an impure race... { medical tribe.
5.	Kshetriya male	with Brahmin	—	an impure race... The Nishada.
6.	—	with Kshetriya	—	pure Kshetriya. The Suta.
7.	—	with Vaishya	—	an impure race... { The Kaibhartha
8.	—	with Sûdra	—	an impure race... { and Bagatita.
9.	Vaishya male	with Brahmin	—	an impure race. The Ugra.
10.	—	with Kshetriya	—	an impure race.
11.	—	with Vaishya	—	pure Vaishya.
12.	—	with Sûdra	—	an impure race... The Kayastha.
13.	Sûdra male	with Brahmin	—	an impure race... The Chandála.
14.	—	with Kshetriya	—	an impure race... The Paulkasa.
15.	—	with Vaishya	—	an impure race... Ayagava.
16.	—	with Sûdra	—	pure Sûdra.

The twelve half-castes in the foregoing table might, in process of time, be esteemed as established races of respectability; but the irregular passions of men would not be satisfied even with these. The Sankaras might go on multiplying until the number equalled the square of sixteen, or until mixed marriages might be absolutely forbidden. Such, in our opinion, has actually been the case in India; irregular marriages have occasioned the development of caste, and exposed, at a great cost, the unsound principle inherent in it.

THE HINDU IDEAS OF CASTE.—The Hindu religion has mixed up the idea of caste with the cosmogony itself. Four orders of human beings are said to have been created at

* "In all classes they, and they only, who are born, in a direct order of wives, equal in class, and virgins at the time of marriage, are to be considered as the same in class with their fathers; sons begotten by twice-born men or women of the class next immediately below them, wise legislators call *similar*, not the *same*, in class with their parents, because they are degraded to a middle rank between both, by the lowness of their mothers. They are named in order Murdhabhishuta, Mahishya, and Karana or Kayastha, and their several employments are teaching, military exercises, music, astronomy, keeping herds, and attendance on princes."—*Ménu* x. 5, 6.

the same time with the gods, demi-gods, and demons, who inhabit the fourteen lokas of the Shastras, the upper and the lower worlds. Except their common humanity, those four orders might be considered creatures, as distinct in their origin and race, as they were in their social position in the republic of Hinduism. The Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaishya, and the Súdra might be classified under categories, no less diversified than those of the Gandharvas, Kinnaras, and Siddhas. The Brahma Vaibartha Purána, in describing the creation, actually distinguishes the creatures that were produced, as "the Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaishya, the Súdra, 'the Yaksha, the Gandharva, the Kinnara, &c."

But notwithstanding the eagerness, with which the authors of the Shastras have sought to represent the institution of caste as coeval with the creation, it is not difficult to detect passages, incautiously inserted, which prove that the formation even of the four first orders was gradual, and that there was a time when all mankind acknowledged themselves as one race. Thus does the truth ooze out of the Vedas and Puránas themselves.* It was not Brahma at the creation, but the Brahmins long after the creation, that created the different orders, and fathered them upon their four-headed progenitor.

The Hindu theory of caste may be viewed in three different aspects. The first is that which the Smṛiti or the Vedas present; the second is exhibited in the Smṛiti, the Puránas, and other Shastras; the third is observed in the practice of the day. In other words the three primary rules of the Hindu faith are equally decisive in their doctrine of caste; though they exhibit it under different phases. The Vedas give the simplest outlines; the Smṛiti and the Puránas fill up the rude touches, and present a body to the system; the practice of the age has improved on the Shastras with a vengeance, and presents a monstrous picture, at which Menu himself might stare with amazement.

The reasons, for which we have placed the Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad and the Institutes of Menu at the head of an article on Hindu Caste, are, that they severally represent the two great epochs, that have already passed in the history of that institution. We shall have to quote the Brihad Aranyaka largely in exhibiting the Vedic theory of caste; and Menu is the leader of the secondary Shastras, the Smṛiti, the Puránas, and the Tantras. Our object in this article being to trace the origin and develop-

* The Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad says, as will be presently seen, that Brahmins alone were created at first. Does not this countenance the idea that, when the Brahmins settled in India, they had no *caste*, and that this classification was an after-thought?

ment of caste, we shall necessarily have to devote a large portion of our space to extracts from the Shástras.

ON THE THEORY OF CASTE, AS CONTAINED IN THE VEDAS. —The most learned pandit in Bengal has need to talk with diffidence of what he may consider to be the teaching of the Vedas on any point, especially when negative propositions are concerned. It may be doubted whether a copy of the entire Vedas is procurable in any part of Hindustan; * it is more than probable that such a copy does not exist in Bengal. It would scarcely be modest or safe, under such circumstances, to say that such and such doctrines are *not* contained in the Vedas. We wish it therefore to be understood, once for all, that when we speak of the Vedas, we mean such portions of them as have issued in portable shapes from the European, or the Indian, press. We do not pretend to have seen, much less read, all the Vedas, nor are we acquainted with occult passages lurking in their inaccessible parts.

The Vedas are divided into *Sanhitas* and *Bráhmaṇas*; the former being devotional, the latter didactic. The *Sanhitas* appear to pre-suppose a state of society in which an order of priests was held in the highest reverence. They were considered as the repositories of learning and favourites of the superior powers. Their enemies were denounced as spiritual outlaws, whose destruction might be piously prayed for.*

The *Bráhmaṇas*, or didactic parts, inculcate expressly the idea of a four-fold division of caste, of which the first three are separated by a broad line from the fourth. The Brahmin, the Kshetriya, and the Vaisya are considered races of peculiar excellency. Birth, in any of these races, is held as a reward of virtue and piety.† The *Súdra* on the contrary is a low and ignoble race, destitute of the privilege of studying the Vedas.

* त्वां प्रिवासः समिधान दीदिव आविवासन्ति बेधसः ॥ “The learned Brahmins take up their abode close by thee.”—*Sam. Ved. San. 1 Prap. 4 Dusat. 8th verse.*

माकीं ब्रह्म द्विषं वनः ॥ “Do not respect those, who hate the Brahmins.”—*Sam. Ved. Uttara. San. 1 Prap.*

अव ब्रह्मद्विषो जहि ॥ “Kill those who hate Brahmins.”—*Sam. Ved. San. 1 Adh 3 Prap.* The same passage occurs also in the *Uttara San. 6 Prap. 3rd verse.*

† तद्य ईह रमणीयचरणा अभ्याशे ह्यत्ते रमणीयां यानि मायद्येरन ब्राह्मण्येनि वा क्षत्रियेनि वा वैश्येनि वाय ॥ “Those who behave excellently in this world attain to excellent races hereafter, agreeably to their works, whether it be the race of Brahmins, or Kshetriyas, or Vaisyas.”—*Chandogya Upanishad 5. Prap. 6.*

Of the three exalted races, the Vedas of course look upon the Brahmins as the most dignified and honourable. A few passages there are, which show that the Kshetriyas sometimes contested the palm of superiority with the Brahmins; but the Brahmin is nevertheless the hero of the Vedas. Thus :—

एके चास्मद्भेयांसो ब्राह्मणाः ॥

“The Brahmins are our superiors.”—*Taittiriya Upanishad* xi. 3.

The commentator expands the text by observing that the Brahmins are superior, because of their sacerdotal character.

The institution of caste is a prominent feature of the Vedic cosmogony; but the creation itself was a gradual succession of acts. Brahma, the first cause, though naturally intelligent and joyful, was for an indefinite period in a state of torpor and inaction. His ‘vis inertie’ was however overcome by the conception of the prolific and mysterious idea—*ahamasmī*, “I am.” A celebrated European philosopher* deduced his existence from the fact of his *thinking*. We are not told how Brahma came to the same conclusion; but we are informed that his conception of the idea—*ahamasmī*—produced the principle of *ahankāra*, or individual consciousness. This led to a desire of creation, or rather of generation; and the desire was followed by the act. He gradually created the elements, gods, demi-gods, and men.

It is said that of men he first created only Brahmins, or rather that, although he had made males and females, he did not for a while create the distinctions of castes and orders.

ब्रह्म वा ईद मय आसीदेक मव ॥

“The Brahmins alone existed in the beginning.”—*Brihad. Upan. 4 Br. 11 Kandika*.

Or, as Sankarāchārjya expounds the passage :—

वै ईदं क्षत्रादिजातं ब्रह्मैवाभिन्नमासीदेकमेव ॥

“The Kshetriyas and the other castes were at that time one and the same with the Brahmins. There was no distinction of orders. Brahminism alone existed.”

But this state of things did not gratify Brahma, or, as we may fairly conclude, it would not have been quite gratifying to his favourite sons, the Brahmins. A world of theological doctors was not what *he* wanted, or what *they* would relish. Where every one was a spiritual guide, there could be neither dignity nor importance in the office. Accordingly—

तदेकं सन्न व्यभवत् ॥

“All being one, he did not enjoy it.”—*Brihad. Upan. iv. 10*

* Des Cartes, *Cogito, ergo sum*

Sankarāchārjya expounds it thus :—

क्षत्रादि परिपालयिष्यादि शून्यं सन्न व्यभवत् न विभुत्वत् कर्मण
नाल मासीदित्यर्थः ॥

“He did not enjoy a state of things, in which there were no
‘Kshetriyas and others for the protection of the world.”

He therefore :—

तच्छ्रेयो रूप मत्सृजत क्षत्रं ॥

“Largely created the Kshetriyas of excellent natures.”—
Brihad. Upan. iv. 11.

He not only replenished the earth with these guardian heroes,
but filled heaven itself with sons of Mars.

यान्येतानि देवत्रा क्षत्राणीन्द्रो वरुणः सोमो रुद्रः पर्जन्यो यमो
मृत्यु रीशान इति ॥

“Indra, Varuna, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mrityu,
‘Ishāna, were Kshetriyas among the gods.”*

The commentator describes in detail the sovereignty of these
warlike and royal gods :—

इन्द्रो देवानां राजा ॥ वरुणो यादसां ॥ सोमो ब्राह्मणानां रुद्रः
पशूनां ॥ पर्जन्यो विद्युदादीनां ॥ यमः पितॄणां ॥ मृत्यु रागादीनां
रीशानो भासां ॥

“Indra was the lord of the gods, Varuna of aquatic animals,
‘Soma of the Brahmans, Rudra of the animals, Parjanya of
‘lightning and meteors, Mrityu of diseases, Ishāna of light.”

The courtly author of the Upanishad then interrupts the
thread of his narration for a while in order to sing an eulogy on
this newly created martial race, forgetting for a moment the
over-weening arrogance with which his fraternity have, in all
ages, harped on the dignity of their priesthood. He compli-
ments the holders of temporal sceptres with a degree of Eras-
tianism, which would shock the sacerdotal sensibilities of a Vyas
or Menu; he admits that on certain occasions the Kshetriya is
supreme, higher even than the Brahmans, who, from an inferior
position, are to do obeisance to him :†—

तस्मात् क्षत्रात् परं नास्ति तस्माद्ब्राह्मणा क्षत्रिय मधस्तादुपास्ते ॥

But not even did the formation of the Kshetriyas give rest

* Brihad Upan. iv. Brahman 11.

to the active energy of which Brahma was now possessed. The commentator says, that it was the want of a community to develop the resources of the earth, and to create the treasures, of which (by anticipation) the Kshetriyas were constituted the guardians, that continued to disturb the creator's mind. Accordingly he made a third order—the Vaisyas.

स नैव व्यभवत् स विश्वमसृजत ॥ *Brihad. Upan. iv. 12.*

“He created the Vaisyas for the purpose of acquiring wealth,” says Sankarāchārjya.

स विश्व मसृजत धन वित्तेपार्जन नाथ ॥

This earthly order too had its prototype in heaven. The celestial Vaisyas were however *companies*, not *individuals*; for, adds the commentator, “Companies, not individuals, are able to acquire wealth.”*

“Still,” says the Veda, “he was not satisfied,” because, according to the commentator, “there was a want of servants, or ‘slaves.’” “He therefore made the order of the Sūdras.”

सनैव व्यभवत् स शौद्रं वर्णं मसृजत ॥ *Brihad. Upan. iv. 13.*

Such is the Vedic account of the creation and the institution of caste. The Vedas do not speak much of the mixed classes, which afterwards became so numerous, and are now the great strength of the system. The Chandālas and Paulkasas alone are mentioned as most despicable races produced by the union of different castes.

चण्डाला ऽ चण्डालः पौल्लसो ऽ पौल्लसः ॥ *Brihad. Upan. iii. 22.*

The commentator says:—

चण्डालोनाम शूद्रेण ब्राह्मण्यामुत्पन्नः पौल्लसः शूद्रेणैव क्षत्रिया
यामुत्पन्नः ॥

“Chandāla is the offspring of a Sūdra by a Brahmin female, and a Paulkasa of the same by a Kshetriya female.”—*Sankarāchārjya on the above text.*

* यान्यतानि देवजातानि गणश्च आख्यायन्ते वासवो रुद्रा आदित्या
विश्वदेवा मरुत इति ॥—*Brihad. Upan. iv. 2.*

यान्येतानि देवजातानि स्वार्थे निष्ठा ॥ ययते देवजातिभेदा इत्यर्थः
गणशो गणं गणं माख्यायन्ते कथ्यन्ते गणप्राया हि विश्वः प्रायेण
संहता हि वित्तापार्जनं समर्था नैकैकशः ॥—*Sankarāchārjya on the
above passage.*

From the preceding account we may draw the following inferences:—

1. The Vedas uphold the doctrine of caste no less tenaciously than the other Shástras. We have just seen that the most philosophical parts of them—those which the followers of the Vedant consider as the cream of the Shástras to the disregard of the rest—the most solemn Upanishads themselves, inculcate the idea of a four-fold caste.

2. Agreeably to the doctrine of the Veda, caste is a religious, not a civil, institution. It was Brahma, the creator of the universe, that was the founder of caste.

3. Notwithstanding the inference just made, it plainly appears from the Upanishad itself that the institution of caste was gradual. Instead of Brahma being dissatisfied, as we are told, with a state of society in which distinctions did not exist, the truth seems to be that aspiring Brahmins gradually established the supremacy of their own order, and passed it as an ordinance of Brahma, as old as the creation.

4. The mixed races, produced by the irregular union of different castes, had already attracted notice in the age of the Vedas ; but they were as yet not numerous.

ON THE THEORY OF CASTE, CONTAINED IN THE SMRITI AND OTHER SHASTRAS.—The theory of caste contained in the Smriti, and other Shástras, inferior to the Vedas, is distinguished principally by its greater development. The caste of the Smriti is to the caste of the Vedas as the full-grown tree is to the tender plant. But the full-grown tree often presents an appearance very different from its first germ. Without noticing the gradual development of the stems, it would be difficult to identify the stately Banian with the diminutive plant. Some general features are however unmistakeable. The system of caste upheld by the Smriti appears gigantic in comparison with that of the Vedas, but contains nothing which may not be traced to the original institution. The Smriti speaks more dogmatically and boldly of sacerdotal dignity, and looks down with greater haughtiness on the degradation of the Súdra. When the Vedas were composed, Brahminical ascendancy had not reached its climax. The priests were indeed honored as the guardians of literature and religion ; the respect due to intellectual eminence was cheerfully tendered ; they were venerated as men whose occupations were peaceful, who toiled in solitude for the improvement of literature, who chanted the Vedas, and offered sacrifices for the well-being of the State. The indignation of the whole community would

be excited against the sacrilegious individual who would dare to injure or insult such a fraternity. All this was natural, and in some respects reasonable; but there was something in the principle of caste, which was pregnant with corruption—something so invidious in the exaltation of race above race—that it must sooner or later have broken through the restraints of reason and moderation. The Brahmins did not rest contented with the dignity due to priests. They began to arrogate to themselves divine honours. Nothing less than the title of *earthly gods*, or equal honours with Vishnu and other celestials, would satisfy their ambition.

The pretensions of Hildebrand were trifling in comparison with those of the Brahmins. He laboured to magnify the dignity of a pontiff already invested with sovereign power, and to exalt the honour of a throne already revered as the holy see. He personated a royal priest, who held the keys of heaven, but whose pretensions were owing to promotion or election, not *race*. The Brahminical theory invests every offspring of Brahma's mouth with the powers and privileges of a Pope by virtue of his birth. His person and property are declared sacred, his word immutable, his wisdom unrivalled, his powers unlimited.

The monopoly of learning by the Brahmins was the cause of such lofty pretensions. There were few readers or writers beyond the sacerdotal college. There was no public opinion to control the Brahmins: no fear of criticism to restrain their vagrancies; no community of independent readers to keep their imaginations at bay. They fancied what they pleased; and they wrote what they fancied.

The word *Smṛiti* is a comprehensive term, and admits great latitude of interpretation. It comprehends the didactic writings, or *recollections* of every sage reputed as inspired. The Purānas are heroic poems, recounting the exploits of kings and giving the traditions of the country. The Tantras are miscellaneous compositions, addressed by Mahādeva to Parvati.

Menu stands at the head of the *Smṛiti* and other Shāstras inferior to the Vedas, and is of the highest authority in practical religion, morals, and politics. In representing the theory of caste, contained in these secondary Shāstras, our references will principally be to Menu. We may here explain, that, in quoting this ancient legislator, we have given the passages as translated by Sir William Jones. The reputation of Sir William Jones will be a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of his version. We have not therefore cited the original. We have observed the same rule in our quotations from the Vishnu Purāna, where

we have made use of Wilson's translation. In all other cases we have given the original passages, whether they be from the Vedas, or Purānas, with literal translations of our own.

The primitive institution of caste is thus expressed by Menu:—"That the human race might be multiplied, he caused the 'Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaisya and the Súdra (so named from the scripture, protection, wealth, and labour) to proceed from his mouth, his arm, his thigh, and his foot."—i. 31. "To Brahmins he assigned the duties of reading the Veda, of teaching it, of sacrificing, of alluring others to sacrifice, of giving alms (if they be rich), and, if indigent, of receiving gifts. To defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read the Veda, to shun the allurements of sensual gratification, are in few words the duties of a Kshetriya. To keep herds of cattle, to bestow largesses, to sacrifice, to read the scripture, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, and to cultivate land, are prescribed, or permitted, to a Vaisya. One principal duty the supreme ruler assigned to a Súdra; namely, to serve the before-mentioned classes, without depreciating their worth."—i. 88—91.

This proves sufficiently that caste is a *religious* institution, the duties of the different orders being defined by the creator himself.

The Bhagavat Gita says:—

चातूर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः ॥ ४१ ॥ १३ ॥

"I have created the four castes according to their various qualifications and acts."—iv. 13.

The Vishnu Purāna says:—"There sprang from his (Brahma's) mouth, beings especially endowed with the quality of goodness; others from his breast, pervaded by the quality of foulness; others from his thighs, in whom foulness and darkness prevailed; and others from his feet, in whom the quality of darkness predominated. These were, in succession, beings of the several castes, Brahmins, Kshetriyas, Vaisyas, and Súdras."—Chap. vi. *Wilson*, p. 44.

The Bráhmaṇa Purāna, in a hymn addressed to Vishnu, has these words:

मूलं त ब्राह्मणा स्तम्भः क्षत्रिया भवतः प्रभो ॥ वेश्याः शाखास्तवः
शूद्रा वनस्पति नमस्तु ते ॥ ब्राह्मणाः सामग्र्यो वक्त्राद्दोर्दण्डात् सायधा
नृपाः ॥ पश्चादिशश्चोत्तरदेशाज्जाताः शूद्राश्च पादतः ॥ इति याप
प्रश्नमनस्तवे ॥

"Reverence to thee, O thou (sacred) tree; the Brahmins are thy root, the Kshetriyas thy trunk, the Vaisyas thy

‘ branches, and the Súdras thy bark. The Brahmins with
 ‘ their characteristic fire issued from thy mouth, the kings
 ‘ with their weapons from thy arm, the Vaisyas from thy thigh,
 ‘ the Súdras from thy feet.”—*Papaprashamanastava*.

The Mahábhárata puts the following words into the mouth of the creator:—

ब्रह्म वक्त्रं भुजौ क्षत्र मूर्ध्नि मे संस्थिता विशः ॥

पादौ शूद्रा भवन्तीमे विक्रमेण क्रमेण च ॥

वनपर्व १८७ अध्याय ॥

“ The Brahmins are my mouth, the Kshetriyas my arms, the
 ‘ Vaisyas my thighs, and the Súdras my feet. Their powers
 ‘ decrease in gradation.”—*Vanaparva*, 187 chap.

ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणाञ्च परन्तप ॥ कर्माणि प्रविभक्तानि
 स्वभावप्रभवैर्युगैः ॥ शमेदमस्तपः शैचं क्षान्तिरार्ज्व मेव च ॥
 ज्ञानं विज्ञानं मास्तिक्वं ब्रह्म कर्म स्वभावजं ॥ शैथ्यं तेजोधृतिर्दाह्यं
 युद्धे चाप्यपलायनं ॥ दानमीश्वरभावश्च क्षत्रकर्म स्वभावजं ॥ कृषि
 गोरक्षवाणिज्यं वैश्यकर्म स्वभावजं ॥ परिचर्यात्मकं कर्म शूद्रस्यापि
 स्वभावजं ॥ खे खे कर्मण्यभिरतः संसिद्धं लभते नरः १८।१५४ ॥

The Bhagavat Gita thus describes the several castes and their duties:

“O thou afflicter of thy foes! the duties of Brahmins, Kshetriyas,
 ‘ Vaisyas, and Súdras, are distributed agreeably to their natural
 ‘ characteristic qualities. The natural duties of the Brahmins
 ‘ are subjugation of the mind and body, austerity, sanctity,
 ‘ forbearance, rectitude, divine and human knowledge, and faith.
 ‘ Those of the Kshetriyas are heroism, energy, patience, policy,
 ‘ not fleeing in battle, generosity, aptitude in governing. Those
 ‘ of the Vaisyas are commerce, agriculture, and tending cattle.
 ‘ The duty of the Súdra is to serve the other orders. By devo-
 ‘ tion to his particular duty a man attains perfection.”—xviii.
 41—43.

The prominent features of the system of caste taught in the Smṛiti are: (I.) the exalted dignity of the Brahmins, approaching, if not actually amounting, to their deification; (II.) the complete depression of the Súdras; and (III.) the multiplication of the mixed races.

I. The exalted dignity of the Brahmins appears—(1) from the sanctity ascribed to their persons; (2) the veneration due to their order; (3) the privileges and powers peculiar to them; (4) the high duties expected from them, and (5) the aggravated nature of offences committed against their persons or properties.

1. The sanctity ascribed to the Brahmins.

Menu says:—

“ Since the Brahmin sprang from the most excellent parts, since he was the first born, and since he possesses the Veda, he is by right the chief of this whole creation.” “ The very birth of a Brahmin is a constant incarnation of Dharma, god of justice; for the Brahmin is born to promote justice and to procure ultimate happiness.”—i. 93—98.

“ When a Brahmin springs to light, he is born above the world, the chief of all creatures, assigned to guard the treasury of duties, religious and civil.”—i. 99.

“ What man, desirous of life, would injure those (*i. e.*, the Brahmins) by the aid of whom, that is by whose oblations, worlds and gods perpetually subsist. A Brahmin, whether learned or ignorant, is a powerful divinity; even as fire is a powerful divinity, whether consecrated or popular.”—ix. 316, 317.

“ Thus, although Brahmins employ themselves in all sorts of mean occupation, they must invariably be honored, for they are something transcendently divine.”—ix. 319.

“ From priority of birth, from superiority of origin, from a more exact knowledge of scriptures, and from a distinction in the sacrificial thread, the Brahmin is the lord of all classes.”—x. 3.

Thus far Menu. Other worthies speak in the same tone. We shall quote a few:—

ब्राह्मणे जन्मना श्रेयान् सव्वेषां प्राणिनामिह ॥

तपसा विद्यया तुष्ट्या किमु मत्कनया युतः ॥

श्री भागवत १०।८६।४ ॥

“ The Brahmin is the most excellent of all creatures by reason of his austerity, his learning, and his placidness; how much more so, if joined with my parts.”—*Sri Bhāgavat*, x. 86, 40.

भूदेवा ब्राह्मणा राजन् यूज्या वन्द्याः सद्गुणिभिः ॥

चतुराश्रम्या कुशला मम धर्मप्रवर्तकाः ॥

कल्कि पुराणे ४ अध्याय ॥

“ O king, the Brahmins are earthly gods, to be adored and honored with commendations. They pass through four states in life, and are propagators of my religion.”—*Kalki Purána*, chap. 4.

सर्वेषा मेव वर्णानां ब्राह्मणः परमागुरुः ॥ तस्मै दानानि देयानि भक्तिश्च दासमन्वितैः ॥ सर्वदेवाश्रयो विप्रः प्रत्यक्ष त्रिदशोभुवि ॥ यस्तारयति दातारं दुस्तरे विश्वसागरे ॥

“ The Brahmin is the exalted lord of all the castes. To him should gifts be made with faith and reverence. The Brahmin represents all divinities in himself, a visible god on the earth, who saves the giver in the impassable ocean of the world.”—*Padma Purána*, *Kriyá Yoga Sára*, xx.

Again :—

सर्वेपि ब्राह्मणाः श्रेष्ठाः पूजनीयाः सदैव हि ॥
अविद्या वा सविद्यो वा नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥
स्तयादि दोषलिप्ता ये ब्राह्मणा ब्राह्मणोत्तमाः ॥
आत्मभ्यो देषिण स्तेच न परेभ्यः कदाचन ॥
क्षत्रियाणाञ्च वैश्यानां शूद्राणां गुरवो दिजाः ॥
अन्येन्यगुरवो विप्राः पूजनीयाश्च भूसुराः ॥

“ All the Brahmins are excellent and always to be honored without discrimination, whether they are learned or unlearned. Those excellent Brahmins, who are guilty of such crimes as theft, are offenders against themselves, not others. Brahmins are masters of the Kshetriyas, Vaishyas and Súdras, they are masters of one another, and to be worshipped, being earthly gods.”—*Ibid*, chap. 20.

2. The veneration in which the Brahmins are held, appears from the reverence due to themselves, and from the disgrace to which their contemners were exposed. Thus :—

“ The student must consider a Brahmin, though but ten years old, and a Kshetriya though aged a hundred years, as father and son ;—as between those two, the young Brahmin is to be respected as the father.”

“ Among all those, if they be met at one time, the priest just returned home, and the prince are most honored ; and of those two, the priest just returned should be treated with more respect than the prince.”—*Menu*, ii. 135—139.

“ Constantly must he (the king) show respect to Brahmins,

‘ who have grown old, both in years and in piety, who know the scriptures, who in body and mind are pure ; for he, who honors the aged, will perpetually be honored even by cruel demons.”—*Ibid*, vii. 38.

The *Mahābhārata* says:—

ब्राह्मणा एवं सम्पूज्याः पुण्यं स्वर्गमभोक्षता ॥

वनपर्व १६६ अध्याय ॥

“ The Brahmins are thus to be worshipped by those who desire heaven.”—*Vana Parva, chap. 199.*

The *Brahma Vaibarta* says:

गुरुम्वा ब्राह्मणम्वापि देवताप्रतिमामपि ॥

दृष्ट्वा श भो येन नमेत् स भवेत् शूकरो भूवि ॥

प्रकृति खण्ड ५० अध्याय ॥

“ He, who does not immediately bow down, when he sees his tutor, or a Brahmin, or the image of a god, becomes a hog on the earth.”—*Brahma Vaibarta, Prakriti, chap. 50.*

ब्राह्मणो नावमन्तव्यः सदसदा समाचरन् ॥

“ Brahmins are not to be despised, whether they behave well or ill.”—*Mahābhārat Adi*, 189.

Again:—

दुर्वेदा वा सुवेदा वा प्राकृताः संस्कृतास्तथा ॥

ब्राह्मणो नावमन्तव्यो भस्मच्छन्ना इवाग्नयः ॥

यथा श्मशाने दीप्तौजाः पावको नैव दूष्यति ॥

एवं विद्वानविद्वान् वा ब्राह्मणो दैवतं महत् ॥

“ Whether learned or unlearned, civilized or barbarous, Brahmins are not to be despised: they are like fire smouldering in ashes. As the flaming fire, though it be in a cemetery, is free from fault, so is the Brahmin a great god, whether learned or unlearned.”—*Ibid, Vana Parva, chap. 199.*

“ Of that king, in whose dominion a learned Brahmin is afflicted with hunger, the kingdom will in a short time be afflicted with famine.”—*Menu*, vii. 134.

ब्राह्मणं प्रणमेद्यस्तु विष्णुभक्त्या नरोत्तमः ॥

आयः पत्राश्च कीर्तिश्च संपन्नं तत्र वर्द्धते ॥

न नमद् ब्राह्मणं यस्तु मूढधीर्मानवा भवि ।
 तन्मस्तकान्तु चक्रेण हन्तु मिच्छति केशवः ॥
 विप्र पादोदकं यस्तु कणमा वहन्नरः ॥
 देहस्य पातकं तस्य सर्वमेवाशु नश्यति ॥
 विप्राणां पादनिर्मात्यं यो मर्त्यः शिरसा वहेत् ॥
 सत्यं सत्यमहं वच्मि स मुक्तः सर्वपातकैः ॥
 विप्रं प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य वन्दते यो नरोत्तमः ॥
 प्रदक्षिणीकृता तेन सप्तदीपा वसुधरा ॥

"Whatever good man bows to a Brahmin, reverencing him as Vishnu, is blessed with long life, with sons, with renown, and with prosperity. But whatever foolish man does not bow to a Brahmin on the earth, Kesava desires to strike off his head with his *chakra*. Whosoever bears but a drop of water, which has been in contact with a Brahmin's foot, all the sins in his body are immediately destroyed. Whosoever carries on his head the holy things touched by a Brahmin's foot, verily, verily I say, he is freed from all sins. Whatever good man worships a Brahmin, going round him, obtains the merit of going round the world with its seven continents."—*Padma Purāna Kriyā Yaga-sāra*, xx.

अनाचारा द्विजाः पूज्या न च शूद्रा जितेन्द्रियाः ॥

अभक्ष्य भक्षका गावः कालाः सुमतयो न चः ॥

"Even wicked Brahmins are to be venerated; but not Śūdras, though of subdued passions. The cow that eats foul things is better than the pig with good dispositions."—*Ibid*.

3. Peculiar powers and privileges are given to the Brahminical order. Menu says:—

"Whatever exists in the Universe, is all in effect, though not in form, the wealth of the Brahmin; since the Brahmin is entitled to it all by his primogeniture and eminence of birth.

"The Brahmin eats but his own food; wears but his own apparel, and bestows but his own in alms. Through the benevolence of the Brahmins, indeed, other mortals enjoy life.

"He (the Brahmin) alone deserves to possess this whole earth."—i. 100, 101, 105.

"From a Brahmin, who was born in that country, let all men on earth learn their several usages."—ii. 20.

“A king, even though dying from want, must not receive any tax from a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, nor suffer such a Brahmin, residing in his territories, to be afflicted with hunger.”—vii. 133.

“Never shall the king slay a Brahmin, though convicted of all possible crimes. Let him banish the offender from his realm, but with all his property secure and his body unhurt.

“No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahmin, and the king, therefore, must not even form in his mind an idea of killing a priest.”—viii. 380, 381.

“The property of a Brahmin shall never be taken as an escheat by the king.”—ix. 189.

4. Correspondingly high duties were expected from Brahmins. Those, who arrogate to themselves great honors, must at least profess to be guided by a more elevated standard of duty than their neighbours. A man, who prides himself on the greatness of his origin, must admit, that it becometh him to observe higher principles of morality, than those over whom he affects superiority. The Brahmins have accordingly laid down severe rules for the government of their order. Whether the authors of the Shástras intended, that their austere rules should be followed out in practice, or whether they merely proposed to exhibit their idea of priestly dignity without intending to realize it, it is not easy to determine. One thing, however, is certain, that as the Brahmin acknowledged no earthly superior, he had little apprehension of his delinquencies being severely visited. He could not be called to account for departing from his maxims, because no one was at liberty to judge him. An austere rule of life could therefore prove no greater restraint on his inclinations, than he himself chose to allow.

The Brahmin is required to pass through four stages in life, the first is, that of a *student*, and is called *Brahmacharya*. In this state, his principal duty is to prosecute his studies under his principal's roof, and to render implicit obedience to his order. This is the period of his education. He is subject to rules as stringent, as those by which the inmates of a Popish monastery are bound.

The second stage of a Brahmin's life is that of a householder. He is then properly a member of society, or, what Roman Catholics call, a *secular* priest. But he must not perform any mean offices for his livelihood. He must not accept gifts from a Sudra. He must not even perform sacrifices for the benefit of the servile order, nor must he even, for pleasure or gain, assist in such low and frivolous occupations, as those of music, singing, dancing. Neither must he live by his pen. He is above all such profane employments, and is bound to a life of devotion and self-denial.

श्वदाही च शूद्राणां यो विप्रो वृषलीपतिः ॥

शूद्राणां सूपकारी च शूद्रयाजी च या द्विजः ॥

असिजीवी मसिजीवी विषहीनो यथोरगः ॥

ब्रह्मवैवर्ते प्रकृतिखण्डे २१ अध्याय ॥

“The Brahmin, who marries a Súdra, or performs funeral rites, dresses food, or sacrifices for Súdras, or who lives by his arms or his ink, is like the serpent deprived of his venom.”—*Brahma Vaibarta Prakriti, chap. 21.*

“Let him neither dance nor sing, nor play on musical instruments, except in religious rites; nor let him strike his arm, or gnash his teeth, or make a braying noise, though agitated by passion.

“Never let him play with dice: let him not put off his sandals with his hand: let him not eat, while he reels on a bed, nor what is placed in his hand, or on a bench.”—*Menu, iv. 64, 74.*

आनृशंस्यं क्षमा सत्यं मर्हिंसा दममार्दवं ॥

ध्यानं प्रसादो माधुर्यं मार्जवं शैच मेव च ॥

इज्या दानं तपः सत्यं स्वाध्यायो ह्यात्मनिग्रहः ॥

ब्रतोपवासौ मौनञ्च स्नानं पैशुन्यवर्जनं ॥

एभिर्युक्तो मुनिश्चेष्ट यः सदा वृत्तते द्विजः ॥

ऊत्वा तु पावकं सर्वं परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥

पाद्मे उत्तर खण्डे १०६ अध्याय ॥

“O excellent Munis, the Brahmin, who is always distinguished by benevolence, forbearance, veracity, innocence, meekness, contemplation, grace, suavity, rectitude, sanctity, sacrifices, liberality, devotion, study, mortification of the body, subjugation of the mind, vows, fastings, quietness, washings, and by want of espionage, will attain to Brahma by his burnt offerings.”—*Padma Uttara, chap. 109.*

The next two stages of a Brahmin, are those of *anchorets* and *hermits*, which are not very dissimilar from one another. In these states, he must be entirely separated from the world, and pass his days in religious contemplations.

The Shástras teem with passages, recommending the severest morals for the observance of the Brahmin. The injunctions generally prove abortive, because of their own severity, and because of the want of internal discipline. The Brahmins, though

bound to such high duties, are accountable to none. They are left to their own good senses and their consciences. The moral precepts stand merely as samples of the fine theories of which the imaginations of the writers were capable.

5. Crimes committed against their persons and properties were held to be of an aggravated nature.

“A once-born man, who insults the twice-born with gross invectives, ought to have his tongue slit. If he mention their names with contumely, an iron style, ten fingers long, shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth. Should he spit on him through pride, the king shall order both his lips to be gashed. If he seize the Brahmin by the locks, or any other part of the body, let the king without hesitation, cause incisions to be made in his hands.” *Menn*, viii. 270, 271, 282, 283.

Offences, venial in themselves, become mortal, if committed against Brahmins. The most fearful anathemas are pronounced against those, who knowingly or unknowingly make free with property belonging to Brahmins. The following tremendous expressions are put in the *Sri Bhāgavat*, in the mouth of Krishna himself.

दुर्जरं वत ब्रह्मखं भुक्त मग्नेर्मनागपि ॥
 तजीयसोपि किमत राज्ञा मीश्वरमानिनां ॥
 नाहं हलाहलं मन्ये विषं यस्य प्रतिक्रिया ॥
 ब्रह्मखं हि विषं प्रोक्तं नास्य प्रतिविधिर्भुवि ॥
 हिनस्ति विष मत्तारं वक्रिरग्निः प्रशाम्यति ॥
 कुलं समूलं दहति ब्रह्मस्वारणिपावकः ॥
 ब्रह्मखं दुरनुज्ञातं भुक्तं हन्ति त्रिपूरुषं ॥
 प्रसह्य तु वलाङ्गुलं दश पूर्वान् दशापरान् ॥
 गृह्णन्ति यावतः पांशून् रुदतामश्रुविन्दवः ॥
 विप्राणां हृतवृत्तीनां बदान्यानां कटुम्बिनां ॥
 राजानो राजकुलान्श्च तावदब्दान्निरङ्कुशः ॥
 कुम्भीपाकेषु पचन्ते ब्रह्मदायापहारिणः ॥
 खदत्ता परदत्ता वा ब्रह्मवृत्तिं हरेत्तु यः ॥
 घष्टिं वध सहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते कृमिः ॥

न मे ब्रह्मधनं भूयात् यद् गृह्णात्यायुषेऽनृपाः ॥

पराजिताञ्जुता राज्याद्भवन्त्युद्वेजिन्यो ह्ययः ॥

विप्रं कृतागसमपि नैव द्रुह्यत मामकाः ॥

घ्नन्तं वज्रं शपन्तं वा नमस्कृत्य नित्यशः ॥

यथाहं प्रणमे विप्राननुकालं समाहितः ॥

तथा नमतयूयञ्च योन्यथा मे स दण्डभाक् ॥

ब्राह्मणार्थोऽप्यपहृतो हर्त्तारं पातयत्यधः ॥

अजानन्तमपि ह्येनं नृगं ब्राह्मणगौरिव ॥

“The property of Brahmins is difficult of digestion, even by livid flames, taking little by little; much more by kings pretending to power and greatness. I do not consider that venom to be poison, of which there may be an antidote; the property of Brahmins is real poison, having no antidote on the earth. Poison hurts the eater; fire may be quenched by water; but the fire, proceeding from the flint of Brahminism, burns a whole race up to the source. The property of Brahmins, taken with permission reluctantly given, destroys three generations; if taken by force, it destroys ten preceding and ten succeeding generations. As many grains of sand as are wet with tears, dropping from weeping Brahmins, being liberal and with families, but deprived of their properties, so many years do the kings and their relations, who have robbed the Brahmins, rot in hell without remedy. Whosoever taketh property belonging to Brahmins, whether it was given to them by himself or by others, is born as a worm on a dunghill for sixty thousand years. May I never take possession of Brahmins' property, by coveting which many kings have become short-lived and been defeated and deposed, and eventually born in another world as fearful serpents. Oh my people, do not hurt a Brahmin, even if he be a delinquent. Bow to him constantly, even if he commit homicide, or curse much. As I bow devotedly to Brahmins at all times, do you also the same; whosoever does otherwise shall be punished. If Brahminical property is taken unwittingly, it throws the possessor down to hell, like as the Brahminical cow did to Nriga.”—*Sri Bhāgavat*, x. 68, 20, 27.

II.—The complete degradation of the Sūdras, is evident from various passages in Menu and the Purānas. Their position is defined to be no better than that of the Helots in ancient Sparta, or of the Negroes in modern America. Neither their persons

nor their properties are safe. They are liable to be compelled to do servile duty for the Brahmins. Their substance may be plundered with impunity. They may be insulted and oppressed, almost without any restraint. They are subject to the severest punishments and the heaviest penalties, for offences committed against the other castes. They are incapable of *regeneration*, which the first three castes receive at the time of their investment with the sacred thread.

The degradation of the Súdras is attested by—(1) the impurity attributed to their persons; (2) the ignoble tasks allotted to their community; (3) the unjust laws enacted against them; and (4) the little protection given to their persons or properties.

1.—The impurity, attributed to the persons of Súdras, is evident from the strictness with which the Brahmins were forbidden to form alliances, or cultivate familiarity with them.

“Men of the twice-born class, who, through weakness of intellect, irregularly marry women of the lowest class, very soon degrade their families and progeny to the state of Súdras.

“According to Atri and Gotama, the son of Utathya, he, who thus marries a woman of the servile class, if he be a priest, is degraded instantly; according to Saunaca, on the birth of a son, if he be warrior; and, if he be a merchant, on the birth of a son’s son, according to (me) Bhrigu.

“A Brahmin, if he take a Súdra to his bed as his first wife, sinks to the regions of torment; if he beget a child by her, he loses even his priestly rank.

“His sacrifices to the gods; his oblations to the manes; and his hospitable attentions to the strangers, must be supplied principally by her:—but the gods and the manes will not eat such offering, nor can heaven be attained by such hospitality.”

“For the crime of him, who thus illegally drinks the moisture of a Súdra’s lips, who is tainted by her breath, and who even begets a child on her body, the law declares no expiation.”—*Menu*, iii. 15—19.

“The whole territory which is inhabited by a number of Súdras, overwhelmed with atheists, and deprived of Brahmins, must speedily perish, afflicted with dearth and disease.”—viii. 22.

“Let no kinsmen, whilst any of his own class are at hand, cause a deceased Brahmin to be carried out by a Súdra; since the funeral rite, polluted by the touch of a servile man, obstructs his passage to heaven.”—v. 104.

2.—Of the ignoble tasks allotted to the Súdras, the following passages will give a general idea:—

“Servile attendance on Brahmins learned in the Vedas, chiefly

‘ on such as keep house and are famed for virtue, is of itself the highest duty of a Súdra, and leads him to future beatitude.”—*Menu*, ix. 334.

“If a Súdra want a subsistence, and cannot attend a priest, he may serve a Kshetriya; or, if he cannot wait on a soldier by birth, he may gain his livelihood by serving an opulent Vaishya.

“To him, who serves Brahmins with a view to a heavenly reward, or even with a view to both this life and the next, the union of the word Brahmin with his name of servant will assuredly bring success.

“Attendance on Brahmins is pronounced the best work of a Súdra; whatever else he may perform, will comparatively avail him nothing.”—x. 121, 123.

3.—The unjust laws enacted against the Súdras will appear from the following:—

“A man of the lowest class, who through covetousness lives by the acts of the highest, let the king strip of all his wealth, and instantly banish.”—x. 96.

“No superfluous collection of wealth must be made by a Súdra, even though he has power to make it; since a servile man, who has amassed riches, becomes proud, and, by his insolence or neglect, gives pain even to Brahmins.”—x. 129.

4.—The protection given to the Súdras was no better than that which slaves enjoy in America. They were almost out-laws.

“But a man of the servile class, whether bought or unbought, he (the Brahmin) may compel to perform servile duty; because such a man was created by the Self-existent for the purpose of serving Brahmins. A Súdra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from a state of servitude; for of a state, which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested? A Brahmin may seize without hesitation, if he be distressed for a subsistence, the goods of his Súdra slave; for, as that slave can have no property, his master may take his goods.”—*Menu*, viii. 413, 414, 417.

III.—Mixed classes. The Hindu Shastras maintain that the offspring of two persons of different orders is not attached to that of either of his parents, but occupies an intermediate rank under the title of *Varna Sankara*. This title was originally applied as a term of reproach. When the community, to which it was applied, far exceeded the pure orders, the term lost its offensive signification. The mixed races were then gradually tolerated in society. They were treated as independent classes, inferior indeed to the Brahmins, but free from the stigma attached to them as impure races.

Of the mixed races, as they existed in the period of the Smṛiti and the Purāṇas, the two following Synopses, the first from *Menu*, the second from the *Brahma Vaibarta*, will be a sufficiently clear index. It will thence be evident how fast they had multiplied:—

Synopsis of the mixed races according to Menú.

Mixed Castes.	Father.	Mother.	Occupation.
Vaidya, produced by	{ Brahmin as father	{ Vaishya as mother.....	{ Medical.
Nishada	Ditto	Sudra	Catches fish.
Ugra	Kshetriya	Ditto	{ Killing or confining animals that live in holes.
Suta.....	Ditto	Brahmin	Horseman and driver.
Magadha.....	Vaishya	Kshetriya	{ Travelling with merchandise.
Vaideha	Ditto	Brahmin	Waiting on women.
Ayagava	Sudra	Vaishya	Carpenter's work.
Kshatta	Ditto	Kshetriya	{ Killing or confining animals that live in holes.
Chandala.....	Ditto	Brahmin	Very low.
Avrita	Brahmin	Ugra	
Abhira	Ditto	Vaidya.....	Cow-herd.
Dhigvara.....	Ditto	Ayagava	Selling leather.
Puccasa	Nishada	Sudra	{ Killing or confining animals that live in holes.
Cuccataca	Sudra	Nishada	
Swapaca	Cshatta	Ugra	
Vena	Vaideha	Vaidya.....	{ Striking musical instruments.
Bhurjacantaca	{ Vratya, or out-cast Brahmin.		
Aavantya			
Vatdhana			
Puspadha			
Saicha			
Jhalla	{ Out-cast Kshetriyas.		
Malla			
Nich'hivi.....			
Nata			
Carana			
Chasa	{ Out-cast Vaishyas.		
Dravira			
Sudhanwan.....			
Charya.....			
Carusha			
Vijanman			
Maitra.....			
Satwata			

Mixed Castes.	Father.	Mother.	Occupation.
Sairindhra	{ Daryee (which is an out-cast of a pure class)	{ Ayagava	{ Servile work and catch- ing wild beasts in toils.
Maitreyaea	Vaideha	Ditto	{ Ringing a bell at day- break.
Margava, or Da- sa or Kaivarta	Nishada	Ditto	Boatmen.
Karavara.....	Ditto	Vaideha	Cuts leather.
Andhra	Vaideha	Caravara.....	{ Slaying beasts of the forest.
Meda	Ditto	Nishada	Ditto.
Pandusopaca ...	Chandala	Vaideha	{ Works with cane and reeds.
Abindila	Nishada	Ditto	Jailor.
Sopaca.....	Chandala	Puccasa	{ Punishing criminals condemned by the king—i.e., executioner.
Antyavasayin ...	Ditto	Nishada	{ Employed in places for burning the dead—i. e., undertaker's men.
Chuncha	Brahmin.....	Vaideha	{ Slaying beasts of the forest.
Magda	Ditto	Ugra	Ditto.

*Synopsis of the mixed races according to the Brahma
Vaibarta Purāna.*

Kayastha.....	Vaishya	Sudra	Writer.
Vaidya.....	Brahmin	Vaishya	Physician.
Malakar	{ Vishwakarma.	Sudra	{ Gardener.
Karmokar			{ Blacksmith.
Sankhakar			{ Shell-maker.
Kubindakar.....			{ Ditto.
Kumbhakar ...			{ Potter.
Kansakar.....			{ Brazier.
Sutradhara	Ditto	Ditto	{ Carpenter, degraded by the curse of the Brahmins, whom he did not readily sup- ply with wood, ne- cessary for a burnt- offering.
Chitrakar	Ditto	Ditto	{ Painter, degraded by the curse of the Brah- mins for his faults in painting.
Swarnakar	{ Goldsmith, degraded by the curse of the Brahmin for stealing gold belonging to Brahmins.
Attalickakar ...	Chitrakar	Sudra harlot ...	{ Civil architect, degraded because baseborn.

Mixed Castes.	Father.	Mother.	Occupation.
Kotika	Attalickakar ...	Kumbhokur ...	House-builder.
Tailakur	Potter	Katika	Oilman, degraded.
Tibara	Kshetriya	{ Rajput not } { in wedlock }	Fisher.
Lela	Tibara	Tailakur	
Malla	} Leta	Tibara	
Kola			
Matara			
Bhad			
Kalandara			
Chandāla.....	Sudra	{ Brahmin, not } { in wedlock ..	{ Very low, and degrad- ed.
Charmokar	Tibara	Chandāla.....	Tanner.
Mansachedi ..	Chandāla	Charmokar	Butcher.
Koneh	Tibara	Mansachedi.....	Ditto.
Kandara ...	Kaibartha	Koneh	Ditto.
Haddika	} Leta.....	Chandāla	Sweeper caste.
Soundika or Donre			
Gungaputra ...	Leta.....	Tibra	{ Born on the banks of the Ganges.
Juagi	Besh Dhari.....	Gungaputra ...	Ditto.
Sundi	Vaishya	Tibara	Ditto.
Poundraka	Ditto	Sundi	Ditto.
Rajput	Kshetriya	Kayastha.....	Ditto.
Agabi	Kayastha.....	Rajput	Ditto.
Kaibartha	Kshetriya	Vaishya	{ Called also Dhibar or Fisherman.
Rajaka.....	Dhibara	Tibara.....	Washerman.
Kodali.....	Tibara	Rajaka.....	Ditto.
Sarvashi	Napita.....	Gopa	Ditto.
Byadha	Kshetriya	Sarvashi	Hunter.
Kudara	Rishi	Brahmin.....	{ Begotten on a forbid- den day and there- fore degraded.
Bagatita	Kshetriya	Vaishya	{ Ditto, and that not- withstanding the un- willingness of the mother, and there- fore degraded.
Mlecha*	Ditto	Sudra	{ Begotten on a forbid- den day.
Jola	Mlecha	Kubinda.....	
Saraka.....	Jola	Ditto	

* *Mlecha*, or barbarian, is a term also applied to foreigners, or people born without the precincts of the 'excellent land' of India. *Mlechhas* are described as

कर्णाः क्रूराश्च निर्भय अविद्व रणदुर्जयाः शैवाचारविहीनाश्च
दुर्द्वेषा धर्मवर्जिताः ॥—"People, whose ears are not bored, who are cruel
daring, invincible in battle, impure in practice, violent, and without religion."

Before we quit this part of our essay on the Theory of Caste contained in the Smriti, we shall notice one or two curious passages, from which it appears, that some people, born without the boundaries of Hindustan, were once reckoned as men of good caste among the Hindus. Menu says:—"The following races of Kshetriyas, by their omission of holy rites and by seeing no Brahmins, have gradually sunk among men to the lowest of the four classes: Paundracas, Odras and Draviras; CAMBOJAS, YAVANAS, and SACAS; Paradas, Pahlavas, CHINAS, Kiratas, Deradas, and Chasas."—x. 43, 44.

In the legend of Sagara, which is contained in the Hari-Vansa, Vishnu, Brahma and other Puránas, it is said, that King Sagara had discomfited several fierce nations, which had invaded his kingdom; and that, by depriving them of the rites of religion, and forbidding Brahmins to officiate for them, he degraded them to the humble position of Mlechas and out-casts. Among the nations thus degraded, the names *Yavanas*, *Sacas*, *Cambojas*, and *Chinas* are found. Now *Yavanas* in Sanscrit meant the Greeks; *Sacas** was the name which the Persians had given to the Scythians; *Cambojas* and *Chinas* were evidently inhabitants of Cambodia and China. Are we to conclude hence that all these nations were at one time acknowledged as brethren by the Hindus?

ON CASTE AS IT NOW PREVAILS.—The system of caste, as it is upheld in the present day, is very different. The Vaishyas and Súdras, as pure orders, are extinct at least in Bengal. The Kshetriyas are scarce. The dignity of the twice-born is almost monopolized by Brahmins. The degradation of the Súdras is shared by the Varna Sankaras, or mixed classes, whose name is legion. The Vaidyas stand at the top of the mixed classes, and lay claim to the privileges of the twice-born. The Kayasthas rank next to them, and are the leaders of the classes accounted Súdras. They are otherwise called the *writer* caste, and are, both in profession and practice, *pen-men*.

The political ascendancy of the Muhammadan and other foreign powers in India, has, in some measure, led to the diminution of Brahminical influence. The "earthly gods" do not now meet with the unqualified reverence, which they once claimed and received, except when they have succeeded in enforcing their divine pretensions by means of worldly possessions. The fire, which they are said to have emitted from their mouths at one time for the

* Οἱ γὰρ Περσῶν πάντας τῆς Σχυθας καλεοῦσι Σακας.—*Herod.* vii. 64.

destruction of their enemies, as plentifully as a volcano, has long since been extinguished. The Kayasthas and some other servile castes have acquired great influence over them. In many cases they are masters and leaders, instead of being (agreeably to Menu's ordinances) obedient slaves of the Brahmins. They still assume the title of Dasses, or *slaves* of the twice-born. But their yoke must be particularly easy, since their servility does not incapacitate them for presiding over religious corporations, whereof Brahmins are mere members. The President of the Dharma Sobha of Calcutta is a Kayastha and Súdra, while the Secretary is a Brahmin.

There are some Brahmins still, who exhibit the pride and affect the purity of their ancestors, and refuse to look upon Súdras, as others than slaves, or to perform spiritual offices for them. The number of such proud purists is very small. The majority are glad to recognize the *slaves* as their patrons and supporters.

The Brahmins no longer pass through the four stages prescribed by Menu, nor do they abstain from those employments, which, however inconsistent with their vows, are sufficiently lucrative. They accept service under any one; *sell their learning*, though that is reckoned a heinous crime in the Shástras; live by their pens, and condescend to the most unpriestly avocations for the sake of gain. But, however humbled and shorn of their powers, they are still very highly respected.

The prominent features of caste, as it exists at present, are:—(1) the spiritual supremacy of the Brahmins; (2) the improved positions of some of the mixed races; (3) the total prohibition of intermarriage and interchange of hospitality; and (4) the numerous ramifications of the same castes introduced by the creation of Kulins.

1. The spiritual supremacy of the Brahmins remains unaltered, at least in theory. They are still venerated by the other castes. The Kshetriyas have long lost their importance; the Vaishyas are perhaps extinct; but the Brahmin continues the same in matters spiritual, as he was in the age of the Vedas. Buddhist, Muhammadan and British ascendancy have contributed successively to diminish his influence: but, wherever there is faith in Hinduism, respect is paid to Brahmins. The fact is another instance of the superiority of the mind over the body. The Brahmins, who represented the intellect of the country, have preserved their credit long after the diminution of Kshetriya influence, which symbolized physical power.

2. The improved position of some of the mixed races appears from the importance, which is attached to the Kayasthas and the Vaidyas. The former as writers, and the latter as phy-

sicians, are undoubtedly reckoned as *gentlemen*. They occupy in Bengal a rank second only to Brahmins. The priests look up to them, as the Rishis of yore looked up to the Kshetriyas. The other mixed classes are less respected. Nine of them, usually called the *Nobosakh*, are treated with greater regard than the rest. The Brahmin will condescend to drink water from their hands, *i. e.*, he will have no objection to employ them as water-bearers, an honour which he will not confer on others! The remaining castes are held in utter contempt as mechanics and artificers. The Brahmin will consider himself defiled by their very touch. They actually represent the humble Sûdras of Menu's age.

3. The total prohibition of intermarriage and of the interchange of hospitalities is another characteristic of caste as it now prevails. Intermarriages between the several castes were always discouraged, but never so strictly prohibited as in the present age. In fact there is now no degradation in caste, other than that which is caused by forming a matrimonial connection, or joining in a convivial party with a person of a different caste. In former times, no Brahmin* was excommunicated for marrying a Sudra; the offspring of such a union would indeed be lowered in rank, but the parents would not suffer. In the present age no Brahmin dares contract such a marriage on pain of excommunication.

4. The numerous ramifications of the same castes, introduced by the creation of Kulins, though never intended by the original law-givers, have nevertheless served to extend the distinction of caste to a fearful length. Not only are Brahmins, Kayasthas, &c. prohibited to intermarry or interchange hospitalities with other castes, but they are also forbidden to do so with many families of *their own orders*. In marriage the question of Kulinism requires to be considered before the contract can be formed.

We shall illustrate this sub-division of caste by a simple example. The Brahmins in Bengal are divided into several Srenies, such as Rauries, Barenders, Vaidiks, and Saptasatis. The Srenies again are sub-divided into Kulins, Srotriyas, and Vangsajas. Kulins, Srotriyas and Vangsajas will interchange hospitalities, but not freely intermarry. The different Srenies will neither intermarry nor interchange hospitalities.

Such is the gigantic system of Hindu caste in its several stages of development. We have hitherto represented it histo-

* There are some passages in Menu and the Purânas (as the reader may have gathered from the preceding quotations), which denounce, as strongly as possible, the marriage of a Brahmin with a Sudra. But it appears they were mere dead letters.

rically, without note or comment. Indeed we have allowed the authors of the Hindu Shástras to speak for themselves almost without interruption. It is time that we put the reader in possession of our own sentiments on the subject. We shall do so with all possible brevity.

The deteriorating effects of the institution of caste have not, in any country, been so glaring as in India. There is something in the idea of arrangement, which indicates thought, and which has therefore sometimes deceived historians into the belief, that the classification of a people is a token of civilization. The legislators of Egypt have been praised, rather than censured, for the division of labour they enforced by the institution of caste. Man, in a state of utter barbarism, does not think of such division. He must appreciate the desiderata, which the priest, the warrior, and the merchant are intended to supply, before he can feel the need of classification. As long as he lives in a savage wild state, ignorant of the luxuries and comforts of civilization, he may at times feel the need of a priest to offer sacrifices and prayers for him; but he has little occasion for the services of the warrior or the merchant. Destitute of property, he can apprehend no danger from "malice domestic" or "foreign levy," and therefore requires not the soldier's protection. Ignorant of the comforts of life, he cares neither for the merchant nor the mechanic, and is equally indifferent to imports and manufactures.

But if the institution of caste prove that human society has advanced a few steps from a state of absolute rudeness and barbarity, its perpetuation is at the same time both a cause and an index of a stagnant state of half-civilization. The march of intellect is then the fastest, when it is the least restrained by arbitrary ordinances. A child may require to be kept in order by the school-master's rod, and to have his whole conduct regulated by a prescribed routine of duties. Incapable of thought, of discretion, and of moral agency, he may require to be treated like an irresponsible being, whose proceedings should be regulated by the judgment of others. Human society, in its infancy, might require the same treatment. Legislators might be called upon to regulate the public and private proceedings of every member of the State, leaving little or no room for the exercise of individual discretion. Such interference would however degenerate into intolerance and despotism, when society advanced from infancy to manhood. The legislator could be no more justified in coercing the private acts of men in an advanced state of society, than the school-master

in imposing his own whims on full-grown pupils by means of the rod.

The institution of caste exercises a baneful influence on the development of the human mind. The little advantage derived from its tendency to inspire the son with the desire of emulating the father, and of preserving unsullied the reputation of the family, is more than counter-balanced by its hurtful consequences in other respects. Whether the original constitution of the human mind is the same in every person, is a question much debated by metaphysical casuists, and but little likely to receive a satisfactory determination. Certain it is, however, that many men show, as they grow up, various turns of mind qualifying them for varying professions in life. It is often difficult to predict, before a boy's mind is actually formed, the profession, for which his genius and inclination will make him most fit. That the father may often create circumstances tending to produce a certain intended state of mind in his son, is not denied; but it must be acknowledged, that men are also creatures of circumstances, over which neither they, nor their guardians, have any controul. A boy may acquire tastes and imbibe sentiments, which neither his father nor his tutor expected or wished. It would be preposterous to prescribe his studies, or his profession, before, considering the turn which his own ideas and inclinations may take.

The systems, by which a person's studies and profession are made dependent on his birth, can never be sufficiently execrated. The human mind is free; it will not submit to restraints; it will not succumb to the regulations of freakish legislators. The Brahmin or the Kshetriya may have a son, whose mind is ill adapted to his hereditary profession. The Vaishya may have a son with a natural dislike for a counting-house, and the Súdra may have talents superior to his birth. If they be forced to adhere to their hereditary professions, their minds must deteriorate. To call upon a man to adopt a profession, for which he is not intellectually fitted, and to pursue such studies as are not suitable to his genius and taste, is to obstruct his education and prevent his mental growth. If the mind is not allowed to develop itself in its own congenial way, and if it is strained by a rude hand into a strange way, whatever progress it may make will be tainted by the unholy marks of the violence done to it. The consequence will ultimately be the intellectual prostration of the people. Scholars, that are compelled to adopt a learned profession—soldiers, that are impressed to bear arms—merchants, that are forced to import and export, are not likely to reflect

lustre on their several professions. They are more likely to throw them into discredit by their own lukewarmness and indifference.

We do not deny that hereditary professions have some virtues peculiar to themselves. The son may often take pride in maintaining the credit of his father in a certain profession. Such pride pre-supposes, however, that the son has inherited the taste, sentiments and genius, along with the *profession*, of his father. In all other cases the institution must produce the evils we have described without a single redeeming excellence.

Nor are the *moral* evils, produced by the institution of caste, less conspicuous. Where dignities are forced upon men by their birth, for which they are little fitted by other qualifications, the deterioration of the moral faculties is the inevitable consequence. The mind is inflated by the enjoyment of undeserved honours, which vanity and self-love attribute to real merit. The Brahmin, that has no intrinsic worth, but is respected for his birth, is soon deluded into the notion, that it is his own accomplishments, natural or acquired, that entitle him to the obeisance of his contemporaries. He learns to construe, as a tribute to his personal acquirements, what is a mark of respect for his family. He thinks he is not only a descendant of a great family, but a great man himself—revered by virtue of his race, but still more by virtue of his own excellencies.

The Súdra, on the other hand, from being despised by his contemporaries, learns to despise himself. Deprived by law of all access to the Shástras—denied the privilege of even enjoying the ministerial offices of Brahmins—stigmatized as a *once-born* serf, whose duty is only to serve the three superior orders, and made a proverb and a bye-word—he considers himself relieved from all moral responsibility, because he is considered by others as incapable of any excellency.

Among the moral evils produced by the institution of caste, the extinction of sympathy and fellow-feeling is not the least pernicious. There can be little room for sympathy, where some persons arrogate superior birth, and others submit to brook their humiliation in sullen silence. The Brahmin considers himself the lord of the creation; he eats but his own food; he esteems himself above the sympathy and fellow-feeling of his serfs. The Súdra, on the other hand, sullenly submits to a disgrace he cannot avert. He endures what he cannot cure. He may be reconciled to his fate; it may be a willing bondage with him, but still it is a bondage. He can neither presume nor desire to keep up familiar terms with those whom he can never rival,

however industrious and ingenious he may be. Sympathy and fellow-feeling can only exist between equals. They can have no room between unequals. Those, who are naturally and necessarily superior, cannot help looking down upon their inferiors, who are incapable of rising to their level. The inferiors again cannot help a secret feeling of discontent against those whom they can never hope to meet on equal ground. Thus the division into classes proves a sore evil. By fostering the pride of some, and producing sullenness in others, it serves to alienate race from race and man from man. It obstructs that kindly intercourse and mutual regard, which should knit together all the sons of Adam. Some are puffed up; others are depressed; ALL ARE MORALLY DETERIORATED.

The social evils of caste are also of a grave character. It is a great advantage to society, where persons of various professions and talents are allowed free intercourse with one another; where the scholar, the soldier, the merchant, and the manufacturer can meet on an equal footing, apart from their desks, their parade ground, or their factories. The austere morals of the priest, the brave gallantry of the soldier, the calculating accuracy of the merchant, have each its influence on the tone of society. Sometimes different members of the same family may be pursuing different occupations in life. Their free intercourse as relations may correct the evils, which exclusive devotion to a particular profession has a tendency to produce. The priest, from the authority with which he inculcates doctrine, prescribes practice, rebukes, exhorts, is in danger of imbibing spiritual pride, and of affecting a false appearance of sanctity. The soldier, from the frequency with which he wields weapons of destruction, is likely to become insensible to the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, and to look with utter indifference on their pains and sorrows. The merchant, from his habitual study of self-interest in his speculations and enterprizes, is apt to lose sight of more generous and disinterested considerations. These are evils, which the isolation of the professions has a tendency to produce. Familiarity and mutual intercourse are likely to correct them. The austerity and spiritual pride of the priest may be rectified by the soldier's gallantry and the merchant's worldliness. The ferocity of the soldier may be softened by the self-denying devotion of the priest. The merchant's avarice may be corrected by the severe austerity and the generous gallantry of the two other classes. But the institution of caste deprives the state of these advantages by isolating the several professions from one another. The Brahmin, the Kshetriya, and

the Vaishya cannot meet on equal ground, cannot cultivate unrestricted familiarity.

The depression of the arts has been another of the baneful consequences of caste. The painter, the carpenter, the civil architect, the goldsmith, are pronounced to be *degraded*. In civilized countries, every encouragement is held out to the cultivators of the arts, especially the fine arts. Their professions are esteemed honourable—their labours are amply rewarded by men of taste and refinement. Those especially, who can transfer the images of their contemporaries to canvas, or render them imperishable in marble or bronze—who can supply to husbands and parents, separated from wives and children, to afflicted widows and bereaved mothers, personal memorials, on which the eye may feast without satiety—are deservedly respected for their rare accomplishments. The pernicious system of caste taught a different lesson to the Hindus. The man, whose brush turns the surface of mute canvas into the majestic and lively image of a being made a little lower than the angels, is held to be degraded. The civil architect is branded as a bastard. The carpenter and the goldsmith are accursed, because the Brahmins chose to take umbrage at them. How could the arts flourish in such a society? How could a person of sensibility aspire to distinction in the cultivation of arts which are considered so low?

To the temporary humiliation of Brahminism, during the rise and progress of the Buddhists, we are perhaps indebted for the scattered remains of sculpture and architecture in India. Even where the chisel or the trowel was consecrated to gods opposed to Buddha, the blow inflicted or aimed by the adherents of Sakya Sing against the supremacy of the Brahmins may be included among the happy causes of the improvement of Indian art.

The national character of the people cannot but suffer under such circumstances. The institution of caste, by forcing professions on men without regard to their qualifications and tastes, has a tendency to fill the country with bad priests, bad warriors, bad merchants, bad mechanics, &c. People cannot be expected to improve a science or an art in which they feel no interest; nor are they likely to take an interest in those things, to which they are wedded by birth, not inclination. The Brahmin will chant the Vedas, because he cannot avoid it; the Kshetriya will wield the sword because he is compelled to do so; the Vaishya will turn merchant, because no other source of livelihood is open to him. What improve-

ment can be expected under such circumstances in their professions?

Human society cannot fail to deteriorate under such a system. Nothing stands still on the earth. All is in motion. That which does not advance must retrograde. The nation, that does not move forward, will soon begin to move backward. If the institution of caste is a bar to improvement, it must prove a cause of deterioration. Such has been the actual fact in Hindustan. The Hindus improved their arts, sciences, and social institutions up to a certain point; they left some of their neighbours behind them in the scale of civilization;—and there they stopped. Their caste prevented the full development of their faculties. A reaction was the consequence. That, which was prevented from rising, began to fall. The national character soon degenerated. The sun of India's prosperity began to decline; and it soon set.

The principal cause of India's humiliation is CASTE. It is this unnatural institution, which, by detaching man from man, trade from trade, mechanic from mechanic, tribe from tribe, put an end to unity and strength in the nation. A people, divided and sub-divided like the Hindus, can never make head against any power that deserves the name. The Muhamadan conquest was the natural result of such national weakness.

If India be destined in the counsels of Providence to look up once more among the nations of the earth, it will only be by unlearning the institution of caste, and by adopting the religion of her present rulers with all its temporal and spiritual blessings.

After the observations already made, the reader will expect to hear an unqualified verdict against caste, as a system opposed to reason, experience and revelation. That it is opposed to reason and experience, will appear from the preceding remarks. We have already shown that he is but a sorry legislator who endeavours to restrict the energies of his species for ages immemorial to certain professions of his own selection. Specious as the arguments may be for a compulsory division of labour, the restraints thereby put on individual taste and discretion counter-balance the advantages which may be expected from such division. The evils of monopoly are too flagrant to require an elaborate refutation in the nineteenth century. Monopoly generally confers undue benefits on a particular party, and becomes invidious because of the injury it thereby inflicts on others. But the monopoly of

caste scarcely confers a benefit on a single individual or community. Its fetters are galling to all. It really injures the Brahmin no less than the Súdra, by compelling both to adopt professions, which may be opposed to their tastes; and it prevents the improvement of the arts and sciences in the bargain. Compulsory agriculture and compulsory manufacture can never rise to any high standard. All are accordingly injured. The people are injured. The arts are injured. The nation is injured. The country is injured.

Experience has proved the fatal consequences of such fallacious legislation. Why have the Hindus been so divided? Because of their caste. Why is there so much misery among the Brahmins? Because most of them adhere to their vain notions of caste, and, though deprived of support from the State, will not work for their livelihood. Why is there so much pauperism among persons of good families? Because they disdain to take up professions below their birth, and cannot get employments suited to their castes. Why are articles of native manufacture generally so inferior? Because the manufacturers are accustomed to consider themselves degraded, and are incapable of high aspirations and honourable ambition.

• But it is not our own fallible reason and limited experience to which the system of caste is opposed. The infallible voice of divine revelation is equally conclusive against it. We cannot stop here to consider the evidences, which attest the Divine original of the Bible. We shall only remark, that the main arguments, deduced from the fulfilment of undisputed prophecies and from the performance of genuine miracles, have never been successfully refuted by the opponents of Christianity. We have therefore as much right to cite the authority of the Bible in moral and religious questions, as the man of science has to quote Newton or Bacon. Assuming then the truth as it is in Jesus, we may safely assert that the system of caste is diametrically opposed to the will of God. "God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he, that feareth Him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him." "The Almighty pays no regard to pedigree. Righteousness and faith are the qualities which constitute greatness in His sight. "He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell in all the face of the earth." Brahmin, and Súdra, baron and villain, noble and serf, bond and free, are distinctions of human invention, and are to be renounced, wherever they militate against the will of the Almighty.

That the Almighty had for a time allowed the service of the

sanctuary to be performed by a single tribe consecrated to it, is no sanction to the general principle of caste. The Levites had their peculiar privileges under a dispensation, which was intended to be the prelude of a higher covenant. The types and shadows of the Mosaic institution have been satisfied in Him, to whom Moses and the prophets bore witness. Under the dispensation of the Gospel the middle wall of partition has been broken. All are now one in Christ.

Besides, the privileges of the Levites were owing to a positive injunction. It was never given out that they were *created* superior to their brethren. It was not declared that they were naturally fitted for no other work than that of the sanctuary. It only pleased the Almighty to set apart one tribe for His own service, until, in the fulness of time, the Saviour was manifested.

If the Hindu disputant have failed to follow us in our condemnation of caste on the grounds of reason, experience and revelation, we shall, for his conviction, add that the contradictory statements in the Shástras regarding it are plain proofs of its futility. When Shástra is opposed to Shástra, who can resist the evidence thereby offered of their want of authority? No writings can be infallible, which involve self-contradictions. The Shástras, which contain conflicting sentiments on caste, can never pretend to a divine original: nor can the system of caste be palmed upon the nation as a divine institution.

In exposing the inconsistencies of the Shástras on the subject of caste, we shall not follow the example of the *Vajra Suchi*. We concede that, if a few extraordinary cases of admission to the privileges of Brahminhood had been all that could be urged against the system, we should not have undertaken to assail the time-honoured institution. A few individual exception may be easily tolerated. But we shall proceed to show that contradictory statutes may be found in the Shástras respecting vital parts of the system, involving the privileges and responsibilities of the Brahminical order. The following table will justify our charge:—

Passages maintaining the infallibility of Brahmins.

"A Brahmin, whether learned or ignorant, is a powerful divinity; even as fire is a powerful divinity, whether consecrated or popular."—*Menu*, ix. 317.

"Even in places for burning the dead, the bright fire is undefiled; and when presented with clarified

Passages inculcating the contrary doctrine.

"That Brahmin, who knows not the form of returning a salutation, must not be saluted by a man of learning: as a Súdra, even so is he."—*Menu*, ii. 126.

"A twice-born man, who, not having studied the Veda, applies diligent attention to a different and

butter at subsequent sacrifices, blazes again with extreme splendour."—*Ibid*, ix. 818.

"All the Brahmins are excellent, and always to be honoured without discriminating whether they are learned or unlearned. Even wicked Brahmins are to be venerated, but not Sûdras, though of subdued passions. The cow that eats foul things, is better than the pig with good dispositions."—*Padma Purâna, Kriya Yôga Sûra, chap. 20.*

"Brahmins are not to be despised whether they behave well or ill."—*Mahabharat, Adî Parva, chap. 20.*

"Whether learned or unlearned, civilized or barbarous, Brahmins are not to be despised; they are like fire smouldering in ashes. As the flaming fire, though it be in a cemetery, is free from fault, so is the Brahmin a great god, whether learned or unlearned."—*Ibid, Vana Parva, chap. 199.*

The foregoing are but some of the self-contradictory statements in the Shâstras respecting the dignity of Brahmins—some maintaining that they are proof against apostacy, and are infallible—others, that marriage with Sûdra women, neglect of the *Sandhya*, and similar delinquencies, immediately disqualify them as priests, and cause their excommunication *ipso facto*!

Again, as to the marriage of a Brahmin with a Sûdra's wife, the self-contradictions are equally remarkable. Thus:

Passages acknowledging the legality of a Brahmin's marriage with a Sûdra.

"Should the tribe sprung from a Brahmin, by a Sûdra woman, produce a succession of children by the marriages of its women with other Brahmins, the low tribe shall be raised to the highest in the seventh generation."—*Menu, x. 64.*

"By a Sûdra bride, marrying a priest, a soldier, or a merchant, must be held the skirt of a mantle."—*Ibid*, iii. 44.

worldly study, soon falls, even when living, to the condition of a Sûdra; and his descendents after him."—*Ibid*, ii. 168.

"A Brahmin unlearned in holy writ, is extinguished in an instant, like a fire of dry grass. To him the oblation must not be given; for the clarified butter must not be poured on ashes."—*Ibid*, iii. 168.

"The Brahmin, who does not perform the morning and evening *Sandhyas*, is to be incapacitated like the Sûdra for holy duties."—*Brahma Vaibârtha Prakriti, chap. 21.*

"If a Brahmin take a Sûdra to wife, he is excommunicated from the dignity of the priesthood, and becomes worse than a Chandâla."—*Ibid, chap. 27.*

Passages denouncing a Brahmin's marriage with a Sûdra.

"If a Brahmin take a Sûdra to wife," &c. [Cited above from the *Brahma Vaibârtha*.]

"For the crime of him, who thus illegally drinks the moisture of a Sûdra's lips, who is tainted by her breath, and who even begets a child on her body, the law declares no expiation."—*Menu, iii. 19.*

The passage, quoted last but one from Menu, x. 64, suggests another reflection. The Shástras declare that a Brahmin is *born*, not *made* or *promoted*. The idea of Hindu caste excludes the promotion of a lower to a higher order; and yet the passage referred to allows the promotion of a base-born tribe to the highest class in the seventh generation! The 65th verse expressly says: "As the son of a Súdra may thus attain the rank of a Brahmin, and as the son of a Brahmin may sink to a level with Súdras, &c.," thus acknowledging *promotion*, as well as *degradation*, in caste. We have said elsewhere, we do not wish to adopt the severe criticism of the *Vajra Suchi*, the author of which has based his reflections against caste by citing the cases of a few individual Rishis, who were promoted to the dignity of Brahmins in consequence of their extraordinary devotion, notwithstanding the lowness of their birth. Exceptions may be allowed, where the rule is right in its integrity. But the opposition of rule to rule and of law to law, regarding the dignity, responsibility, and privileges of the several classes, must present insuperable difficulties in the way of those, who may be desirous of maintaining Hindu caste in its integrity. The self-contradictions likewise prove that the Hindu Shástras could not have proceeded from Him "with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning."

Into whose hands these our lucubrations may fall, we cannot divine. If they ever attract the notice of any of our native fellow-subjects, we beseech them to consider the duty of alleviating the evils produced by the system of caste. Those especially, whose minds have been enlightened by education, should reckon the awful responsibility they incur, in the sight both of God and man, by conforming to an institution in which they have no faith, and which is fraught with so many evils. The rational Hindus, as a certain section delight to call themselves, ought not to be so *irrational* in practice. We cannot conceive how a person, who professes to regard the Hindu Shástras with perfect contempt, can enjoy any feeling of self-esteem, while, in matters of caste, his professions are at such variance with his conduct. Inconsistency is indeed an evil, to which all mankind are more or less subject. But habitual deviation from principle constitutes a degree of turpitude, which society cannot tolerate without sinking into the depths of moral debasement. History has branded with the title of unprincipled hypocrites those, who habitually falsified in practice what they maintained in theory. Such of our contemporaries, as do not scruple to follow the example, must make up their minds, to share the fate, of those marked men.

We do not wish to anticipate the judgment of posterity: but we cannot think that those persons are entitling themselves to the gratitude of the nation, who keep up in practice what they detest in theory, and perpetuate the monstrous institution of caste, notwithstanding their conviction of its evil consequences.

Such of our readers, as have not absolutely surrendered their mental freedom to the pretended authority of the Vedas and Puránas, should consider the guilt of conforming to a system, which is falsely attributed to a divine original. Of all forgeries the most flagitious and profane is that, which connects the name of the Almighty with an untruth. If the Brahmin, the Kshetriya, the Vaishya, and the Súdra did not really proceed from different parts of the Creator's person, the story is nothing short of blasphemy. He who professes assent to such a story by his conformity to the institution of caste is *particeps criminis*. Even if it were abstractedly right to classify a people, it would still be a participation in the spiritual forgeries of the Shástras to support the specific institution which they have originated.

To us, whom the grace of an All-merciful God has brought to the knowledge of a Saviour mighty to save, it is a most interesting reflection, that while Vedantism and Deism and other theories have been propounded for the regeneration of the native mind—while nostrums after nostrums are prescribed for the restoration of India's moral health—no remedy has hitherto succeeded in alleviating the miseries of the country, but that which has every where proved a panacea for all evils. Vedantism and Deism have both been found to repose spell-bound and dumb beside Durga's shrine and the Brahmin's fire. Christianity alone has resisted the bewitching charms of the goddess, and thrown down her altars. Christianity alone has quenched the Brahmin's fire and the ignited darts of Shiva. Christianity alone has destroyed caste, educated females, stopped the marriage, or rather the prostitution, of infants, relieved widows, and proclaimed due liberty to the captives of the Zenana. Christianity, wherever it has got a footing, has transformed the Hindu's house from a scene of idolatry, female debasement, ignorance, and idleness, into one of rational worship, of moral energy, intellectual advancement, and female aggrandizement.

THOUGHTS

ON

MISSIONARY WORK IN INDIA.

BY

JOSHUA RUSSELL.

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1851.

TO THE BAPTIST MISSIONARIES IN INDIA.

ESTEEMED BRETHREN,

However unworthy, I had the honor and privilege of visiting this country as a Deputation, conjointly with my dear friend the Reverend John Leechman, M. A., from the Baptist Missionary Society of England, but it is not as a member of that Deputation, but simply as a minister and a friend, that I respectfully solicit your attention to these remarks written amidst many other pressing engagements.

J. R.

Intally, April 9th, 1851.

THOUGHTS

ON

MISSIONARY WORK IN INDIA.

By JOSHUA RUSSELL.

THE Commission given by Christ to his apostles was to this effect: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned. And these signs shall follow them that believe: in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover." Mark xvi. 15—18.

As soon as the apostles understood the command, they obediently went forth; and they had no difficulty in preaching, because they had something to preach about that supplied both motive and subject, that filled their hearts with gratitude, and gave mighty eloquence to their tongues. What was it? Was it the wars and triumphs of the first Cæsar, or the finished eloquence of Cicero, or the oppressed and degraded state of Palestine? No, none of these. Their theme connected itself directly with heaven and the throne of God, and the spiritual and eternal interests of men. They went forth to "preach the gospel," "they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ."

Christ directed them to begin at Jerusalem; Luke xxiv. 47, where they were to tarry, until endued with power from on high. The outpouring of the Spirit completed a course of long and gracious preparation there. The Jewish people had been taught by their prophetic scriptures and by the facts of their national history, to expect about that time a great and glorious interposition of Heaven on their behalf. Providentially this people were widely scattered through all the neighbouring

nations, and the knowledge of their Holy Scripture was equally diffused; for in many large cities of the Roman empire the Synagogues were frequented by intelligent gentiles, many of whom became Proselytes; and Jews and Jewesses obtained access to gentile families, making known the nature of God and the expectation of the Messiah. Hence when the apostles visited those cities, the Synagogue was a convenient place in which they might preach to a congregation already gathered: and when they spake there of God and of Christ, of sin and holiness, of heaven and hell, their hearers knew enough of those topics, to enable them, if so disposed, to receive further information. The early Christians undoubtedly had peculiar difficulties; they had also peculiar advantages.

On India, however, when Carey and Thomas visited it, little more than fifty years ago, a deep and almost unbroken darkness rested. They had no power of working miracles. They found no synagogues where they could preach. A flame of heavenly love filled their hearts, but none rested on their heads. Carey longed at once to speak of Jesus, but no foreign words came miraculously to his aid. There is no direction in the New Testament for missionaries of later days to learn languages, but necessity requires it: and the same necessity demands the translation and circulation of the Holy Scriptures, and the establishment and continuance of religious schools.

Our Lord assured the apostles that those who received the truth from them should become their associates in diffusing it; for they also should speak with new tongues, and be able to confirm what they stated by showing the broad seal of heaven, in the power of working miracles. We believe that we are fully justified in adopting the general principle thus furnished, namely, that all who experience benefit from the remedy, should make it known to others who still are sufferers, as far as their gifts and opportunities permit. Let not men thrust themselves into pastoral work without obtaining the approbation of fellow-saints, qualified to judge; but let all, who feel the power of the word of life, hold it forth; let them lift up the light; let them repeat the invitation—"let him that heareth say, Come."

It is, however, especially desirable, that missionaries should not mistake their object, that they should well and repeatedly examine the commission, and adhere as closely as possible to the instructions, the spirit and the example of Jesus Christ and his inspired apostles.

Matthew gives our Lord's commission thus: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father,

and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost : teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo ! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Go and teach all nations. The expression in Mark is obviously of the same import. "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." We feel ourselves shut up to the conclusion that our Lord meant, teach among all nations, those willing to be taught. Whether you teach great multitudes in the temple, or the solitary Eunuch in the desert, you are to aim at bringing the gospel home to individuals for their conversion and salvation. You are to invite every one to become a disciple of Jesus, and when any one avows himself to be such, then baptize him, and when you have baptized him, still continue your work, teaching him to observe all things that Christ has commanded.

The best way of ascertaining what our Lord really meant will be to trace out shortly the conduct of himself and his inspired apostles.

We find that it divides itself into two parts, corresponding generally with the terms, preaching and teaching, terms used indeed sometimes interchangeably in Scripture, but more frequently according to the sense, as I believe, usually given to each ; namely, to preaching, that of the more public and general proclamation of truth, and to teaching, that of more private and particular instruction.

With respect to preaching—

When our Lord delivered his first sermon, "seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain : and when he was set, his disciples came unto Him." Matt. v. 1. He chose a place where he could be heard with undisturbed attention by great multitudes.

"And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom." Wherever he could, he availed himself of the synagogue. The more pious among the people, as well as Pharisees would resort there, and there expect religious instruction. Matt. ix. 35.

On sending forth the apostles, He said, "Go ye to the lost sheep of the House of Israel : and as ye go, preach, saying, The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." A short sermon, but full of power ; the trumpet blast before a battle. Matt. x. 7.

We are several times informed that great multitudes followed Him. Matt. xiv. 13, &c.

No doubt their motives were various. Some as enquirers who from ancient prophecy, and the preaching of John the Baptist, expected the Messiah.

Others from a desire to receive or to witness miraculous help. Some because they had eaten of the loaves and been filled.

Others because they trusted in Him and loved Him as their Lord and Saviour.

In like manner the apostles and first believers preached the Word.

Immediately after the Pentecostal effusion, Peter stood up and preached. "And daily in the temple, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ." Acts v. 42.

Notice the correspondence of these expressions with the terms of the commission.

"Therefore they that were scattered abroad went every where preaching the Word."

"And Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Christ unto them."

"And they, when they had testified and preached the word of the Lord, returned to Jerusalem, and preached the gospel in many villages of the Samaritans."

By the affair of Cornelius, the Holy Spirit instructed the apostles in the extent of their duty; previously they must have restricted the expression "all nations" to the Jews and Proselytes of all nations, and understood by "every creature" every Jew. God taught them that unto the Gentiles also he had granted repentance unto life.

Paul was miraculously converted, he was called and chosen that he might bear the name of Jesus Christ before the Gentiles and kings, as well as the children of Israel. He and Barnabas were sent out by the Church at Antioch, under the special direction of the Holy Spirit, on a missionary tour. They visited several large cities, where they preached and gathered churches, and from which they were driven by persecution; notwithstanding the danger they continued preaching the gospel and speaking boldly in the Lord, and, having reached Derbe, they then returned again to Lystra and Iconium and Antioch, confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God. On their return they ordained elders in the Churches which they had formed. Acts xiv.

Paul and Silas subsequently took another long and extensive journey. Their course was specially directed by the Holy Ghost to Philippi, where they stayed "many days," and where a Church was formed. At Corinth they continued more than a year and six months, "teaching the word of God among them." And at Ephesus, we are told, they spent two years. Let us notice the prolonged and repeated instruction thus

given, and the success resulting therefrom in the formation of Churches.

At the same time and in close connection with the preaching there was also the teaching. The public and general proclamation of truth, was intended as one way of gathering disciples for more private and particular instruction.

It is important to mark well the example of our Lord as to the individual training and improvement of his disciples. There stands prominently before us the great and significant fact of his choosing the twelve apostles, to be the companions of his poverty, his sufferings, and his toil, that day after day they might see his conduct, and receive his instructions, and thus be prepared and qualified as his witnesses and ambassadors to all nations. In addition to their general knowledge and preparation as Jews, and several of them as disciples of John, they were specially trained by him for their future work.

The Seventy no doubt participated in some of the advantages possessed by the apostles, and when they were sent forth, it is evident that they were not to limit themselves to preaching in public, but to enter into houses and instruct those willing to receive them. "Into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace be to this house." Our Lord instructed great multitudes in parables, which he explained to his disciples in private. "And the disciples came, and said unto him: Why speakest thou unto them in parables? He answered and said unto them, Because it is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of Heaven, but to them it is not given. For whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance: but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath." Is it not our plain duty to follow this example, to adopt the same mode of procedure, and give, or provide means of giving, ampler and more detailed instruction to those who receive with attention or willingness the first statement of religious truth, that he that hath, may have more abundance? Let a missionary's house, a vestry, or a tent, be pointed out, where the inquirer will be welcomed, and every possible effort be made to bring the same individuals, under continuous methodical and appropriate teaching that they may be gathered into Churches. Our adorable Lord, the twelve apostles, the seventy evangelists, and others too of the primitive believers, all labored in a small country, where a magnificent preparation had been made, and prophets, priests and pious kings had lived and taught. The Saviour and his chosen associates were constantly and laboriously engaged in the work—great multitudes attended his ministry—the facts which we only read of, were done before their eyes—the resurrection took place in their midst—the Holy Spirit

manifested Himself amongst them by audible and visible tokens. And yet, after all this, the apostles, gifted as they were, would not content themselves with public preaching alone, but daily in every house, as well as in the temple, they ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus Christ. Public preaching is lawful, excellent, demanded, indispensable; but Holy Scripture requires us to connect with it individual teaching in some way or other, to bring home the truth to the man alone, for he will die and answer to God alone; to meet the difficulties and fit our teaching to the apprehension of the individual mind. It would never be contended that preaching alone is sufficient for the instruction of children in England; yet few children there of seven years old, are so ignorant as the natives here. It may be said that the mode of preaching in this country is not formal and stiff, that it may meet the mental and moral wants of the hearers, by its conversational manner, and it no doubt does so, and indeed all scriptural preaching does so, to some extent. We hope however that we shall be excused for pressing it upon our esteemed brethren to avail themselves of all opportunities for religious conversation and to aim at the formation of classes of natives, including adults and young people, in which a course of scriptural instruction should be pursued, including explanation and repetition, until the subjects are well understood; and let it be distinctly stated and deeply felt, that the mental instruction is for the conversion of the soul, that these things are written, explained, enforced, with all love, with anxiety and earnestness and prayer, that our hearers may believe that Jesus is the Christ, and that believing they may have life through Him. God is pleased to work in the salvation of sinners by means of his own workmanship. A converted and sanctified man is an agent prepared by God; and just as he cherishes and rejoices in the truth, and feels it living and glowing in his own bosom, will he communicate it to others with affection and hope; and the closer the sympathy between the mind of the teacher and that of the enquirer, the more likely is the Holy Spirit to impart spiritual life from the former to the latter. If there is much of faithful preaching then should there be much of teaching. The larger the planting, proportionably is there need of the watering. We would not however press the distinction between preaching and teaching too far. Our own conviction is that both are appropriate, as well for the gathering in, as for the subsequent improvement of the saints.

Esteemed Missionary Brethren have said: "Preaching is our work: it is the way appointed by God for the spread of the gospel." Others have said: "Preaching is the only mode we at present find practicable." We would respectfully remind them

that the apostles undoubtedly adopted also an additional mode, namely, that of household and individual instruction. We also beg them to excuse a remark so obvious as the following, yet it may modify objection. It is clear that when it is said, the apostles taught from house to house, it does not mean literally in all the houses in the city, they could not enter the houses of chief priests and elders, nor is it as we think to be confined to the houses of believers, but in all houses whose inmates were willing to receive them.

And its being household, was a circumstance comparatively unimportant; beyond question the essential thing, is the bringing of divine truth to bear continuously upon the same individuals. In this great battle do not fire a general volley and retreat; but come to close quarters, stand man to man, use your weapons boldly and skilfully, and God will give you victory. It is a work of surpassing glory; God bids you scatter beams of light, and if one ray penetrates, leave it not to be lost amidst returning and thickening clouds, follow it with others, till through divine mercy the dawn brighten into a clear, and joyful, and eternal day.

Both preaching and teaching may be conducted in a tone and manner controversial, or in the way of simple explanation, or their chief character be the emotional, full of pathos and sympathy, or they may consist much of appeals to the conscience. The apostles occasionally used all these modes, but the general character of their instruction and the manner in which it was given appear in one short sentence.—They were men “speaking the truth in love.”

We submit a few remarks with much deference on controversy and heathen legends. It is very possible that a brother may have engaged in controversy or been led by some circumstance to describe the conduct of Krishna or Kali the day we were with him, who might not do the same thing again for a twelvemonth. The course taken may then and there have been the wisest: and yet speaking generally there seems some danger of losing time and labor by such discussions. Controversy supposes two opponents, each of whom asserts that he is right. If both simply seek truth one may help the other; but if either indulges a wish to confound his adversary he thereby unfits himself to receive truth, and if a missionary should be smitten with desire for a literary triumph, we fear he unfits himself to impart it. Even where both parties are Christian men, it is melancholy to see how little of the kind and forgiving spirit of the gospel is brought into literary discussions. Ought not a missionary disputing with a heathen to avoid even the wish to triumph over the man, much less to show any joy at

his mortification when he is beaten? And it is a difficult thing to give a man a sound beating, and yet make him feel that you are his friend, and that it is only your regard to him which obliges you to do it. We can hardly suppose that a missionary would venture into controversy with the heathen if he has the misfortune to have an irascible temper as his besetting sin, for if he did, he would be like a warrior on a badly trained elephant, as likely to do mischief to his friends as to his foes. How tenderly did the Apostle Paul deal with the unbelieving Jews! "I bear them record," he says, "that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge." And with what intense earnestness did he long for their salvation: "I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart, for I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh." Oh, for hearts glowing like his with irrepressible desires for the salvation of the lost and perishing! Missionaries whom we highly esteem have said: "It does not do to let the heathen have the last word." It may be so, but we submit for their reconsideration, whether it would not be better sometimes to give the argument the go by, to appeal to their consciences as sinners against God, and to preach Christ. We know it is said, "they do not know what sin is, and many of them do not admit themselves to be sinners." This is true in part; as to the understanding, they are in the dark—but in that dark soul there is still a conscience, a sense of the difference between good and evil, between right and wrong. Why do they undertake pilgrimages? Why claim religious honors? And is it not the province of God's word to enlighten the understanding? Cannot the servant of God charge them with idolatry as a sin? Is not its character of guilt more appalling and destructive than its character of absurdity? And while the latter ought to be exposed, the former surely should be exhibited in an honest, fearless, devout manner. We are all in the sight of God like little children ingenious and perverse, and when told to do or not to do any particular thing, will argue about it instead of obeying it. Let us remember, that the Bible is the word of God; not ours, but His, and not to be argued about, but obeyed. Are we not justified in repeating the appeals and commands of Prophets and Apostles and Christ himself as authoritative? Hear ye the word of the Lord: "Repent and believe the gospel."

We have floating before our mind an indistinct danger, that a Missionary may be sometimes tempted to dwell on idolatry and idolatrous practices, without that strong disgust and vehement reprehension with which they ought always to be regarded; and if such a thing should ever happen, the tone of

his moral feelings might be weakened and his spirituality of mind blunted. We hear too a whisper—Are we to expect the heathen to abandon their reason and to take things as true merely because we say they are so ?

On the contrary we would have them taught fully, and with care and earnestness, the evidences, doctrines and duties of Christianity, when in a right state of mind to receive such instruction ; but what we have just said, as to generally avoiding controversy, we mean to apply to the first preaching or heralding forth of the Gospel. We submit to our Brethren, that then, it is best to proclaim and repeat the chief and essential truths, in the plainest and most direct manner. They have something far more important than Krishna or Maha Deo to speak about. Let a few words suffice on such topics. Hasten to tell them that they are perishing in sin, that the wrath of God is ready to overwhelm them : as Jonah stood and cried in Nineveh, as the Prophets cried aloud and spared not, as John the Baptist preached in the wilderness : “ Repent ye for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand.” “ He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on Him.” Let us imitate the example of the great Apostle who, when the Jews required a sign, and the Greeks sought after wisdom, regarded neither the one nor the other ; but preached Christ crucified, “ unto the Jews a stumbling block and unto the Greeks foolishness, but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ, the power of God, and the wisdom of God.” It may be said, that our Brethren argue and speak of idols, and their legends, only to remove the prejudices of the people, to empty their minds of error, and prepare them to receive the truth, that there are individuals seriously perplexed by the legends, and the metaphysical doctrines about a supreme and subordinate Gods, who demand and deserve sympathy, and a plain answer. Be it so, a plain answer is given and the kindest sympathy shown when a missionary states God’s own plan of mercy, pointing to the cross, and inviting the sinner to the Saviour.

If a man in broad day closed his blinds and asserted that it was night, you would scarcely stop to argue, you would conclude he was wholly or partly blind, you would say : Go my dear friend to the Doctor, and anoint your eyes with eye salve. You have the history of the Israelites and the brazen serpent in the wilderness, you have the narrative of Jesus on the cross, repeat these, say to the heathen, look to that dying man. He is the Lord Jehovah, your righteousness. Trust in Him and be saved. Some will scoff, some may persecute, the mass around you may be irritated, though it is not probable ; but

what if they are? Your business is to preach Christ, "a sweet savour unto God in them that believe, and in them that perish." Your work is to utter loudly and distinctly the call of heavenly mercy, that God's chosen ones may hear and believe, and be gathered into the Church and glorify Christ. Within a few paces from the missionary's house, there is probably an idolatrous temple; idolatrous festivals and tamashas, with noise and glitter, are constantly occurring. These become common things of every day, part of our neighbourhood, mixed up with the habits, the regard and reverence of men around us, with whom we have dealings in business and ordinary conversation. The neighbouring Babu or Mahajan calls on the missionary; he is intelligent, pleasant and wealthy, he admits all that you say, and sends you a present. The result of all this is a recognition of idolatry as an existing fact, so interwoven in the habits of society, that it is almost useless to struggle against it. And that which at first produced tears and secret prayers becomes familiar, and though a missionary would never frame such a proposition in his mind, or utter it with his lips, yet the state of his heart and the formal and cold nature of his services may say before God and men: There is nothing so very bad or disagreeable about some of these idolaters: Can idolatry then be so very abominable and dangerous after all? Is there no danger of this, or of something approaching to this? Or, is it that with the same sincere and thorough hatred of idolatry as ever, it is mere hopelessness that makes him faint? Or, is it that none faint, that all are faithful? At all events there is a complaint by some, that they are not useful. We make no personal references, but if any dear Brother should feel a weakening, sickening influence in the idolatrous atmosphere around him, or be mourning over want of success, we venture respectfully to say, preach more fully, more directly, more affectionately, the great spiritual doctrine that Jesus is the Christ, who died for us and rose again. It is the life of our own souls, and it alone can be life to our hearers. A divine and incarnate Saviour, who loved us and gave himself for us, who pitied us and bore our griefs and carried our sorrows in his own body on the tree, who has ascended up on high, leading captivity captive, who is touched with the feeling of our infirmities, who will soon come again without sin unto salvation, who is our only righteousness, our wisdom, our strength,—let this be ever our favourite and prominent subject. Let us preach this gospel with prayer, that in us and by us, God will glorify Christ, and through Christ glorify Himself.

It is our conviction that the exposure of the absurdities and criminalities of idolatry, will be best accomplished by short

cheap tracts written in a popular style and in a kind and devout spirit. That zealous and useful servant of God, Felix Neff, observes in a letter:—"One of the greatest obstacles that I have to meet here is controversy. Every one is fond of it, I must be on my guard against losing my time in discussions which dry up the heart." In every address, Beloved Brethren, permit us to say: Let there be some solemn appeal to the conscience, let there be warm and hallowed affections going forth from your heart, to the hearts of your hearers, and in all let Christ be exalted, as our one great need, and our one all-sufficient remedy.

We cheerfully record our feeble testimony to the courage and patience, the fidelity and earnestness with which most of our esteemed Brethren pursue their work, visiting the cities and the villages, the markets and the *melás*, sometimes exposed to abuse and persecution, sometimes treated with neglect and indifference; but still proclaiming the glad tidings of God's mercy. And we joyfully and thankfully remember many instances in which God has graciously crowned their labours with success. Let their aim be in imitation of the apostles by individual conversions, to secure the formation of Churches.

We most cordially praise and bless God for having blessed the Word spoken by His servants in this land to Europeans; but we forget not that the direct purpose of missionary work is the salvation of the heathen. European converts become important helpers, but it might be useful to inquire, whether they throw themselves into the work in the most efficient manner? There is something now in the circumstances of the English, like those of the Jews in the times of the apostles. No land is more distinguished by religious privileges than England, and no people are more scattered, and India is given to them by God, that they may there be His witnesses. We remember however no place mentioned in the New Testament where the Jews formed one Church and the natives of the country another. Let the high in rank be kind, and the low respectful; let the rich be generous and the poor contented; let the master be honored and the servant be treated patiently; let the relationships and distinctions which the God of providence has ordained be properly regarded, but let there be no proud refusal, by one Christian man to acknowledge another. I am aware that where the best feeling exists, there are practical difficulties in Europeans and natives worshipping together; but it is important that Christian kindness should be manifested and difficulties overcome as far as possible; it is desirable that all of the same neighbourhood who profess the same faith and rejoice in the same hope, and who we trust are filled with love one to

another, should occasionally meet and worship as one family in Christ Jesus, and should recognize, assist and encourage one another in his service.

As to the difficulty of teaching from house to house in India, we confess it in some respects to be great; we submit that there are mitigating circumstances; and we urge the necessity of special efforts to overcome the obstacle, pursued with untiring patience and accompanied with earnest prayer. The difficulty exists in all countries as to the higher classes, more however in cities than in country parts. It is not greater as to them in India than elsewhere. And as to the lower ranks of natives they live much out of doors. You may without any great inaccuracy call the street their home. You have no need to enter their houses, and if you did you would have little more privacy there than while conversing with them at the door. A native believer may converse with his countrymen at the bazars all day long, and if in a holy, devout, cheerful frame of mind, may pass from any ordinary topic to the salvation of Christ, and address a short earnest appeal, by watching his opportunity, to the individual's conscience. And when this is well received he might repeat his visit and convey more detailed and regular instruction. He might sit down with one or two natives on a charpai or bench at the door of a bazar, read to them a few verses of Scripture and engage in conversation, encouraging their inquiries if for edification, and avoiding them if for controversy or idle talk, endeavouring to awaken in them a sense of the evil of sin, and leading their minds to the death and resurrection of Jesus.

As to the women, the lower classes, by far the most numerous, are not subject to the same restrictions as the higher. They are generally modest and decorous in their behaviour to strangers. Many of them work hard. Some go on pilgrimages; you see throngs of them for that purpose in the streets of Benares, and meet them frequently in the high roads, and in several places where we have seen missionaries preaching, some few women have stood and listened. Appeals might perhaps be made to them at such times to seek their own salvation, and to bring up their children to worship the true God. Might not one or two established native Christian women endeavour to converse with the heathen women in the roads, or at the stalls, at markets, or elsewhere, to direct their attention to the Saviour?

As to women in wealthy families, whether Muhammadan or Hindu, there is a possibility that where the husband and lord is willing to hear a missionary, he may permit the female part of his household to hear also, behind the purda. We have

heard of such a case. Again pious English ladies sometimes gain access to the Hindu or Mussulman ladies. Let them go in prayer and holy love, and take any opportunities that may offer of directing attention to the Saviour. They might also present books to them and excite in them a desire for intellectual improvement as subordinate to that which is religious. Are the ladies of Calcutta and Agra and other cities and places the seats of government and magistracy, availing themselves of the facilities which they thus exclusively possess?

But while something may be done in these ways, we admit that they do not come up to the apostolic example, or meet the necessity of the case.

With many of the native men it seems almost an impossibility to meet with them alone, or to give to them individual instruction, unless the missionary can persuade them to come to him; and it is especially difficult with a great proportion of the women; many of whom cannot be reached by individual instruction or by preaching, or in any direct way that we know of.

The priests and the women however are the great supporters of idolatry and superstition; and while the women continue so ignorant and bigoted, they will form a strong barrier against the advance of Christian truth. Must we then abandon the cause? Certainly not. If we cannot succeed by direct means, we must try indirect; if we cannot advance quickly, let us go on, although it be slowly. For centuries past have these people been worshipping dumb idols, for centuries to come, if the world continue, we wish them to worship the true God. If we cannot largely affect the present generation, cannot we improve the next? If adults listen not, may not their children be taught? We should quite mistake the spirit of the gospel, if we confined our attention to the present times, and made no provision for the future; if we preached and did not gather under care; if we attended to the one existing generation, and forgot all that will come hereafter. We admit that your talent may be for preaching, but if you wish your work to stand, go not on without the co-operation of helpers to whom God has given different talents. We admit that Christianity is a living power, not to be secured by hereditary descent, nor tied to places nor bought with money nor comprised within the covers of books, nor conveyed along rail-roads. nor breathed into being by the smiles of the great; all this we contend for. Yet it has its harmony with God's providential ordinances, and its channels, in which the Holy Spirit is pleased to move.

Governments, families, property, succession of generations, and the commencement of human life in the small stature and teachable mind of childhood are God's ordinances. What a

state society would be in if our forefathers had said, We will make such laws, such houses and furniture, such roads and bridges, so many and just so much of these as will do for ourselves; and our children may manage as well as they can. Then universal poverty and savage barbarism would cover the earth. And are we to act so in religion? Did ancient prophets, men taught of God, act in that manner? Did they not utter their prophecies, and frame their laws and build their temples for successive generations? Did not Christ Jesus our high and blessed master endure suffering and death that all kindreds of the earth might be blessed in Him, and that they might fear God as long as the sun and the moon endure, throughout all generations? Did not God ordain in great mercy that His revelation should be Scripture and not tradition for this very purpose, that it should instruct men to the end of time? And did not Peter therefore say, I will endeavour that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance? If revelation is for all, and it be Scripture, then are we bound to teach all to read, that they may receive this heavenly truth. We are to labor, beloved brethren, as fellow-workers with God in the gathering in of his elect Church which is to continue until Christ come; and our modes of labor should have an adaptation to the difficulties to be overcome, and to the length of duration as well as to the strength and greatness and glory of the spiritual temple.

Let us consider by what method we can tell most on the next generation as well as on the present. And no doubt can for a moment exist as to the appropriate reply. It is, by Christian schools.

Schools for native girls are very desirable. Great numbers of boys are being taught, but if when grown up, they marry heathen wives, they and their children may be retained in or even led back to Idolatry. Heathen mothers will imbue their little ones with the love of idolatrous practices and of the errors and vices connected therewith. So long as there are heathen mothers there will be heathen children. Instruct our girls, said a Bráhmaṇ, and caste will soon be gone. The women of course form about the half of this immense population, and from what we have heard and seen we believe that the females have more influence over the families of the natives than is generally thought in England. A lady told me she had asked fathers to send their little girls to the school she supported, who said they had no objection, but she must ask their mothers, and when they were asked they refused. The profound ignorance of the women on other subjects makes them attach the greatest importance to the rites and ceremonies of their religion, the

distinctions of caste, and the various customs and usages which they have received from their parents. We have no doubt that while they continue in this ignorance, many of the women would rather die than break through these ancient and venerated customs. Of course they impart these strong prejudices to their children. But there is nothing whatever in these usages to justify their attachment, and if you could once get them instructed, they would be immediately released from their bondage, for they would themselves see that their confidence and affection had been misplaced. Many of them are quick and susceptible, shrewd and clever. In the native Christian villages, there is a fair proportion of converted women, and the heathen women in those neighbourhoods cannot but see how much they are improved both in character and circumstances. We believe, however, that for any great improvement in the condition of the female sex we must look to schools, which will have an indirect influence on the present, as well as a more direct and powerful bearing on the next generation. How then are girls to be brought under instruction? A beginning has been made, and first efforts, however small and inadequate, are not to be despised; however difficult, let them not be abandoned. The largest rivers often flow from small springs, that gurgle up amidst the wild rocky mountains. Both day and boarding schools for girls have been established. We know that in some cases they have been given up for want of funds, a thing most deeply to be regretted. Wherever they have been continued under proper oversight, they have gained some scholars, and the good they have done though comparatively small in amount, has been of vast importance. Orphan girls may occasionally be met with still, as they have been in years past. How desirable is it that they should be received into Christian boarding schools. The children of poor native Christians may also be trained there; and where day schools are formed under the teaching of a pious, kind, suitable woman, we are persuaded that after a time she will succeed in obtaining scholars. Spread education even in a small degree in many places and the people generally will begin to appreciate its advantages, and both fathers and mothers be willing to send their girls as well as their boys to school. If the lower classes of women are educated, the higher will soon be driven in self-defence, and as matter of absolute necessity, to have their daughters instructed. Gentlemen of England who fear God, and who know how to estimate the loveliness and gentleness of woman, when she is fitly trained in useful knowledge, and enriched with Christian graces, who can remember the intelligence and piety of beloved mothers, and whose hearts have

turned in the hour of sorrow and doubt to faithful loving sisters and wives, for counsel and prayer and consolation, permit us respectfully to entreat you to encourage and support schools for native girls, that the influence of mothers and sisters and wives may no longer be hostile to Christianity, but that they may become blessings while themselves are blessed by its cordial reception. Ladies of England, whether there or in India, who love the Lord Jesus Christ, will you not exert yourselves in this your own cause? will you not say, There shall be schools for girls? will you not assist Missionaries in this department? Will you not send out some of your own sex, holy and gifted women, as school mistresses, competent for the work and thoroughly determined with God's blessing never to relinquish it, to work on with kindness and prayer, with faith and patience, and not be repulsed by failures, or deterred by difficulties, feeling that greater is He that is for us, than all that can be against us? We are told that in all the large towns and cities of this country, there are houses filled with prostitutes, and that the procuresses are zealous and successful in obtaining young girls for their abominable and cruel purpose. Although it is contrary to law, it is said that in some places they purchase them, and it is to be feared that official persons may sometimes be induced by bribes to connive at it. Such infamous conduct must inflame the breast of every honorable man and woman with indignation! And ought not Christian people to be as zealous to save as these emissaries of Satan are to destroy? Look at the Hindu girls in the few schools which we have formed, when they have been there a sufficient time to feel their influence, they then become gentle and obedient, they are generally quick in learning, and some take their places at the feet of Jesus. And think of girls like these sold for degradation and vice! However fearfully hardened they may at last become, there is in them at first you may be sure womanly shame, and in those prisons there are young timid creatures doomed to tears and bitterness and woe. And then think of idol temples, and we do but glance at them, and of the wide and deep moral pestilence that blights the gentlest part of the human race, till they become fond of the gilded arrows whose envenomed points spread poison through their souls. Ladies of England, pity them, and exert your powerful influence to rescue them from their degradation. Form schools for girls. Look at the difficulties, the power of idolatry, the spell of caste, the early marriages. Look at their slovenly, slothful habits, and their strong soul-mastering prejudices. But the greater the difficulties, the more effort and prayer are needful. The work ought to be done: we trust you will say, through the

divine blessing, it shall be done. Let prayer and effort never be abandoned till God crown them with success.*

We shall advert presently to the subject of schools for boys.

We would first direct attention for a minute or two to Christian villages. We heard them spoken of by Church of England friends, American Presbyterians, and Baptists, in each case meaning simply, several native families living near together and professing Christianity. We have seen several of these villages. There is one connected with the Baptist Mission at Chitaura near Agra, under the care of the Rev. James Smith. Several houses for natives were built at the expense of Christian friends at Agra, and were soon filled with families, the heads of which gave up caste, expressed a desire for Christian instruction, and a willing determination to support themselves and their families by their own labour. The missionary's bungalow and the chapel are close at hand. More houses are being built to meet the increasing demand for them. Some of the people are weavers, some keep shops, but most of them rent small portions of land sufficient to supply their wants. There are in the village more than 100 persons including children, and 35 have become members of the Church, and a delightful sight it is to see the chapel full of worshippers, worshipping the true and living God through Jesus Christ. At Monghyr several native Christian families are residing happily together with the benefit of missionary superintendence and instruction, and it is hoped that their number will soon be increased. At Surí several families have gathered round the Pastor's house, apparently for the convenience of attending worship, there they have provided their own houses and support themselves by their own labour. In the villages to the South of Calcutta, there are a large number of native Christians generally living near together and supporting themselves by different kinds of work. Some however live among the heathen. It is the same in the neighbourhood of Jessore, and in the numerous Baptist Churches connected with Barisál. In these parts of Bengal, caste is not so powerful as in the upper provinces, and the pancháet is not so uniformly resorted to and obeyed. In the upper provinces scarcely any thing can be done without the notice of the pancháet, an institution strictly belonging to caste, and social as well as religious. The men of the same caste not only eat and drink and smoke the huká and converse and traffic together, but in the pancháet the counsel of the caste, the affairs of their respective families are discussed and arranged.

* We hear with great pleasure that a missionary from the Church of Scotland has lately arrived expressly to promote female education.

It must require courage and determination for a man to break away from the spell and dread of a tribunal which has so many associations, connected with his childhood, and which his parents and ancestors have venerated so highly. Besides, he not only breaks through a strong prejudice,—he also loses his old friends, his relations,—his customers;—all at once desert him,—he is thrown from the place he filled in society; and though this may in some respects be desirable, yet like death, also desirable, it is sometimes very alarming.

It is this spirit of clanship in the upper provinces, which forms one reason for the formation of Christian villages there, and which seems at present to render almost indispensable, some shelter for enquirers, some protection for individuals coming out of the masses of their countrymen, to avow the faith and live the life of the followers of Christ. Such a shelter has been sometimes given in the house of the missionary, or by the employment of new converts as native preachers and catechists, a practice of very doubtful propriety. It is to be feared that some have been engaged and paid as preachers, just because the missionary did not know what else to do with them. If it be however desirable to separate new converts from their countrymen, considered as heathens, it surely is not to separate them in rank and standing in general Society, or to break up and destroy customs and habits in themselves innocent and fitted to the climate, and the fertile land in which God has given them their existence. If once accustomed to live with Europeans, they may become unwilling to return and live with their countrymen. If once habituated to be fed and clothed by missionaries, they may think themselves treated unkindly should that assistance be withdrawn. We cannot reject the testimony of many missionaries that the religion of the native converts partakes something of their general character of slothfulness and infirmity. The expression has been used again and again: They are like children, and you must watch over them as such. For a people we believe of singular simplicity and generally of a timid and dependant spirit, there has been framed a system of idolatry and an idolatrous priesthood, and festivals, and rites, and indulgencies, and austerities of mighty power, and meeting with appropriate fascinations, the different types of human character. And when we consider how bad the heathen are, how their modes of life expose women to degradation and dishonor, entice children to idolatry and vice, and render difficult family worship and private prayer, it certainly seems very desirable that a Christian family should not choose to dwell where it must be surrounded by such a moral atmosphere but should prefer proximity to other Christian families.

If indeed circumstances compel them to dwell among the heathen, let them seek special grace, and exercise special watchfulness.

It is true that some of the missionaries, if we understood them aright, advocate the propriety of Christian families dwelling among the heathen, that by so doing they may make known the Gospel to their neighbours. There is some weight in this, but will it legitimately apply to Christians living among the heathen. It no doubt makes it imperative for them to go amongst them, to instruct them; but may not this be done and done better, when they live apart. Our Lord himself received no right and useful attention in Nazareth. We believe that above Monghyr, there was not a single Baptist Church containing twenty native converts, till the village of Chitaura was formed. There are now 35 converts belonging to the Church there. In the other Churches in the upper provinces, the converts are almost all hanging on the missionary for support out of the mission funds. In Chitaura the great majority of the converts support themselves by their own labour. In Bengal the state of things is in some respects different, especially in the villages. Caste is not so much regarded and many Mahomedans are less prejudiced against the Gospel.

The vicinity of Calcutta though probably injurious in some respects, is useful in this, that it diffuses both general and religious knowledge, and thereby idolatry has lost some of its power. It still indeed presents to the eye its vast channels, but not always full as they used to be. Now and then, as at their festivals, the roar of many waters is there heard; at other times they seem almost dry. Whether any other pestiferous flood will rise and fill the empty spaces or whether the pure waters of the river of life will carry fertility and rejoicing through that important region remains to be seen. The native population of Calcutta though partly free from idolatrous ignorance and prejudice are yet sitting in darkness and the shadow of death; and many of the young men are said to be the slaves of vice and infidel delusion. Individual conversions there are, and a few small native Churches, but it must be confessed that compared with the vastness of the population, they are very small. There are however brighter indications in the villages. There is an aptitude and beauty in the prophetic language as applied to them: "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose." There the voice is heard crying, "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." There the poorest of the people who live at what has been called the fag-end of the universe are seeking the true riches. Those whose dwelling is

where dry land seems to be still in process of formation, and of course somewhat uncomfortable, a paradise for water fowl and frogs, are seeking a better land, that is a heavenly, where clothed in white and wearing radiant crowns, they will for ever celebrate the high praises of Jesus.

It is the same in villages connected with the Jessore and Barisál stations of our mission. Where in similar localities and with people in nearly similar circumstances, great success has attended the preaching of the gospel. Barisál is undoubtedly the most prospered of all our stations. The natives there are very poor, but they seemed to us more athletic, laborious, and independent than in other parts of Bengal. The men are more finely formed, perhaps owing to their having constantly to pass from place to place in boats. Barisál itself in former times was notorious as the city of a daring river-dacoit, and some parts not far off retain a character of that kind. Brought under religious instruction they act with courage and determination. There are regions too of the same kind, which have been visited by some of our brethren along the shores of the broad and mighty Megna and its tributary streams. And in that direction it is very desirable that we should push our efforts with well-directed zeal and earnest prayer. In these localities the people, though they expose themselves to some persecution, run no great risk of losing their employment by confessing their faith in Christ.

While then we are inclined to recommend the formation of Christian villages in the upper provinces, especially to meet existing difficulties, it does not seem necessary to the same extent in Bengal, but there it may be occasionally desirable. It would be very conducive not only to the comfort of the converts, but to their improvement in knowledge and virtue, that when they exist in scattered families or where through peculiar circumstances they are exposed to harassing opposition, as they are in some instances, they should be removed to a spot where they might live and labour together and uninterruptedly discharge their religious duties. Are there no pious men of property who will take land and underlet it at fair rents to the native Christians? We believe they would obtain a fair and safe return for their capital, and they would materially assist the great cause of truth and righteousness and contribute both to the temporal and spiritual welfare of their fellow-Christians.

From villages we proceed to cities.

How is it that in Indian cities, missionary efforts have had so little success. We may suppose that their being the chief centres of idolatry, and therefore the seat of a powerful and interested idolatrous priesthood may be one reason. Another

may be the licentiousness said to prevail among the inhabitants and of which revolting accounts are given. This may make the purity of the gospel distasteful and render the conscience less susceptible of any awakening influence. The spirit of covetousness may be more prevalent there than in the villages. It may be that men in cities more closely compacted together in trade and having abundance of the things of this life, care less about the life to come. And that they feel more their mutual dependance, and have a greater dread of losing their niche and their name in society. All these things may operate; or it may be that we have not yet hit upon the right method or not worked with the right agents. An English Missionary goes out into the street of an Indian city and preaches the gospel there; the first enquiry is, do the natives understand his words? We fear that in some cases where there is apparent fluency there is so much of foreign accent, that they cannot well understand; but we will suppose that they do. A man taught by his mother that sin is not making proper offerings to Káli, sees a Sáhib speaking to a crowd in the street; he stops and hears him say, Repent of sin: he says to himself, I must not neglect my offerings to Káli; and off he goes. Another has been taught by his guru that there is a supreme God of whom he himself and every thing around him is part and parcel, he passes the same way and hears the missionary exhort the people to love God; he says to himself, This is right; and as I am part of God, of course I must love myself; very good. Off he goes, for he too is on some errand. A third is a Musalman, he has read and studied that dry book the Koran, with national pride and with all the eastern love of fable and mystery; well, he comes to the spot and condescends to stop; the missionary says, Seek, my dear friends, the teaching and influence of God's Holy Spirit, that you may know the truth, and that the truth may make you free. What could he say better? But hear the Musalman. What an ignoramus this man must be, not to know that the Holy Spirit means the renowned Mahommed. Let him believe in the Prophet of God and he will be worthy some attention. And with a contemptuous sneer he departs. We believe that scenes like these happen, again and again. We have met with several dear and esteemed brethren who contended almost exclusively for street preaching; but we have not heard one express any strong faith as to its results. They go on preaching thus without expecting to have converts, the heathen hear them without expecting to be converted. Week after week, year after year, they go to the street and the choke, and the melá, and think it a grand thing that they are not abused or

pelted, or threatened with mud as they once were. But the mud and abuse may have ceased partly because the priests find that it is comparatively a harmless affair and they let it alone. Better far to have the abuse and the mud too, if there was but a stir of spiritual life, a movement of men's souls about the saving truth of Jesus Christ. It is the general spread of European knowledge that is undermining and destroying idolatry; and against that the heathen priests are just as powerless as against the advance of the tide or the rising of the sun. Now what we want is, to have this general knowledge imbued with the spirit, and made favorable to the advancement of real, evangelical, spiritual Christianity: but how? No doubt by preaching, and we say, Preach on, and with more heart and more faith, and mind not any difficulties. We believe preaching to be God's ordinance, and honour it highly; but then our great regard to it would induce us to wish that it may never be in vain. We want in cities the same kind of preaching as in villages. In villages the missionary talks with a warm heart to the people, and sometimes dramatizes scriptural scenes, and sometimes chants a tract or a Psalm of David. In cities it may be, there is too much formality. It may not be so, we only wish our brethren to consider it. You may possibly be using the modes of Europe in the 19th century, for a people of the East, and about as simple and ignorant and fond of sights and tales as Europeans themselves were, in the middle ages. Present sights, not to their eyes, but to their minds; tell them tales of heavenly love: carry them with you to Egypt and Sinai, to Tyre and Babylon, to Galilee, Samaria and Judea, and with a living power depict to them the wondrous story of Him, who is the Beloved of the Father, and the joy and glory of the Church.

And then we believe that for cities especially we must have schools under a religious influence, and where Christ's truth shall be honestly taught, along with the preaching, to answer in part the same purpose as the preparation which took place in Palestine. Well, there are Government Schools. There are, from one end of the land to the other. And from them the Bible, the Word of God is excluded. We thank the Government very sincerely that they do not profess or engage to teach the Christian religion; but it may happen that some of those learned gentlemen whom they employ in these schools are really Christians, men who venerate the Bible, and would gladly teach it to their scholars. What right has any prince or potentate of this earth, be he Christian or heathen, to say that a Christian master shall not teach his scholars the truths of Holy Scripture? We say deliberately no man whatever his rank or station, has any lawful authority to keep back from his

fellow-men, when but for such interference they might have it, the revelation which their common Creator has given. What propriety is there in permitting Hindu shāstras and Mahomedan fables to be read, and saying that the Word of the true God shall not be read? Ye princes and judges of the earth, allow us to remind you that there is a day coming when you yourselves must be judged, and how then will you answer for this deed? We ask you neither to teach religion nor to force the Bible upon the unwilling. We only say, Do not prohibit it, let masters who wish to do so read and teach it in your schools; and let them if they wish it give the first half hour to the worship of God; and let parents who object have the liberty to send their children at the close of that exercise. It is said that if Government ordered the Bible to be used, heathen parents from their jealousy of Government would not send their children to the schools; but we plead for its being permitted, not for its being ordered. The fear that parents would not send their children is not supported by any solid reason that we know of. The parents have a great notion of the power of Government no doubt; but they have a strong desire also to connect themselves with it in any way they possibly can, and to obtain for their children a good education, and are willing according to their ability to pay for it. We would respectfully submit this matter for the reconsideration of gentlemen in power. We have met with one uniform feeling of strong regret in extensive journeys in this country, expressed by missionaries and gentlemen of all denominations at the course which the Government have thought proper to adopt and an earnest desire that they would alter it. The shāstras and the Koran have failed; the Bible alone can fill either the palace or the cottage with peace, that book alone supplies motives sufficiently powerful to enforce integrity and truth, and the fear and love of God; and these are both the elements of individual happiness, and the supports of human society. How long then is the Bible to be proscribed by the Government of India? One word more on this subject. There are many men who come to this land in pursuit of wealth and honor. They are as a class intelligent, honorable, useful men, dwelling in palaces and abounding in the conveniences and luxuries both of the East and the West. Since the days when lordly Romans built their stately villas in barbarous Gaul and Britain until now, there has been nothing on so grand a scale. But other men resort to India, men who seek not wealth or honor, whose one simple object is to do a faithful service to God, by making known to the people of these lands His Son Jesus Christ. The natives understand that there is a class of British men among

them who only wish to do them good, and it is already their strongest tie to England. The expressions of gratitude and affection which we have heard them utter towards missionaries and those who sent them, would perhaps surprize, we think would delight, honorable gentlemen who have been fearful of offending these natives by too much of our religion; and these expressions have come from the warm hearts of men, some of whom had been Hindus, and others Mahommedans.

Encourage ye great and mighty of this land, encourage the men who thus bind the natives of India to Britain; encourage the gospel missionary, whatever denomination he may belong to.

But whatever the Government may think fit to do, we, as religious men, ought to have schools under religious influence. In fifty years, a clergyman observed to me, India will be Christianized, but it will be by education. We beg to add, by preaching too; but we thoroughly believe that the missionary society which avails itself most largely of these combined means, will in the end be most successful. The land will never be Christianized, till you gain over the great cities from idolatry, and for this important conquest we must avail ourselves largely of education. It is quite true that there may be some great and unexpected movements, but we are not to wait for such. The idol temples may be suddenly deserted and churches and chapels for the worship of the true God be erected in their stead, if some of the wealthy Hindus, and Mahommedans professed a change of their religion—but danger would exist lest another form of idolatry or superstition should be substituted for the old.

The natives pay great regard to respectability of appearance—get a good school house—a European teacher—require some monthly pay—teach the usual branches as in the Government schools—and there is plenty of room; you will, we think, be sure to get scholars.

There might be expected from such schools at least as large a proportion of direct conversions, as by preaching to the same number of unconverted adults, only you must wait a little longer. We believe there would be a larger proportion.

There would be a general feeling produced in the scholars, if the masters were kind and faithful, in favour of Christianity.

The veneration generally felt by the Hindus towards their teachers, would be given to the Christian master of this school, they would ever afterwards be disposed to listen to him with respect and attention.

Wealthy and respectable natives, brahmans, zemindars and others, would send their sons to such schools for the sake of the general instruction.

A class of young men would thus be prepared as regular or occasional hearers in our city chapels, acquainted with our language as well as their own, and be able afterwards to exercise a wise and legitimate influence over their countrymen.

Already some of the young men, learning English in the Government schools, attend English preaching, which in a missionary point of view, is thus becoming more important.

The state of dependance, to which native young men are accustomed, on their fathers or other relatives, and the general torpidity of conscience among them will probably prevent many from avowing themselves Christians at present ; but wait, and the seed will grow. They will become fathers in their turn. Later in life some will act out their convictions, many will allow their children to do so. If however Christian schools were multiplied, we should not despair of seeing a large number of young men soon forsaking idolatry, and adopting evangelical views and holy and consistent conduct. Sooner or later, if such schools are persevered with, we doubt not that it will be the result ; and then it would necessarily, though indirectly work a great change in their families, it would reach the females, they would tell their mothers and sisters of Christ, they would have a great object in spreading the truth in that direction, that they might get Christian wives.

The natives appear to care little or nothing by whom a school is taught or supported, provided it be respectable, and teaches the usual branches of an English and Indian education. It is with them a double speculation ; their sons may, if thus fitted for it, get into a Government office, they may not become Christians. The real advantages they yet cannot understand, but they will do so by degrees. Let us make our schools really useful, and in the long run, those, where the scholars are trained in the best habits, will probably command the greatest success. It would be very desirable to form in Christian village schools an industrial class, in which, boys whose parents were willing should be taught a useful trade, as tailoring, shoe-making or carpentering ; or the little fellows might go at stated times and under the care of Christian men, to assist and receive instruction in agriculture. If in King's College, London, a workshop is found useful, it need not be disdained or neglected in connection with a village school in India. May we be allowed to mention in passing, that, in one or two villages, granaries for rice have been formed. The people pay a portion of their earnings to a treasurer who purchases rice for them, when it is considered cheapest, and hands it out in proportion to the contributions when it is dearest. It might be practicable here and there to establish a Savings' Bank. But the cities with their

splendour and wealth, their activity and din ! and that Queen of eastern cities, vast and magnificent and noisy Calcutta ! Cannot something more be done for these ? Again and again the question fills the heart of the missionary with disquietude. What thousands of natives continue sunk in idolatry and vice ! How few have repented and turned to the Lord ! All will say, Let us not be disheartened, let us have more prayer, more preaching, more teaching, more sympathy. In this desire we heartily unite. We admire the zeal and talents, and diversified ministrations of the brethren and entreat them to go on.*

There are one or two things that strike a stranger on his coming to Calcutta, or visiting other cities, that may be just mentioned. He is surprized at the great number of black servants in the houses of the English. He thinks, here is a fine opportunity for usefulness ; of course Christian masters and mistresses will avail themselves of it. In some cases they do ; but it is to be feared that the cases in which they do not are numerous. The intercourse between masters and servants is not in English, and servants are not expected to be present at family worship. The English language is a very naughty one, and the servants able to speak it are the greatest rogues. We were assured that we did not know how bad these native servants generally are, how dangerous and inconvenient it would be for them to understand what their masters and mistresses conversed about ; that they are easily inflated with pride, and if they learnt English their vanity would be unbearable, and if induced to make a profession of Christianity, their sincerity could not be depended on. Hence, we are told, it is sometimes made a condition of the hiring, that the servant does not know English. All native servants, it is said, have a disposition to pilfer, but those who know English are the great rogues. Well, let us teach no more writing or arithmetic, for they will certainly enable the rogues who learn them to practise more evil. Was ever any dishonest Hindu or Musalman deterred from a wicked purpose by his not knowing English ? Is there a European in this country whose habits are not tolerably well known to his native servants ? Besides, they must be stupid indeed to hear English talked every day, and not pick up a good deal of it. But as they dare not avow their knowledge of it, they are thus confirmed in habits of concealment and practical falsehood. We have heard of two or three cases in which servants could speak and understand English well, but

* But teach dear friends, as well as preach, seek out inquirers, be faithful to them, be faithful to God. Abraham was willing to sacrifice Isaac. God gave His only begotten Son. The religion of Christ requires and deserves great sacrifices.

were afraid to avow it; and many no doubt are in those circumstances. Some learn it more quickly, and they are greater rogues than others; these two facts do not spring from one another, but from a third fact, that they are the cleverer men. It is true that servants might make a profession of Christianity to please a kind and earnest master, and it is also true that his continued instructions might through God's blessing at last succeed in getting them right, and if not they must answer to God for it. All we have to say is, Let them live on their rice and curry; and be contented with fair wages; and whether you teach them English or not is comparatively unimportant; but do not fail to instruct them in that truth from our common Creator which is for them as well as for you. We could fain wish that Christian ladies and gentlemen would learn Bengali, and that natives were encouraged to learn English, and that all ways of intercourse and communication were opened for the freest and fullest transmission and reception of God's saving truth. God said of Abraham, I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord. The Jews were commanded to rejoice in the feast of tabernacles, not only with sons and daughters, but with men servants and maid servants. David, we are told, returned to bless his house. The relationship of master and servant is recognized in the New Testament, and each party is reminded that he will have to give account to God, of the manner in which he discharges its duties. We submit for your serious and candid consideration, whether a Christian master discharges his duty to God and to his native servants, if he never commands them to keep the way of the Lord. Suppose that in Calcutta there are 1000 pious Europeans,—there may be many more, but suppose 1000,—they would have under direct influence probably not less than 10000 natives. Here is of itself a large missionary field.

It is also worth some enquiry, whether appropriate instruction might not be given to the numerous syces, and bearers who drive or carry Christians to their churches and chapels on Sundays, and spend the time in sleep or gossip. Could not a native preacher or a pious European acquainted with their language, read a portion of Scripture to them, and accompany it with remarks and conversation? These may be considered as for the time the servants of the Church bringing others to the spiritual feast, and yet themselves not receiving even the crumbs that fall from the table. If masters and mistresses, and churches, would thus aim at the conversion of their servants, important results would no doubt follow. Some servants would be called by divine grace, the piety of masters would be more

consistently maintained, and families would be more holy, peaceful, and happy.

The subject leads naturally to another.

The manners of the Europeans towards the natives. It may be thought that this can hardly be generalized, as almost every European has some peculiarity of manner, some are habitually stately, some almost always familiar, one man is hasty and irascible, another calm and patient. Making all allowances for these differences, and for exceptions on principle, is there not a general tone of feeling and kind of manner marking the Europeans in their intercourse with the natives? May it not in one word be designated as contemptuous? We do not mean of course towards native Princes or Zemindars, Mahájans or Bábus, but to the people in general.

First fact. On boardship a European gentleman as he was walking the deck, met a black man and thought he approached too near, he lifted up his foot gave him a good kick, and told him to get out of the way. The gentleman was a kind and pleasant man. It is not a solitary case. Many such occur.

Second fact. The English in India are the acknowledged Lords of the country. Every Englishman, unless he much degrades himself, will be treated with honor and submission by the natives.

Third fact. The natives, especially the Bengalis, are generally timid and servile.

Fourth fact. Every European is greatly superior to the mass of the natives, in knowledge, and in style, and manner of life.

Fifth fact. A few sayings—The natives are generally said to be pilferers and liars, licentious and bad.

Now we believe this to be true of part of the natives, but we protest against the sweep of the charge. What would be thought of a writer, who should describe the English or French generally, by the very worst classes that he could find in those countries, and yet setting aside the awful and gigantic but tottering idolatry of the land; there is scarcely a crime committed here, to which you might not find a parallel in England and France.

A Magistrate said, I have found that the people in the villages speak the truth.

A Zemindar said, The people are generally well behaved, they pay their rents well enough.

A Planter said, I used to beat my people, but I find they do better without.

Missionaries have said, The natives are all idle and good for nothing. These missionaries had had very little success.

Other missionaries have said, We like the natives, they work well, they are willing to listen, they are an interesting people. These missionaries had had considerable success.

For our part we believe the natives are not worse than their descent, training and circumstances would lead you to expect.

But if you treat a man who has no high principle as a liar and thief, and call him such, as we have heard done, you surely confirm him in his evil ways.

Idolatry is incomparably the greatest curse of the country, and the classes directly connected with it, the acting priests and the immediate retainers male and female are generally as bad as you can conceive.

According to a statement we have heard, and if it be true, the second great curse of the country, is the almost universal corruption of native officers of justice. And until English Judges and Magistrates thoroughly understand the language of the people and use their own eyes and ears, frightful injustice will continue to be perpetrated. There can be no doubt that this is a direct result of idolatry and Mahommedanism, but its continuance is in part owing to the fewness of English official gentlemen, and the carelessness of some few amongst them.

The third great curse of the country is the Abkari Department. In plain English, the Government derives a revenue from the intemperance of the people, the more drink the more tax. This pest has spread through the land ; and in cities, towns and villages, the people are enticed by the opening of licensed grog shops, to meet together, to waste their time, to injure their health, and to discuss the affairs of the neighbourhood and the Government. Gentlemen, break up your schools, dismiss your chaplains, forsake your churches. How in the name of common sense, can you support these on the one hand, and patronize grog shops on the other ? It will be with you as it is at home, a Government in everlasting perplexity, and an enormous and increasing expenditure for the repression and punishment of crime, if you thus patronize its birth-places. If you nourish the babe, you will have to contend with the giant. If you scatter the seeds, you will assuredly reap the harvest.

It is right to bear testimony to the high principle of the English judges and magistrates in general, and to their efforts to improve the character and condition of the natives.

Idolatry has no good parts, but it is regarded by its adherents in very different degrees of interest. There are broad differences among the people, Hindus, Musalmans, Buddhists and philosophers of different schools. It is not going too far to say, that many of the people yield a very cold and unwilling

adherence to the external rites of idolatry. It is therefore unjust to charge the worst atrocities of idolatry upon the whole people.

English people do not sufficiently remember that they have to do with an Eastern nation—whose languages, habits, modes of thought, and objects of interest are in important respects different from their own. In the East there is little of what we call patriotism—their attachment is the ancient one of family and tribe. The Hindu cares little who has the government of his country, so long as he and his family and his caste can dwell unoppressed in their own town or village—he has a profound veneration for all superiors whether gods or men—he is strong to bear and to labor—but has little courage to originate or sustain attack—he is haunted and governed by the shadows of the past and has very dim apprehensions as to the future—he is fond of toys, shows, tales and singing—when oppressed or threatened, his natural instinct is to defend himself by fraud or concealment—his attempts to injure others are of the same character, he defames or institutes a false suit. He has abundance of credulity, but little faith—he will not trust his countrymen but will generally trust a European, especially a missionary.

Now look at the country—a great flat,—an immense plain,—much of it neither land nor water. Think of the climate,—burning hot great part of the year,—for some months, floods of rain,—occasionally storms of astounding grandeur,—the winds driving with resistless violence—the earthquake beneath, the heavens fire and thick clouds above. Think again of the history of that land,—from ancient times the wonder and envy of the world for its silks and its muslins, its spices and its ivory. Its political atmosphere has been like its natural one—full of great changes and tempests, and it has been the scene of perpetual commotion, war and bloodshed; and yet the Hindu peasantry has continued almost unchanged, amidst all these changes. And Christianity will do that which the sword of the conqueror has never done, it will improve the condition of the peasantry. With the peasantry we take the artisans of the towns, who, though more demoralized, have in like manner retained their position. A people thus accustomed to bear together the pelting of huge storms, and to come forth unhurt, linked hand in hand, and bound heart to heart, must have some good qualities after all; and the grand thing is to associate them as Christian men in a new and nobler clanship, where feeling a new sense of the individual dignity and responsibility of every man they may yield a hearty, stedfast, practical surrender to the Saviour's precept "Love one another." I believe it is already being carried

out in a way which we their teachers, in our colder climate and with our colder manners, have scarcely attained to.. What a feeling of hallowed friendly unity pervades these little Christian villages! how kind are they to each other in sickness! how generous their hospitality! how deep their domestic affections! What a touching scene it used to be when Nainsuk, on returning from a missionary journey, met his mother, and they fell on each other's necks and wept tears of joy and love. How constantly may you witness the great and tender affection of parents for their children! Let the missionary notice and encourage what is pleasing and amiable in them, and not be ever casting at them reproach and suspicion even though they may deserve them; and let him not teach with an air of cold and distant superiority, but remember that they are children of the same fallen race as ourselves, born to a life of toil and sorrow, often wondering if those sorrows will ever end, often taking themselves to their rice as their only comfort, because they have no teacher to direct them to the living bread—their hearts' corruptions unchecked—their life vain—their death bitter—because they know not him who came to seek and to save the lost. Preach the truth to them in love, win them by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, maintain kind and watchful discipline, instruct them by example, and by fervent prayer bring down the Holy Spirit's influence, and you will both save yourselves and them that hear you.

There is at present no missionary field in the world nobler or more promising than India. Its vast extent, its teeming population, the variety of its races, the connection of some of them with other parts of the earth, and the influence they might exert if converted, demand our continued, generous, and prayerful efforts. The fifty years of varied preparation that have elapsed, the valuable experience thus gained, the repose, security and freedom enjoyed under the shadow of the British throne, the increasing number of pious Europeans, the success mercifully granted in some few places, so full of joyful promise, the general attention given to education, the high character of some of the periodicals both for literature and moral and religious tone, these and other circumstances justify and encourage a bold and cheerful perseverance. We record our gratitude to God for having at first raised up the gifted men at Serampore, and so many others since, who consecrated their talents and their lives to the service of Jesus, and the extension of his kingdom here. We gratefully cherish the memory of their piety and zeal. Nor would we render less cordial praises for the beloved brethren who now bear the heat and burden of the day. Our affections are with you, our high

A TREATISE
ON THE
DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

DESIGNED FOR INTELLIGENT
HINDUS AND MUSSULMANS.

BY THE
REV. E. STORROW.



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CHAPTER I.

‘HE WHO BELIEVES THE SCRIPTURE TO HAVE PROCEEDED FROM HIM WHO IS THE AUTHOR OF NATURE MAY WELL EXPECT TO FIND THE SAME SORT OF DIFFICULTIES IN IT, AS ARE FOUND IN THE CONSTITUTION OF NATURE.’—*Origen*.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

I ENTER on the treatment of this subject, fully aware of its mysteriousness and difficulty. Every question relating to the Divine attributes and nature, needs to be discussed in a spirit of profound reverence and humility ; and yet, next to worship and obedience, no service is so acceptable to God, as a devout contemplation of his attributes. Far be it from me, to repress the spirit of religious enquiry even when it seeks to penetrate into these profound mysteries, which have mastered the loftiest intellects of every age and every creed. It can never advance the principles of truth, or tend to the cultivation of a free, vigorous state of the human intellect, that certain great truths should be tabooed, as too sacred to be approached. Such a course naturally induces the suspicion that all is not right, and thus scepticism and infidelity are engendered. But some things are necessary, beside mere intellectual vigour, would we prosecute our researches after truth with success. We need the conviction that there is a limit to our knowledge,—that to every one there is an *Ultima Thule* beyond which he cannot penetrate,—that truth is such a sacred and glorious thing, that it should be sought and won at every risk,—that our fallibility and ignorance is such, that we absolutely need the teachings of the All-knowing One.

In my intercourse with educated Hindus, I have found that they object to no doctrine of Christianity so strongly, as that of the Trinity. Their objections I have usually found, to be

based on a very superficial knowledge of the declarations of Scripture, on this subject; and on the assumption that a combination of plurality with unity, even in the Divine nature is impossible. To remove these objections therefore is the design of this treatise.

I have no intention of attempting to explain this mystery. Like every thing relating to the Divine nature it is inexplicable. That nature must be incomprehensible by us, simply because it is infinite, and that which is infinite must of necessity be always beyond the grasp of a finite being. But the mysteriousness and incomprehensibility of a doctrine is no reason why we should reject it. Nor do men act so on questions not affecting Christianity. All men believe mysteries. If you ask the unlettered man how it is that a fly can walk on the ceiling of a house, he cannot tell; it is a mystery to him; and yet he believes it, for he sees it. Or, if you ask him to explain the waxing and waning of the moon, or to tell you how it is that the light of a lamp seems always to be passing upward, and yet never flies off from the wick, he tells you he does not know. But though these are mysteries to *him* they are not mysteries to others. Even things familiar to a highly civilized people are altogether inexplicable to the rude and uncultivated. Tell an ignorant Bengali woman that in England people can travel by the aid of fire and water at the rate of eighty miles an hour, and send messages along wires instantaneously, and though she may believe the facts, she cannot understand the *modus operandi* of the facts. Nor is there a single science but which has its mysteries,—its facts, which the learned acknowledge, yet cannot explain. The astronomer still sweeps the heavens with his glass, and never questions the principles of his science, though he cannot discern the laws which govern comets, nor tell the special qualities of a single world of all the millions which are within the range of his observations. The physiologist still studies the structure of the frame, though he cannot tell what constitutes either life, or death. Even the botanist conceals his ignorance from himself, by ascribing the varieties of plants and their growth, to nature,

though he cannot explain the process by which a seed produces invariably the stem, the vessels, the petals of a beautiful flower, with all its rich combinations of colour and of shade, nor even define with any degree of satisfaction what nature is. And in the domains of philosophy there is not a single region where the light does not shade off into darkness, until it deepens into a gloom too intense for aught to be seen. For, is there a question relating to God, to the origin of evil, to the nature of virtue and vice, to the constituent elements of the soul, to its destinies, to its free-will, which has not its ultimate truths into which the wisest cannot penetrate; but checked in their researches are constrained to say, "So far, I can feel my way firmly, but here I must stop; I can penetrate no further,—beyond all is mysterious!" Nor, should it be forgotten that the further our knowledge extends, the greater will be the number of mysteries we feel constrained to acknowledge. It is not to the ignorant only that there are mysteries, to the learned there are far more, because, the deeper we penetrate into any subject, the more distinctly are we made to feel that the ultimate basis of human knowledge is human ignorance. To Peter Bell a daisy is nothing but a daisy, but to the poet-philosopher who wrote about Peter Bell it was much more.

We may proceed a step further, and say, *that, apart from experience we know nothing of the real nature of things.* How many Europeans in India have lost their lives through not knowing the effects of exposure to the sun, or, to the miasma of the jungle? A man without experience and knowledge would be just as likely to eat fruit that would poison him, as fruit that would sustain his life. So again, the slightest acquaintance with natural science will convince any one, that if, instead of growing from childhood to manhood we were created with all our faculties fully developed, we should not know but that the sky was as solid as the earth; whether what we saw before our eyes was a plane surface like a picture, or objects placed a foot or a mile from us; whether a thing was hard or soft, or whether wood and grass were not as fit to eat as rice and plantains! Is it not presumptuous then, for any one, all

whose knowledge is gained by experience, to assert, that a thing beyond his experience cannot be ?

Now if mystery meets us at every step we take on earth, if the remote and even proximate causes of physical phenomena, are hidden ; much more is it to be expected, that, in the department of the spiritual, the infinite, and the Divine, mystery will be found ! A priori reasoning indeed, would lead us to anticipate, that, if ever a divine revelation were given to man, whilst its main facts and doctrines would be distinctly revealed, and therefore easily comprehended ; it would touch of necessity upon some truths, which must, from their very nature, be far beyond the comprehension of man. And that which the analogy of nature would lead us to expect, and a priori reasoning to anticipate, exactly harmonizes with the disclosures of the Bible. It professes not to resolve the mystery of the Divine nature ; its grand design is to teach us how sinful men may regain the favour of God ; but in revealing to us the system of Divine mercy, it alludes,—we might almost say, incidentally,—to subjects necessarily incomprehensible. Truth is taught in the Scriptures both directly and inferentially. The fall of man is revealed to us directly, the fall of angels inferentially. The Divine attributes are directly revealed to us, but the Divine nature is revealed to us indirectly, so far as it is revealed. But singular as it may seem it is yet most true that mankind whilst acknowledging the mysteriousness of the laws and operations of the universe, are unwilling to receive a professed revelation, because subjects which in their nature are confessedly mysterious are not made plain and palpable to the human mind ! We acknowledge that the Bible does contain facts and principles beyond our comprehension, but, instead of regarding this as a proof that it is not inspired, we consider it as one of the necessary characteristics of a divine revelation ; for, in considering the abstract question of a revelation, we should regard it as in the highest degree probable that truths which men could not discern by reason, would, when unfolded and made known, involve principles far transcending our range of intellect, and therefore, of necessity, mysterious. The necessity of a revelation implies that there are truths and

principles above our usual sphere of observation, and it is unreasonable to expect that these higher truths and principles can be brought down to the level of our capacity : and it is yet more unreasonable to reject the truths of a professed revelation, because they are too bright and too vast for our feeble vision calmly to rest upon and explore.

There is another consideration worthy of reflection. It is as our moral Governor that God has given us a revelation. The Bible evidently was not bestowed to unravel mysteries, or to gratify human inquisitiveness about the spiritual and the divine. It was designed to answer a moral purpose of the very highest kind. Is it not then highly probable, and in perfect harmony with a moral system, that some parts of it should be received as true on the bare testimony of God ? Is it not what we might expect, that moral agents should be required to depend on the mere word of their moral Governor, after they have been furnished with abundant proof that His word may be depended on ? If then, in a revelation, beside the truth which beams around us as distinctly and cheerily as the light of day, there are gleamings of light in the midst of the thick darkness at which the eye can barely glance, as when the stillness of midnight is broken by a meteor's flash, it is but what we might expect ; for true, as well as sublime is the thought of an eloquent preacher " a revelation without mysteries is a temple without a God."

CHAPTER II.

I AND MY FATHER ARE ONE.—*Jesus Christ.*
 BUT TO US THERE IS BUT ONE GOD.—*Paul.*

THE SCRIPTURE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY STATED.

ON this and every other religious doctrine we hold the Bible alone to be authoritative. If, therefore, the sacred scriptures contain a revelation of the will of God, and clearly teach any particular truth, we are bound to receive that truth even though it may be to us inexplicable and incomprehensible. And to deduce not merely this doctrine from scripture but even the mode in which it is taught seems necessary, if it be considered, that God Himself knows best how far to draw aside the veil which hides the incommunicable glories of His infinite being, and in what terms to express so much of the mystery of His existence as He sees fit to disclose.

It is important to notice, that the perplexity and obscurity in which theological writers have involved this subject, is never found in the Bible; and since it is only to the declarations of the Bible we feel bound to give assent, it is necessary clearly to understand what God Himself has taught, and to separate the sublime simplicity of His word, from the involved representations of fallible men. The following remarks on this point, distinguished as they are by clearness and strong sense, are worthy of close consideration.

“To distinguish, then, between what is scripturally plain, and what is scholastically or scientifically obscure in this question, let it first be considered that there is nothing in the individual propositions of the Father being God, of Christ being God, of the Holy Spirit being God, which is not abundantly plain. There is nothing obscure either in the general ascription of the Divinity, or in the special ascription of some one or other

of the attributes of Divinity to each of these persons. When it is said that Christ is God, we know what is meant by the subject, and what is meant by the predicate, and what by the copula, of such a proposition. The meaning is perfectly distinct; and just as distinct, too, when either the acts or the perfections of Deity are ascribed to Jesus Christ. We cannot misunderstand the statements, that Christ pre-existed before the world, that he made the worlds, that by Him all things are preserved—that He is the Almighty, the First and Last; neither can we misunderstand the assertions of scripture when it affirms a distinct personality for the Spirit, or when it affirms His Omniscience, or, lastly, when it affirms His Godhead. Viewed as separate propositions, there is nothing incompatible in these sayings of scripture, and there is distinct, and, at the same time, weighty information conveyed by them to the understandings of all men.

“But there is another proposition equally distinct, and in itself equally intelligible—it is, that God is one. Viewed apart from all the other sayings, there is nought obscure surely in this particular saying. There is a comprehensible meaning in each of the four propositions, that the Father is God, that the Son is God, that the Holy Spirit is God, and that God is One. We say there is a lucid and comprehensible meaning in each of them when received in their individuality. Each conveys a sense which the common sense of the people can easily apprehend or lay hold of. In as far as those scriptural informations are concerned, there is not one of them which in itself is chargable with being either mystic or meaningless. There is not one of those sayings a dark saying; and whatever darkness may arise out of our attempts to compare, or to combine, or to form a scheme out of them, in each deliverance, singly, of Scripture, there is a plain averment not to be mistaken by the plainest understanding.”*

It is not unworthy of notice that the greater part of the scepticism which has prevailed on this doctrine has resulted from the presumption and illiberality of men, who have attempted

* Chalmers' "Institutes of Theology."

to define what the Trinity is,—as in the Athanasian creed,—and then anathematised all who could not agree with their dogmas. On such a theme it is profane and unscriptural to dogmatise, especially if we wish to force our creed upon others ; and therefore, repudiating as authoritative every definition of men, we refer our readers to the only authority of Christians,—the revealed Word of God.

And on this, as on every theme of revelation it will be found, that there is a wisdom displayed, such as uninspired writers never attain. In the Bible there is nothing like presumption when speaking of sacred things ; no straining after paradox and effect ; nothing to shock our profoundest feelings of reverence. No book contains so much that is supernatural, and yet no book is so natural. It is just what He who is infinitely wise and good might be expected to unfold. To us it has always seemed to be one of the greatest charms of the Bible, and one of the clearest proofs of its origin from on high, that it perfectly harmonizes with our highest, purest conceptions of what a revelation might be expected to teach, when it touched on the dim boundary between the known and the unknown ; when it unfolds facts which bear on the whole range of science in its highest developments ; when it glances at the grand mysteries which all men acknowledge, but which the wisest cannot unravel ; when it unfolds the earthly history of Him in whose nature centered so undefinably the divine and the human, and when it speaks of Him

“ Whom none can comprehend and none explore.”

Surely if God has ever spoken to men it must be here !

To the Bible then let us turn, to know, where only we can know, how much the divine wisdom is displayed in revealing the divine nature.

1. The unity of God is *the* fundamental truth of Christianity.

The following passages clearly teach this, Deut. vi. 4, “ The Lord our God is one Lord.” iv. 35, “ The Lord he is God ; there is none else beside him.” iv. 39, “ The Lord he is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath : there is none

else." xxxii. 39, "See now that I, even I, am he, and there is no God with me." Isa. xlv. 5. 21, 22, "I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God beside me." "Tell ye, and bring them near; yea, let them take counsel together: who hath declared this from ancient time? have not I the Lord? and there is no God else beside me; a just God and a Saviour; there is none beside me. Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth: for I am God, and there is none else." Psalm, lxxxvi. 10, "Thou art God alone." 1 Cor. viii. 4, 6, "We know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one. But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in Him." James, ii. 19, "Thou believest that there is one God; thou doest well."

We may refer to the entire strain of remark which runs through the Bible as essentially monotheistic, for no where is it possible to find anything like tritheism. It might be excusable in the ages when Christianity was most corrupted, for the followers of Mahommed in their fierce zeal for the doctrine of the divine unity to imagine that Christianity was a system of polytheism and image worship; but it is inexcusable in any educated Hindu or Mahomedan to assert, as is frequently done, that Christians acknowledge three Gods: surely such can never have read our sacred books!

2. The Scriptures attribute to Christ all the attributes and prerogatives of God.

The following are a few of the passages we refer to. John, xx. 28. "My Lord and my God." This was addressed to Christ by one of his disciples, but surely he would have disclaimed the homage offered had he been unworthy of it. John, v. 18, "Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was his father, making himself equal with God," &c. It is therefore very clear that the Saviour *intended*, that the Jews should understand him as meaning that he was equal with God, for he never attempted to correct them. John, i. 1—3, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with

God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him ; and without him was not anything made that was made." Creation is generally considered a divine act, but here it is ascribed to Christ as it is ascribed to God in the beginning of the Bible. John, x. 30, "I and my Father are one." 1 Tim. iii. 16, "And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness : God was manifest in the flesh." Phil. ii. 5, 6, "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus : who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God." We find in numerous passages of Scripture that the peculiar names of God are given to Christ ; and that eternal existence, creative power, omnipotence, omniscience, divine wisdom, unbounded authority, and divine worship are ascribed to Christ as to God.

No one impartially reading the New Testament would conclude that Jesus Christ was only a human being, and the only inference he could draw from its statements would be, that the Bible *meant* to assert, that Jesus Christ was a divine person, who for a great and solemn purpose dwelt for a time amongst men.

3. The Scriptures ascribe divine powers and attributes to the Holy Spirit.

1 Cor. ii. 10, 11. "But God hath revealed them,"—the truths of Christianity,—“unto us by his Spirit : for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him ? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God.” “God only knows the love of God” says one of our poets ; and this passage conveys the same idea,—the Divine Spirit alone can know perfectly the Divine Being. John, xvi. 13, “Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth : for he shall not speak of himself ; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak : and he will shew you things to come.” Acts, v. 3, 4. “But Peter said, Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land ? Whiles it remained, was it not thine own ? and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power ? Why hast thou conceived this thing

in thine heart? thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God." To lie unto the Holy Ghost is therefore to lie unto God.

4. We find in the Scriptures that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, are mentioned conjointly as equal.

The three classes of passages we have just mentioned abundantly prove the truth of this doctrine: but it is to the general, unvarying language of the Bible that we appeal, even more than to any one passage of scripture; yet for the purpose of presenting this doctrine as clearly as possible to the mind, we cite the following passages. Matt. xxviii. 18, 19. "And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." This association of the name of God with that of the Son and of the Spirit could never have been, were it not that they are equal, and one. John, xiv. 16, "And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth." 2 Cor. xiii. 14. "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you." Isa. xlviii. 16. "Come ye near unto me, (the Messiah,) hear ye this; I have not spoken in secret from the beginning; from the time that it was, there am I: and now the Lord God, and his Spirit, hath sent me."*

This then is the doctrine of scripture: 1. There is only one God,—one divine nature. 2. In the divine nature there is the distinction of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. 3. These three have equally, and in common, the nature and perfections of the Infinite God.

* Any one wishing to consult all the passages of Scripture bearing on the subject of this treatise will find them collected and judiciously arranged in 'Jones on the Trinity.'

CHAPTER III.

IT IS HIGHLY CREDIBLE BEFOREHAND, THAT UPON SUPPOSITION GOD SHOULD AFFORD MEN SOME ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTION BY REVELATION, IT WOULD BE WITH CIRCUMSTANCES, IN MANNERS, DEGREES, AND RESPECTS, WHICH WE SHOULD BE APT TO FANCY WE HAD GREAT OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE CREDIBILITY OF.—*Butler.*

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE
TRINITY.

I. We are justified in resting the proof of this doctrine on the evidence of our sacred records. If they be inspired, then what they contain is true, and ought to be believed. And that they are inspired and authentic documents has been proved “many a time and oft.” We may well refer to the masterly works of Paley, Chalmers, Butler, Lardner, and a multitude of other writers on the evidences of Christianity, as incontrovertibly proving the divine origin of our religion. The historical argument especially, in behalf of Christianity we hold to be unassailable—that 1850 years ago Judea was inhabited by the ancestors of the Jews of the present day;—that they had the same Old Testament that we have, and never doubted the truth of the facts it records,—that Jesus Christ lived, and taught, and was crucified among them,—that the Christian religion took its rise at the time and in the manner our sacred books state,—that there were such men as John, and Luke, and Paul,—that they preached, and wrote the books attributed to them, rests upon better historical ground than any other facts of ancient history. It is more rational indeed to doubt the existence of Plato, to question the authorship of the works attributed to Herodotus,* to disbelieve the statements of Grecian history, and to deny

* This has been clearly shewn by Isaac Taylor in his “Process of Historical proof,” in which he demonstrates that we have far more reason to doubt the historical credibility of the “father of history,” than we have the history contained in the New Testament.”

that Hannibal ever crossed the Alps, than to disbelieve the common historical statements about Christianity. These statements have never been disproved. No infidel has ever shewn, or even attempted to shew, that the argument of Paley and Lardner is unsound. And would the clever, flippant, malicious Voltaire; or the proud, penetrating Gibbon; or the daring, disbelieving Paine, have passed by this fortress of our faith, like a light-armed troop of foragers who waste the open country but keep beyond the range of the heavy artillery of an impregnable citadel; if they had possessed the power to shew that *our* story of the rise and progress of Christianity was not the true one? On the other hand, many a sceptic, labouring like the soldiers of Julian the apostate amid the ruins of Jerusalem, to disprove the truth of Scripture, has been driven back confounded, or convinced that Christianity could alone be from God.

But historical evidence is not the only kind of proof we can adduce in favour of the divinity of our faith. The evidence from prophecy is unassailable. What God spoke long centuries ago, respecting the Jews, the Arabs, and the descendants of Ham; Egypt, Judea, and Edom; Babylon, Nineveh, and Jerusalem, is true at this day; deny it who can. Nor is the argument from the influence of pure Christianity, when diffused by the supernatural agency of the Holy Spirit much less powerful. But into the question of the Christian evidences it is not our design to enter. Taking our stand on the impregnable position which such writers as we have mentioned have gained for us, we assume, that which cannot be disproved, and demand the belief of those truths which the Bible contains.

It follows then, that, whatever we find revealed in the Bible, be it ever so mysterious and inexplicable, we are bound to receive as true, because taught by God. If it be asked, but are we to receive as true that which is contradictory, and opposed to reason? the reply we give is this; It is impossible that a revelation from God can be either the one or the other. The Bible contains mysteries, but no contradictions: it contains revelations which reach far beyond our reason, as the summit of a mountain whose base we see, stretches far beyond our sight,

but nothing opposed to reason : and as reasonably might any one doubt the existence of a summit to Dewalgiri because it is hidden in the clouds, as call in question the sovereignty of God, the evil of sin, the divine attribute of goodness, or even the divine existence itself, because there are ultimate conclusions belonging to these, beyond the reach of our profoundest investigations. He then who rejects the doctrine of the Trinity, is bound to shew, that the book which teaches it is unworthy of belief.

The following remarks by Lord Eldon, a man of strong sense and keen penetration, are worthy of deep attention. Let but the impartial and intelligent course of reasoning be pursued and adopted which is here indicated and we fear not the result of the investigation.

“ * * * I confess I am not quite so anxious as others, better informed perhaps, may be, to find the doctrines of natural and revealed religion altogether intelligible. In the former there are many which are above my reason, and yet they must be true. That a divine Being does exist, the Author and Preserver of all created beings, himself uncreated and existing from eternity, is a truth of which I have no doubt, and I never could bring myself to think that any reasonable being had a doubt of it—and yet how much ‘*how this should be*’ (undoubted as it is that it *must be* so) is above the comprehension of him who ‘seeth through a glass darkly.’ So, as to the doctrine of the Trinity—I don’t object to it, if it be represented as a perfect mystery. Compelled to believe in the doctrines of natural religion, though many of them are above my reason, why I should withhold my assent to such of the doctrines of revealed religion as are so, I know not. Upon this I say, ‘If ye believe in God, believe in me also.’ I go a short way to work in this great matter. If the matters communicated in the sacred books, are communicated by the God of truth, they must be true. I have asked myself therefore, 1st. Has this communication been made by the God of truth? If it has, 2ndly, What doth the communication contain? I have not been so far led astray from the great purpose of human life, of this state of trial and probation, as not to have often and often en-

deavoured to enable myself 'to give a reason to him that asketh, of the hope that is in me.' I have looked, therefore, into the evidence of these things, and I have no doubt of the divine origin of the sacred volume. If so, what is therein contained? If the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity is not therein contained, I can only ask him who can prevail upon himself so to say, 'How readest thou?' Assuredly not as I read,—for unless, (coming to the consideration of this important matter a believer in natural religion with all its difficulties about it,) I am to twist every thing I find in revelation till I can represent it to myself, not as it is, but as I think it should be, in the foolish purpose to bring it down to the level of my reason; I must read and understand *as it is written*. If *this* doctrine is *not* there revealed, I know none respecting the being of God that *is* there revealed. Indeed the whole Bible scheme of man's redemption, the whole Bible scheme of this world and that which is to come, appears to me very mainly to depend upon it: and when the man of reason tells me he understands the Godhead better, if he believes as a Unitarian, than I do who believe the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, I am content that he should think as meanly as he pleases of my understanding; but on the other hand, I humbly pray to God to forgive his presumption. When the question was asked, 'Can these dry bones live?' I think the answer was, 'Oh Lord God, thou knowest.' When the question is asked, 'Can these three be one?' my answer is, 'The Lord God knoweth.' He has said it, if there be truth in Scripture."*

II. But we have no objection to consider this doctrine upon ground more approved, at least by those who call it in question. We affirm then, that there is no antecedent incredibility in the belief of a plurality in the Divine Unity. It is not like one of those supposititious cases, which, as soon as stated, the mind at once, and from an intuitive conviction of its falsity, rejects. *It is possible*;—for ought that appears to the contrary it may be.

The objects of creation are only known by their properties

* Twiss' Life of Lord Eldon. Vol. II.

and accidents; of their actual essences we are ignorant; yet, that they possess peculiar essences which form the basis of their properties cannot be denied. Even the original springs of those laws which govern the physical universe are altogether hidden from us. The proximate causes of gravitation, and attraction, who shall tell, or reveal to us that mysterious power which operates alike in uniting the dew-drop to the leaf, and worlds to worlds, whose distance from each other we cannot measure?

Is it surprising then that we can discover nothing as to the essence, and mode of existence of the Infinite God? His infinity cannot be denied, and yet it is inconceivable by us. The eternity of God cannot be a living on through boundless time; to Him there cannot be the distinctions of past, present, and future; His existence must be an everlasting *now*; but this is beyond our comprehension.

For, it should be remembered, that the knowledge we possess of God is *not of the same kind* as that which we have of ourselves, or of any created being: since, the only way in which we can know God is by a *comparison* of his attributes with the qualities and characteristics which we find in ourselves and in others. Thus as man cannot conceive of things, beyond the sphere of himself; God in the Bible speaks as though he thought, felt, and acted as a human being, because it is not possible otherwise to bring within our comprehension a representation of the divine nature and attributes. Since then, no human language contains terms capable of adequately expressing the divine acts and attributes, we know nothing of God, *as it is in God*; and are necessarily dependent upon feeble and inadequate comparisons and analogies, for any knowledge of Himself which he may be pleased to impart, beyond the disclosures he has made in his works.

And if our knowledge of the principles and laws of nature be so limited; and if of necessity the divine nature and existence be inexplicable to us, shall we affirm that the infinite and unknown essence of the Deity cannot comprise a plurality of distinctions, and at the same time be essentially one? "For

any thing that we know, or have a reason to assume, the combination of Unity and Plurality may be one of the unique properties of the Divine Essence ;—a necessary part of the *SOLE* Perfection which must include every real, every possible excellence ;—a property peculiar to the Deity and distinguishing the mode of *HIS* existence from that of the existence of all dependent beings.”*

Besides, it is *not* opposed to our reason that the divine nature should be altogether peculiar. On the contrary, it accords best with the suggestions of mere reason to suppose, that the divine nature has a mode of existence very different to that of any created being. All religions attribute to the supreme peculiar qualities which professedly are known ; and speculate largely upon his *supposed* qualities which are acknowledged to be unknown. The Great Spirit of the North American Indians, the Brahm of the Hindus, the Adi Buddh of the Buddhists, and the Allah of the Mussulmans, are supposed by their worshippers to be but imperfectly comprehended by man : nay, that very doctrine we are attempting to establish, and which is so dogmatically declared to be unreasonable, has been darkly guessed at by the learned of almost every form of belief, as we shall afterwards shew.

That which constitutes a person is an organized nature and a subsisting power, which we call life ; and the essential quality which constitutes a person is existence, or subsistence, for where that is extinct the organized nature ceases to be a person. But organized nature does not always bear one form. Even its animated types are most diverse, and seem capable of endless modifications. May not the modes of existence be as capable of endless variety as the natures of beings are ? And therefore, though it seem to be necessary for created beings,—as far as we know,—that one single essence subsists in one single person, this by no means implies that the same law must apply to the Almighty whose nature is not created but uncreated, and consequently, may differ as much in the mode of his existence ; and so for aught that can be proved to the contrary,

* Dr. Pye Smith's " Scripture Testimony to the Messiah." Vol. I.

may have one and the same nature diffused though three subsistences.*

To limit the divine perfections by asserting that the infinite nature of God cannot be triune, is in the highest degree presumptuous, when we consider how contracted is the range of human knowledge with regard to qualities and modes of being, which do not come under our own immediate observation. Even our knowledge of the moral attributes of God is based upon our acquaintance with those moral qualities which are displayed amongst men, and not upon any abstract conception of the divine character, and so our views are necessarily most imperfect ; for, divine pity and divine goodness, for instance, are but dimly symbolized by human pity and human goodness. And yet it is only by such feeble aid that we can conceive of God at all. The operation of infinite power when the divine will sees fit to exert it is necessarily inexplicable to us, and since it is a thing which words cannot literally declare, it is spoken of in condescension to our ignorance, as the “ making bare of his arm.” And as it is impossible for us to conceive of another sense beside the five we possess, so we are incapable of forming any distinct conception of any attribute or perfection which we ourselves have not ; or even to understand at all how there can be such attributes and perfections. Are we therefore justified in concluding that there cannot be another sense, or in deciding that the range of being, and of

* It should be remembered that we do not use the word *person* in its ordinary sense, as applied to men, but as expressive of a real distinction in the Godhead. When we say that there are three persons in the Godhead we mean something very different by the words to what we do when we say, there are three persons—men—engaged in such and such an undertaking. It may be asked, why then use the same term when the meaning is different ? We reply ; every one should know that we use the term in relation to the divine Being in a peculiar sense, without pretending exactly to define what that sense is, excepting by negative terms. The poverty of language perpetually compels men to adopt terms by which to express themselves in relation to one thing, as they never dream of doing in relation to another, though they use the same expression. In relation to the metaphysical, the abstract, and the spiritual, necessity compels us to affix a meaning to terms very different to their ordinary signification.

attribute with which we are familiar embraces the sum of all that can be? And do we most display our wisdom or our presumptuous folly, when we conclude that a particular attribute or quality cannot belong to the UNSEARCHABLE, simply because we cannot understand how it can be possessed by Him? Ah! it is a fearful perversion of the intellect which the Father of spirits has given to us, and a haughty insult to His Majesty, when, arrogantly pretending to the knowledge we have not, we affirm "it is plain that there is not, and cannot be in God, the distinctions of Father, Son, and Spirit." "Imaginest thou that thou canst search out what God searcheth out? And to reach to the perfection of the Almighty's understanding?" If God were not incomprehensible he would be no God.

III. The objections urged against the doctrine of the Trinity are incapable of proof. Nearly all the objections we have heard have been, not against the doctrine as we understand it, but against erroneous conceptions of it. "If the Father be God; and the Son, God; and the Holy Ghost, God; then there must be three Gods," it is said. Now this mode of expression is erroneous, because it seems to attribute a separate divine nature to the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; but though they equally partake of the divine nature, we nowhere in Scripture find that the least colour is given to tritheism. "How," again we have heard it said, "can three be one and one three." To which we simply reply, "Granted, it cannot be." But what intelligent Christian would give this, or any similar term, as an explanation of this divine mystery? We altogether repudiate these crude and unscriptural representations as calculated to mislead,—they are not explanations but misrepresentations.

. But even the objections are unsupported by the least proof. To assert that it is contrary to reason,—to declare it impossible,—to say it is a contradiction, is no proof at all. How do you know this? we ask. Whence did you get the knowledge which enables you to say, that such a thing must be contradictory and impossible? As well might the ignorant ryot who knows not a letter of the alphabet call in question the highest revelations

of astronomical science ; or the pundit deny the rotundity of the earth, because it agrees not with *his Shastras*. Even to decide in questions of doubt between man and man, without sufficient evidence, is reprehensible ; but to decide on the limits of the possible and impossible with respect to the mode of existence of the Infinite Spirit, on a question of which we know nothing,—if we reject the disclosures of the Bible,—is yet more so ; for they, whose positive knowledge is bounded by the range of their senses, and who cannot therefore definitively affirm anything of what they will be to-morrow,—of the modes of being in any world besides their own, or even judge so well as others of many of their own motives and designs, should hesitate in asserting what God *is*, or what God *is not*. But if the Scripture doctrine be true, then it must be true, absolutely, as a fact, that God is Triune : for who will not admit that for a thing to be one precisely in that respect in which it is three, is a contradiction ? but to assert that that which is one in a particular respect, may be three in another respect is no contradiction, and it is this we affirm of the divine nature. And this fact cannot contradict any intelligible law, nor be opposed to reason, though it may be beyond the comprehension of *our* reason : for no truth can contradict another truth, because as Dr. South remarks, if two truths could contradict each other, then two contradictions might be true. If therefore it be true religiously, according to the doctrines of revelation, that one nature may subsist in three persons, the same cannot be false in reason. Absolute truth presents the same aspects through whatever medium it is viewed. Viewing the question therefore apart from revelation, there is nothing in reason to prove that there is a Trinity in the divine nature ; but then this also is as true, that there is nothing in reason, able to disprove it, and to shew it to be impossible. They therefore who assert that the doctrine of the Trinity is false, affirm that which they are absolutely unable to prove. A revelation whose credentials are complete and indisputable teaches it ; the very nature of Deity, however conceived of, absolutely precludes the proof that He is *not* triune ; all the

facts of nature, and all the forms of being with which we are acquainted, shew, not that this cannot be, but that it *may* be; and thus its denial rests upon the *bare assertion* of its rejecters.

IV. This doctrine instead of being opposed to reason accords with the most intelligent views we can form of the Divine Existence.

Even the endless forms of being by which we are surrounded should lead us to expect, that beyond the range of our observation there may be yet other forms in countless variety, altogether different to those with which we are acquainted. The limits of the possible, where are they? Modern astronomy has disposed us to expect endless forms of order, of beauty, and of magnificence, to be yet discovered in the hidden depths of the heavens by telling us of treble stars, of a central sun, and a nebular theory. Geology has taught us that long before the present organism of the earth existed, another flourished,—and it may not have been the first,—in which there dwelt gigantic forms of animated nature of which no living types are now to be seen. Chemistry has taught us that there are properties in nature of which our fathers never dreamt. These are to us a sort of natural revelation, which at least should check our scepticism with respect to the unseen and unknown,—as we have formerly observed. Even our knowledge of the objects around us is most superficial. What is the nature of the principle of life, who can tell? What are the sensations of the fire-fly, the grasshopper, and the ant are altogether unknown to us. How the gratification of desire, the presence of pleasing, or hateful objects, and the promptings of instinct affect brutes, is to us absolutely unknown. Nay, have not even good and high-minded men thoughts and aspirations which if told to others are either denied or not understood? Again, have not all writers of eminence, whether they be heathen, infidel, or Christian, acknowledged that the divine nature is incomprehensible, which of course precludes any declaration that it cannot be Triune. Nay, indeed, for aught writers who speculate without admitting the principles of the Bible, teach, the Christian conception may be true, we argue from the fact,

that they teach nothing positive respecting God. The god of the Koran, the god of the Vedas, and the god of the Zendavasta are not the same. They are great conceptions, we admit, of a supreme Being, but they are as false as they are great. Nor is there more harmony in the conception of Plato, of Sakya Muni, of Vyasa and of Kopila.

If then we are absolutely ignorant of the nature of the creatures below us; if we have every reason to believe that creation contains endless forms of organised and unorganised life of which now we know nothing; should we not expect, that when we lift our minds from the creation to the Creator, from the finite to the infinite, we shall find that God is absolutely alone in the mode of his being; and that in Himself are concentrated all possible perfections; as though to shew his wondering and adoring creatures, that, inexhaustible in *their* conceptions, as are the forms of being with which he has filled the universe, yet that He as the Origin and Lord of that universe, is, and must be, the concentrated embodiment of all the magnificence, beauty, and goodness He has made; and yet in such a manner, that He yet infinitely transcends all He has created, and is Himself alone the centre and the sum of all perfection! And this idea is rather confirmed than weakened by the reflection, that men naturally ascribe to Him incomprehensibility, which is another term for perfections that are infinite; and that one of these perfections is the union of oneness with plurality, cannot consistently be denied by those who acknowledge, that, beyond the range of their powers "there will remain for ever infinite depths of Deity, hidden from all finite intelligences: depths full of perfections, of which man, in his present state, can form not the smallest idea."

Is then such simplicity, or absolute oneness as deists attribute to God, an infinite perfection or no? Though no figure is justly applied when employed to illustrate such a perfection of the Almighty as we wish to shew exists, yet it is clear, that, even the analogy of nature, which is everywhere not simple, but compounded, might teach us that a similar quality, infinitely perfected, might be an attribute of the divine nature; and to

us there seems an appropriateness, and dignity,—if so we may speak—in the Christian conception of the Divine Unity, of which the naturalist's conception is altogether deficient. "Whatsoever simplicity"—says the most dignified and majestic of English divines—"the ever blessed God hath by any express revelation claimed to himself, or can by evident and irrefragable reason be demonstrated to belong to him, as a perfection, we ought humbly and with all possible reverence and adoration, to ascribe to him. But such simplicity as he hath not claimed, as is arbitrarily ascribed to him by over-bold, and adventurous intruders into the deep, and most profound arcana of the divine nature ; such as can never be proved to belong to him, or to be any real perfection ; such as would prove an imperfection, and a blemish, would render the divine nature less intelligible, more impossible to be so far conceived as is requisite, as would discompose and disturb our minds, confound our conceptions, make our apprehensions of his other known perfections less distinct or inconsistent, render him less adorable, or less an object of religion, or such as is manifestly unreconcilable with his plain affirmations concerning himself, we ought not to impose it upon ourselves or be so far imposed upon, as to ascribe to him such simplicity."* On the other hand, that simplicity combined with unity, which we attribute to God, seems fully to harmonise with the justest dictates of our reason ; and though we would not presume to speak authoritatively on a subject which rather demands of us profound adoration, yet there is so much true philosophy, and rational probability in the following observations, that we quote them, as shewing, at least, that our conceptions of the divine nature are neither contradictory, unphilosophical, nor irrational. "There appear to be very reasonable grounds for supposing, that this doctrine, or some other resembling it, would be a necessary deduction from the fact of the ABSOLUTE PERFECTION of the divine nature. The notion of Supreme and Infinite Perfection cannot but include EVERY POSSIBLE excellency, or, in other words, every attribute of being which is not

* Howe's *Calm Enquiry* concerning the possibility of a Trinity in the Godhead.

of the nature of defect. It must be premised that creation had a beginning. At whatever point that beginning may have been, whatever multiples of ages imagination or hypothesis can fix upon to carry that point backwards, the point will stand somewhere. Before that position, therefore, *a duration without beginning* must have elapsed. Through that period, infinite on one part, it is incontrovertible that nothing can have existed except the Glorious Deity. But, if the unity of the Divine Nature be such a property as excludes every kind of plurality, the properties of *active life, tendency to diffusion* and *reciprocity of intellectual and moral enjoyment*, (which are perfection of being) must have been through that infinite duration, in the state of *absolute quiescence*. It seems to follow, that, *from eternity*, down to a certain point in duration, some perfections were wanting in the Deity: the Divine Mind stood in an immense solitariness:—the infinitely active life, which is a necessary property of the Supreme Spirit was from eternity inactive;—no species of communication existed;—there was no development of intellectual and moral good, though in a subject in which that good has been necessarily, infinitely, and from eternity inherent. I feel the awful ground on which I have advanced, in putting these suppositions; and I would humbly beseech the Divine Majesty to pity and pardon me, if I am guilty of any presumption:—I am, also fully attentive to the attribute of ALL-SUFFICIENCY as a necessary property of the BLESSED and Adorable Nature. But when I have given every consideration of which I am capable, to this most profound of subjects, I cannot but perceive it as a strong and even invincible deduction of reason, that the denial of such a plurality in the Infinite Essence as shall admit of a development from eternity of the ever active life, and communion from eternity in infinite good, is a denial to the Supreme Nature of something which is *essential* to Absolute and Infinite Perfection.”*

Or to express the same idea in the words of one of our most eloquent living writers. “But what finite mind can conceive the conditions included in Absolute perfection! To evolve

* Dr. J. Pye Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah.

these will require eternity ; for could they be evolved in less they would not be unlimited. All that we can say, therefore, or shall ever be able to say, is, that whatever the amount of mystery included in the objective universe may ever be, the probability is, that the proportion which it bears to the mystery of the Divine Nature, will be that of the limited to the unlimited ; that if infinite perfection implies infinite mysteriousness, which it certainly does, then infinite mysteriousness must ever form one of the distinctive excellences of that perfection ; that if the operation of infinite activity (either of love, or power, or of any other excellence) be essential to infinite perfection, and if such activity could not be agent and object at the same time, and in the same act, and yet no object, *ab extra* existed from eternity, then must it have existed in the Divine nature itself ; in other words, the Divine nature must include a plurality of distinctions, and include it as one of its necessary conditions, or essential perfections ; that if no exercise of the Divine efficiency, *ab extra*, can ever be adequate to its infinite perfections, and yet such adequate exercise : in some way, must always be necessary to infinite perfection, then must it be one of the excellences of the Divine nature, not only that it would include a plurality of distinctions, but that the adequate sphere of its infinite activity should be its own infinite perfections ; that if a God in unity, without internal distinctions, or diversity of modes, be incapable of moral affection, because having had nothing, *ab extra*, from eternity to love, then such internal distinctions must ever have existed as elements of reciprocal, social, self-sufficient perfection, and that if such plurality be an excellence, and if unity be an excellence also ; and if there be any respect in which this plurality of one kind can consist as an excellence with this unity of another, then it will certainly be included in absolute perfection. And further, this perfection implies not only that all the excellence which it includes is simple, uncompounded, one, but that God and it are identical : that it is not an adjunct of His being, but His being itself.*

* The Pre-Adamite Earth. By Dr. Harris.

CHAPTER IV.

IN GOD ARE ALL KINDS OF POWER AND SPLENDOUR.—*Byasa*.

BELIEVE ME THIS IS DONE BY HIM, WHOSOEVER HE WAS, THAT FORMED THE UNIVERSE, WHETHER THE ALMIGHTY GOD HIMSELF, OR THE INCORPOREAL REASON, OR THE DIVINE SPIRIT, DIFFUSED THROUGH THE LEAST AS WELL AS THE GREATEST OF ALL THINGS.—*Seneca*.

THUS THERE IS BUT ONE SUPREME BEING THOUGH ASSUMING THREE FORMS ; WHOSE DIVINE NATURE IS WONDERFUL AND INCOMPREHENSIBLE.—*Lainga Puran*.

THE GENERAL PREVALENCE OF A BELIEF IN THE PLURALITY OF THE DIVINE NATURE AMONGST HEATHEN NATIONS.

THIS doctrine of Christianity is often said by its rejectors to be unreasonable and unphilosophical. If, however, the opinions of philosophers are to be considered as indicative of that which is philosophical, we shall be able to show that *ours* is the opinion which must be pronounced philosophical. It is necessary and but fair that we state, that we do not look upon the opinions of Plato, of Hermes, and of Byasa as authoritative, either on this, or any other question ; but we cite their views for two reasons : 1. We thus take those who hold other views than ours on their own ground. We appeal to *their* masters. We call in the testimony of names which they revere. “ Divine philosophy,” shall speak, nor have we reason to dread her decisions. 2. There is at least an air of probability in the opinions of men who have speculated most profoundly on a given subject,

when they arrive at a uniformly general conclusion. That which commends itself to the judgment of the great majority of minds when they are free to receive the most probable opinion, is at least, likely to be true. Hence the universal belief in a future life, in a future state of rewards and punishments, and in the being of a God, have always been considered as legitimate arguments in favor of these truths. The Roman phrase, "The voice of the people is the voice of God" expresses a great truth, though like all great truths it has its night side of error. Now, that there is no general belief in men's minds of a peculiar mode of being in the divine nature proves nothing, because on such a question men generally have no opinion at all. It is too speculative and profound a theme for ordinary minds to care for. But on the contrary, have not the few most richly endowed with intellectual gifts and a devout spirit, who have thought profoundly on questions connected with the divine nature, almost all come to the conclusion that God must have a mode of being and a mode of existence, altogether different to anything we are acquainted with? And is it not equally true of those who have ventured to define their speculative conceptions, that they have made most singular approaches to the doctrine we are supporting? But let us cite proof of this.

It is but fair to observe that we do not offer the following statements as *proofs* that the *Christian* doctrine of the Trinity is true: we cite them as illustrative of the fact, that, the *conception* of a Trinity is far from being so absurd and unphilosophical as some would have us suppose. We acknowledge that the speculations of Plato, of Sákhyá Muni, of Plotinus, and of Zoroaster were false, but we nevertheless refer to these speculations as shewing, that great and profound minds have *not* conceived of God as an absolute unit, in the deistical sense of that term, but that on the contrary, they have entertained the idea of that unit being combined with plurality.

1. There appears to be no doubt that Plato believed in a Trinity, though his views have been differently interpreted. "God," it is said he taught, "first conceived of the plan of the world ideally in his infinite mind. The real world was then

formed after the model of this ideal world ; this was done by uniting the soul of the world, which was an emanation from the Divine Being, with matter, by which the world became a living, sensitive power, controlled and pervaded by this soul which had proceeded from God." The three principles of Plato were, the supreme God, whom he calls *father* ; the divine understanding, which he calls, the *word*, and *wisdom* ; and the *soul* of the world. Though in some respects he distinguished the two last from God, he nevertheless considered them as belonging to God by being derived from Him.*

2. The learned Jews who lived in Egypt, Greece, and Syria, engrafted on the faith of Moses the opinions of the heathen philosophers, and especially those of Plato ; they were encouraged in this by the notion that Plato had been led to embrace certain philosophical views from the study of the Old Testament writings,—a surmise by no means improbable. Thus Philo an Alexandrian Jew who lived at the beginning of the Christian era, and is considered to have been more a Platonist than a Jew, frequently calls the Logos, the Son of God, the first born Son of God, the first servant of God ; and in his writings a kind of Trinity is frequently alluded to. In his work "Concerning the making of the World," he mentions a supreme God, and one begotten of Him, who was full of the Spirit of God. He says in his book—"De Monarchia"—"The Logos is the image of God, by whom the whole world was constructed." In another work, now lost, but part of which is preserved by Eusebius, he says : "For nothing mortal can be conformed to the image of the Supreme and Father of all, but to that of the second God, who is His Logos."

3. Dr. J. L. Mosheim says, that most ancient nations worshipped three primary Gods, although they acknowledged a multitude of gods beside. These by the more philosophical were called a Trinity of causes, and a Trinity of principles. Thus Plotinus one of the most celebrated of the Platonic philosophers of the third century, speaking of the second, calls him the "second God." "And this nature is God, I say a second God, offering

* See Plato's *Timæus*.

himself to view before that other God can be seen, who is seated above, this being as it were the glorious throne of him. For it is not fit that he should be immediately seated in any that is inanimate, nor in mere soul neither; but that there should be such an immense beauty and splendour shining before him like the pomp and procession before the great king." Again. "Wherefore this world may well be called an image, it depending upon that above—as an image in a glass, which is threefold. Whereof the first and second god always stand immovably; the third likewise is in itself stable too, but accidentally moved by reason of the mobility of matter, and things below it."

There are singular traces among the old nations and tribes of Europe of this belief. The Vandals worshipped a god whom they called *Triglaf* who was represented as having three heads. "*Trium Deat, or Lord in Trinity*, was worshipped in a most magnificent temple at Upsal in Sweden; and was, in general acknowledged by all the northern heathen."* A very singular coincidence may be traced between the Triad of the Hindus, and that of the people of Northern Europe; in that of the latter, Odin represented the supreme God, Thor the creating, and Freya the sustaining deity.

A very ancient Tibetan medal in the cabinet of the emperor of Russia proves very clearly that at least among many in that country a Trinity was recognized. On one side of the medal is a representation of the deity, like the ancient German *Triglaf*, with *three heads upon one body*. Upon the reverse is this inscription. "The pure holy image of the Deity is under these *three forms*: gather ye the holy will of God from them; and love him."†

4. Plutarch writing "concerning Isis and Osiris," attributes a belief in a Trinity to the Egyptians. "The more excellent and divine nature consists of three,—of the intelligible, of matter, and of that which is compounded from that which the Greeks call, the world."—"Again:—The Egyptians, it is probable,

* Mortraye's Travels, Vol. II. p. 357.

† Dr. Parsons, Remains of Japhet.

likened the nature of the universe to the most beautiful of triangles, and supposed Osiris to be the principle, Isis the recipient, and Orus the effect." St. Cyril cites the following passage from an old Egyptian writer. "The world hath a Governor set over it, that Word of the Lord of all, which was the Maker of it: this is the first power after Himself,—uncreated, infinite, looking out from Him, and ruling over all things that were made by Him; this is the perfect, genuine Son of the first omniperfect Being." Modern discovery has fully shewn, that the triple conception of the divine nature was undoubtedly known in the land of the Pharaohs. The following passage from Champollion most clearly shews this:—"A new generation of gods appears on the walls of the temple of Calabshe in Nubia, which completes the circle of the forms of Amoun, from whom all the divine essences issue, and in whom they all meet. Amoun-ra, the Being, supreme, primordial, and self-produced, is entitled the husband of his mother, the goddess Mout, that is, the mother; or, in other words, his female-half, which is also one with himself, and he is frequently so represented. All the other gods of Egypt are but modifications of these two forms, taken separately; regarded under another aspect, they are but pure abstractions of the Supreme Being. The primary form, or antitype of the entire mythology, is a triad of divinities composed of Amoun the father, Mout the mother, and Chons the infant son. This triad passes through an immense number of intermediate triads, until it reaches the earth, where, under the forms of Osiris, Isis, and Horus, it becomes incarnate. But a curious device exhibits the unity and identity of the whole of this circle of monadic triads. Horus the lowest link, returns upwards under a new emanation, Amoun-Hor, and assumes the Amonian title, husband of his mother. Isis is blended with Mout, and their son Malouli is invested with attributes of Chons, the infant son, in the first triad."* There is a significancy about the views here noticed which precludes their being the result of chance or caprice. Men without some knowledge of the Trinity and Unity existing in the divine na-

* Champollion's Letters from Egypt.

ture, would not have been likely to have framed such a system. Nor is there the least improbability in supposing, that they learned it from some of those persons who retained a correct knowledge of religious truth. Some writers refer to the Triad, Eicton or Intellect, Cneph or Energy, and Phtha or Wisdom ; as offering a striking illustration of the theogony of the Egyptians. Could we fully depend on the authenticity of the writings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, they would afford the most conclusive evidence, that a belief in the triune nature of God was fully admitted by the learned in Egypt. He is said to have taught that there were three principal powers, or forms in God, and yet that the Deity was essentially one. His name is said to have been given him because he asserted that in the *one* Deity there was a Trinity. But since the accounts we have of him are uncertain and vague, we rest not on the writings attributed to him. For the same reason we reject a large amount of evidence which might be drawn from the writings of the school of the new Platonists, only remarking, that the numerous passages they profess to quote from writings now lost, at least indicate a basis of truth and of correspondence with their own favourite ideas, on the part of those whose testimony they cite.

5. There seems to be no doubt, that the ancient Persian system as taught by Zoroaster, was not without indications of a threefold combination in the Deity ; for according to Numenius, he taught that the supreme God made all things by his Wisdom, and his Love ; terms which indicate something more than mere attributes. We may allude to the three chief divine powers—Mithras, Ormuzd and Ahriman ;—the idea they present of a supreme Ruler, the Lord of Light or Goodness, and the Prince of Darkness or evil, is not without significance ; and ancient writers have not failed to remark the striking agreement between the Trinity of Plato and that of Zoroaster. For instance, Plutarch says : “ They say that Zoroaster made a threefold distribution of things, and that he assigned the first and highest rank of them to Oromasdes who in the oracles is called the Father ; the lowest to Ahrimenes ;

and the middle to Mithras, who in the same oracles is likewise called the second Mind." It is probable that even Zoroaster received his ideas of the divine nature,—at least to a great extent—from the yet more ancient Persian Magi, a sect, or a class, who seem to have united in themselves in a pre-eminent degree, that which was learned, and that which was religious. They held that God existed in a first, a second, and a third mind. The first was "super-essential in itself, and the principle of all essence,"—the second was the Creator of the world,—and the third was the efficient Wisdom and Power of the other two. They, like the Egyptians seem to have amplified this view. It is said that they held, that there were three trinities of minds, and that the two last of these three trinities, proceeded from the first. But especially would we refer to the name said to have been given to Mithras by Zoroaster,—the "threefold, or triplicated Mithras." There is a peculiarity in such a name which forbids the supposition of its being given without a fixed design. A warm imagination and a refined taste, will account for the beautiful and striking titles given to the gods by Homer and other Greek poets, but these will hardly account for this, and we feel warranted in regarding it, as many writers have, as expressive of a monadic-triune mode of existence in the Supreme God.

6. Without referring to particular facts we may notice, that traces of this view may be discovered in the Pythagorean philosophy. Plotinus, a Platonic philosopher of the third century states, that the doctrine of a Trinity was more ancient than the time of Plato, since he derived it from the Pythagoreans.

7. Among the aboriginal inhabitants of America singular traces of this doctrine have been discovered. Among the natives of California were found, "*glimmerings of the Trinity*."* The Peruvians when first visited by Europeans, had an idea of a Trinity: they worshipped a god under the symbol of the sun with *three* heads. They, along with the Mexicans had an idol called *Tanga*—*Tanga*, this name they affirmed to mean *one in three, and three in one*.†

* Acosta's Natural and Moral History of the Indians.

† Venega's History of California, Vol. I. p. 88.

8. We now come to the systems which are professed by those around us. Buddhism teaches that there is one God, yet a Trinity is clearly discoverable in the books which treat of his nature. Adi Budh is the one Intelligence, but the visible world exists, and the system of Budh must account for its existence. This it does by acknowledging Dharma, the principle of matter, out of which all things are formed ; but these two are opposite, and how are they to be brought together ? Another power is therefore recognised,—Sagar, the mediating influence, which unites the Supreme Mind to the principle of matter through which it operates.

9. It is unnecessary to speak of the Hindu Triad at length. We refer to that mysterious union, as a belief, without reference to the different views of it, taken by the unlearned and by the more philosophical : for viewed in either aspect it shews at least, how the human mind really finds no difficulty in the belief of a God, in whose being plurality is combined with unity.

We cite the following passages as illustrative of the Hindu conception. We are fully aware that a different interpretation may be affixed to them to the one we adduce, but taken in their simple significance they are not without a close bearing on the design of this chapter.

“The qualities of matter”—we are told—“are ‘goodness,’ ‘passion,’ and, ‘darkness :’ the supreme male in whom these qualities are combined has taken the names of Hari, Birinchi, and Hara, for the purpose of establishing, &c., the world ; but among these the excellent fruit of men can be obtained only from the body of ‘goodness.’”* Another passage is as follows : “The quality of ‘passion’ became Padmabhu, for the purpose of creating the world ; and the quality of ‘goodness’ became Achyuta, for the purpose of preserving it ; and the quality of ‘darkness’ became Hara, for the purpose of destroying it.—He has become threefold through these three qualities.”†

* Bhágabat, 1st part, chap. II.

† Māgh, chap. XIV.

.... "It is this *Shakti*, which is the efficient cause of this universe, and visibly or invisibly pervades and dwells in all things. *Purusha*, *Prakriti*, and *Kāla* are the threefold causes of creation, preservation, and destruction. Their complete union is the form of *Parabrahm*; and when disunited, a God receives his name from each: for he who creates, is called, *Brahma*; who preserves, *Vishnu*; and who destroys, *Siva*. *Parabrahm*, however, is a spirit, supreme, enjoying bliss ineffable, immaculate, eternal, devoid of qualities, and exempt from illusion; but, as he once subjected himself to the consciousness of individuality, fools suppose that all-pervading, undivided, and glorious essence to be corporeal and divisible."*

The expression, *eko deva trimurti*,—one God but three forms,—occurs repeatedly in the Upanishads and Purans. The triad of Hindu goddesses is almost as remarkable as that of the gods.

10. It is remarkable that some of the most subtle and profound thinkers of the present age, and yet who are by no means prejudiced in favour of Evangelical Christianity,—we allude chiefly to German philosophers,—have arrived at the conclusion, simply by a process of reasoning, that a triform conception of the Deity is the *only* rational one; and indeed, that such a conception is necessary to anything like a perfect, and just idea of the Infinite God.

Under one form or another then, the idea of a Trinity is wide spread. And it is to this wide spread belief in such a conception that we especially invite attention. If but one or two religions had darkly hinted at this view, their ideas might the more readily be set aside, but the *cumulative* testimony here adduced, is surely sufficient to prove that ours is neither a strange nor unreasonable belief.

* Naradiya Puran, chap. III.

CHAPTER V.

‘SUPPOSE A MAN SHOULD, FROM THE OBSERVATION WHICH HE HATH MADE OF *plants*, PRETEND TO MAKE A JUDGMENT OF THE NATURE AND FACULTIES OF *animals*, AND THENCE SHOULD CONCLUDE, THAT IT IS ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE THAT SUCH AND SUCH POWERS AND PROPERTIES SHOULD BE FOUND IN *animals*, BECAUSE THEY IMPLY A PLAIN CONTRADICTION TO THE NATURE OF PLANTS ; WOULD NOT EVERY MAN AT FIRST VIEW DISCOVER THE ABSURDITY, AND LAUGH AT THE FOLLY OF SUCH ARGUMENTATION ? AND YET MEN MAY AS WELL DO SO, AS ARGUE FROM *body* TO *spirit* AND FROM FINITE TO INFINITE.”—*President Edwards*.

THE MYSTERY OF THE TRINITY NO REASON FOR
REJECTING CHRISTIANITY.

WE invite the most searching investigation of the claims of Christianity. Its preciousness as a religion consists in its truth, and therefore, as we have nothing to dread from the most careful sifting of evidence, the best of its converts will be those who most clearly perceive that it is true and divine. We have, indeed, reason to hope, when any one sincerely wishful to embrace the true religion, examines Christianity in a truth-loving, earnest spirit ; and the greater his learning, the more keen his ability to weigh evidence, and separate truth from error the better. It is ignorance, indifference, misconception and sin, which keep men back from the faith of the Son of God : these we dread, but we dread not intelligence and rigid scrutiny. How illogical is the reasoning which says, “Christianity must be false because it teaches the doctrine of the Trinity.” And yet it is this misconception of one of the sublimest truths of religion, and this false reasoning upon such a misconception, which induces many to reject Christianity. To point out the error of this course we remark,

I. That the claims of Christianity are to be regarded, quite apart from any special consideration of the doctrine of the Trinity.

The genuineness of a document is the first point to be settled in an examination of its claims. If it be a forgery, then its entire contents are worthless. It is this which makes all the difference between a genuine and a pretended revelation. The latter may contain much that is excellent,—and so far well,—but it has no authority; being the production of men it may be questioned, or even rejected! But it is far different with a revelation received as genuine. It comes to us with irresistible authority. They who receive it are impressed with the terrible consciousness, that He who gave it is not to be slighted with impunity, and that therefore, the settlement of the question, which is the Book of God, involves in it the belief of whatever that book contains. We, therefore, altogether object to the false reasoning which assumes that, because the doctrine of the Trinity is found in the Bible, therefore the Bible cannot be true. There is assuredly a prior question to all this:—Is the evidence upon which the Bible is received as divine, sufficient or insufficient? If the latter, then all its doctrines cease to be of authority however excellent they be; but if the former, then must every doctrine which correct interpretation finds there be received as true. It is this method of investigation we demand because it is logically correct, and the one our common sense would point out in the consideration of any subject whatever.

And this is the very method of investigation least practised by those who reject Christianity. A very imperfect acquaintance with some of its sublime doctrines, or a supposed want of agreement between some parts of our sacred records, leads them precipitately to the conclusion, that the Bible is not inspired. The first question we would have them take up, is, the evidence of Christianity. This should undoubtedly precede any investigation of the particular doctrines of the Bible, because everything depends on the inspired, or uninspired quality of our records. We care little whether this investigation is carried on by

a sifting examination of historical evidence, or of the Bible itself ; but if the latter, let it be done fairly, and fully, not superficially : let it be read through, let it be intelligently interpreted, and understood, let it be read with a candid, devout spirit, before it is superciliously rejected. “The least,”—says Pascal,—“that may justly be required of those, who are inclined to hostility against religion is, that they should first take care to understand what its pretensions really are.”

But is it right or even prudent, rashly to rest the repudiation of a system so plausible, and so surrounded by solemn sanctions and awful results as Christianity, upon a single one of its numerous doctrines ? We think not. Surely a more comprehensive view of such a system is imperatively demanded both for the truth’s sake and our own destiny’s sake !

II. That which is essentially Christian is not mysterious.

We may divide the religious opinions of a Christian into two parts,—those which he believes as a man, and those which he believes as a sinner ; or in other words, those which would have constituted the religion of man had he been sinless, and those which have been superadded to his faith, because he is a sinner. Had man never sinned his creed would have embraced such doctrines as these,—we say not in what form they would have been held,—the existence and attributes of God ;—the immortality of the soul ;—its freedom and its functions ;—the divine sovereignty ;—the supreme nature of divine law and obedience.

But man’s disobedience and fall, have led the divine Being to reveal a method of mercy which includes a series of doctrines which can only be necessary for sinful beings. These doctrines are, such as,—the Atonement of Christ ;—the duty of believing in Him ;—the work of the Spirit upon the heart ;—Justification ;—Sanctification,—the obligations to aim at a very high state of moral excellence. Now it is in the former series of truths that mystery chiefly centres, and since they form the basis of the Vedantists’, the Mahommedans’, and the Deists’ creed, however much obscured and misunderstood ; the professors of these creeds, ought, if consistent, to renounce their dogmas for the very reason that they reject Christianity. But in the latter

class of doctrines,—the pure doctrines of the Gospel,—there is the most wondrous combination of goodness, sublimity, and simplicity. The only mystery they reveal is the unutterable condescension and love of a Saviour God. They present no truth but what is comprehensible by the simplest mind. Nay, so plain and uncomplex are they, that, Oh ! strange inconsistency in man ! they have often been despised for their very simplicity, whilst this characteristic has ever made them to be believed and loved by the poor, the penitent, and the earnest. And is not this simplicity of faith one of the most indispensable qualities of a true religion ? For, if all men are sinners, and therefore in need of renewed fellowship with God, it is absolutely necessary that the means by which that fellowship may be gained, should be taught in a manner easily understood : and for it to be otherwise would be to mock at the misery of man, and to torment him before his time, by telling him that there was a means of mercy but that it was for wiser men than he. Whatever difficulties then they may perceive in the gospel, who have not embraced Christianity ; they, who have it in their hearts simply as a means of mercy for the dying and the lost, are strangers to.

Of all the religions that ever have existed, Christianity is really the least open to objection on the ground of obscurity. Without referring to others we shall but allude to the two systems in this country whose adherents most strongly repudiate the Trinitarianism of the Bible. Mahommedanism, it is true, is simple enough in its grand formula ; but as a religion it is most obscure and mysterious. Its Koran never can be popular, as a book, with any but Mussulmans, and the mass of tradition which is received by the Sonnites only makes it the more involved, and incomprehensible. And Hinduism is still worse. We question if there is a Hindu living who has read the four hundred thousand stanzas which the gods thought quite sufficient for the instruction of men. Certain it is that no one can form a connected system out of them. It is too late in the day for us to point out the mass of folly, filth, and contradiction,—mystery would be a misnomer and is too sublime a word—they

contain. Nor is Vedantism much better. What Vedantist has read through the four Vedas, and understands them? Who will undertake to prove that they contain one harmonious system, or to interpret its various Pantheistic, Polytheistic and Monotheistic passages so as to agree with that one system? Surely then it is not from such, that objections against Christianity should come!

III. We must acknowledge mysteries, whatever form of faith we receive.

Of all objections to Christianity those are the least rational which arise from its mysteries. Even the Atheist is not warranted in objecting to the mysteries which are identified with Christianity, because he must believe a multitude of things which he cannot understand; not because in their nature they are inexplicable, but simply because he has not the requisite amount of knowledge to understand them; and to be consistent he ought to deny the very facts of nature because they are invested with a mystery which baffles his most searching investigations. He believes in nature; her powers and energies he deems sufficient to bring about the mighty and the wondrous forms of organization we behold in the universe, but if he is asked, "On what does life depend?" "Whence came the forms of nature of which you speak?" he is obliged either to say "I cannot tell," or to give a reply which agrees not with that given, it may be, by the next person you ask. And it is the same with the Deist, the Vedantist, the Puranist, and the Mahommedan. Have Hindu philosophers come to any fixed opinion respecting any one of the mooted questions relating to the divine nature? The disciple of the Vedanta is at issue with the school of Gotama, and the follower of Patanjali agrees not with the school of Canade; the Vedas not only contradict the Purans, but the Vedas themselves; and for three thousand years at least, has this question been discussed in vain "What is God?" Surely there must be mystery enshrining the Supreme like thick darkness, or with a glory which is too bright to be looked on calmly by mortals, else, long ere this it would have been decided whether either Pantheism, Polytheism, or Vedantism were

true! If there were no mysteries there would be no doubt. How emphatic a commentary is this on the words of the Bible: "The world by wisdom knew not God!"

IV. Though there are facts connected with our religion of the most mysterious nature, yet, its claims to be received as divine rest upon better evidence than any other.

To shew this fully would lead us far beyond the subject we have in hand; if any are wishful to trace the comparative authority upon which Christian and heathen documents rest we refer them to Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacrae*. But we will notice some remarkable facts; from the rise of Protestantism in the sixteenth century, Christianity has never come in contact with another system of religion without overthrowing it. It is the religion of the most refined, powerful and educated part of the world. By far the vast majority of the celebrated philosophers, poets, and historians of Europe have been Christians. Never were so many discoveries made, or so many old errors exploded, and abandoned as in the present age; but never had Christianity so firm a hold on the hearts and the intellects of men. And let it be remembered that we speak especially of countries where men are emphatically free,—free to investigate to the utmost every phase of Christianity, and as free to reject it without fear or loss, if they please; nay, where the man most despised is he who has not the courage or the moral principle to carry out to their utmost extent the real convictions of his mind. To us Christianity is precious, because it is *a truth*. But is any form of Hinduism so precious to its adherents as a truth? We trow not. Is it not professed because it is the religion of the country,—because it is easier to go on in the old way than turn into a new,—because a change cannot be made without sacrifice, sorrow, and effort. But how few there are who for a moment defend the religion they profess on the ground that it is supported by the strongest evidences of its truth.

And is not Christianity the gainer in the great conflict of creeds, just in proportion as men have the power and the willingness to search and to investigate the primary principles

of truth? Has Puranism gained a single convert when men have been put into such a position as left them free to choose a creed? Is not modern Vedantism like the armour of a bygone age, furbished up to do service against a new foe; for was it not more the religion of ancient books than of living men, before Christianity made its appearance; and it was found that Hinduism as it was popularly held was utterly indefensible? But has a single Christian as the result of religious conviction passed over to any form of Hinduism?

But may we be permitted to advert finally, to the claims of religion, not so much in relation to the intellect as the heart? Do you object to the doctrine of the Trinity on its own ground, or because of a dislike to the system of which it is a part? If it be on the former ground, then should the subject be investigated with the utmost impartiality and earnestness; nor should the aid of Him be overlooked, who, whatever be his nature, assuredly will not let one of His creatures remain in doubt when the truth is sought with a sincere and upright heart. But if, as is most usual, this doctrine is objected to, because Christianity is disliked, though that dislike often is not known by the individual himself; then it is most necessary that the grounds of that dislike be investigated; Christianity is too important a thing either to be treated with indifference, or to be rejected, simply because it is not approved of. If it be true, what a tremendous truth it is? It is not like some mere question of speculation which is uninfluential whatever side be taken; it involves consequences of all others most weighty. Its heaven for the believer is all that the mind can possibly desire, or will ever be capable of enjoying; its hell for the unbeliever is whatever is awful, overwhelming and sorrowful; and these are not for a life, a yoga, a kalpa, but for ever. A system then which bears so many proofs of being divine, which is acknowledged to be most friendly to virtue, to human elevation, and to happiness; which is chiefly objected to because of the sublime elevation of many of its disclosures, which reveals a means of mercy which of all others has most the aspect of being divine, and which professes to be associated

with results which will run onward for ever in consequences to all men inconceivably momentous and solemn, should not be passed carelessly by. For if it be true, and you die without embracing it, "what will your end be?"



